

THE ROLE OF MINORITY LANGUAGE-SPEAKING FAMILIES, COMMUNITY AND
THE MAJORITY SOCIETY IN THE INTERGENERATIONAL LANGUAGE
TRANSMISSION OF THE KOREAN LANGUAGE IN NEW ZEALAND

by

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The material presented in this thesis is original work of the candidate except as acknowledged in the text, and has not been previously submitted, either in part or in whole, for a degree at this or any other University.

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ABBREVIATIONS

GIDS	Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale
ITML	Intergenerational Transmission of Minority Languages
K-pops	Korean popular songs
NCEA	National Certificate of Education Achievement
NZQA	New Zealand Qualifications Authority
OPOL	One-Parent-One-Language
PPCT	Process-Person-Context-Time

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

<i>Text</i>	= original interview excerpt
<text>	= English translation of interview excerpt
[text]	= added information or explanation
/.../	= text has been deleted
“text”	= reported speech
...	= pause or trailing off of speech

ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates and explores intergenerational transmission of the Korean language in Korean migrant families and the Korean community in an English-speaking country, New Zealand. Through the bioecological human development theoretical lens (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1999, 2001) Korean migrant families' language beliefs, practices and consequences are examined in three contexts: individuals and families, minority language-speaking communities, and the majority society, and the inter-relationships in each context are discussed.

Previous research suggests that language use shifts from a minority language to a majority language within three generations in migrant families (Fishman, 1991). Fishman describes how the second generation become passive speakers of the minority language and tend to not pass on the language to the third generation. In addition, previous studies show that language shift in migrant families is most pronounced at adolescence (Fillmore, 1991; Fishman, 1991), but a recent New Zealand study reveals that 83% of Korean teenagers report an ability to speak both Korean and English (J. King & Cunningham, 2016), the highest rate of intergenerational transmission of any minority language community in New Zealand. This thesis examines intergenerational transmission in Korean households to investigate what factors are leading to such a high rate of intergenerational transmission and whether, in fact, language shift is occurring or not.

Korean migrant families were recruited and invited to share their experiences and stories about raising children as bilingual speakers, or otherwise, from both parent and child perspectives. Interviews were carried out with 11 Korean-born mothers, 11 New Zealand-born, and one Korean-born young adult aged from 16 to early 20s in order to explore their family language policy and practice while living in New Zealand, their attitudes towards acquiring English and transmitting their home language, and their beliefs about the relationship between the two languages. Bioecology of Human Development theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1999) was employed to thematically analyse collected data. Through the theory, intergenerational transmission of the Korean language in Korean migrant families was reviewed and discussed through three aspects: micro-, meso-, and macrosystems, and their inter-relationships, with a focus on how each system affects the others with respect to enhance or hinder, as well as influence each other in minority language transmission.

The findings in the microsystem, with its focus on interaction within the nuclear and extended family group, show that both Korean parents and children report the benefits and challenges of being bilingual in both Korean and English when living in an English language-centred country. Participants believe that minority language acquisition is important to maintain family ties and develop, understanding about heritage culture and cultural values across generations. Family language policy and practice plays a key role in minority language acquisition. This helps children to develop a self-identity that enables them to feel confident about positively participating in two different linguistic and cultural societies.

Findings from the mesosystem, with its focus on interactions in a wider Korean context, demonstrate that one of the factors that may contribute to this high rate of intergenerational Korean language transmission is the influence of Korean community organisations. These organisations facilitate interactions amongst diverse Korean speakers, and encourage intergenerational language transmission at the community level. The wider Korean community allows Korean migrants, especially New Zealand-born children of Korean migrants, to create a Korean-speaking environment where they learn to speak Korean using honorific forms at various cultural events and festivals. Doing this, the wider Korean community also promotes the Korean language and culture to mainstream society and plays a bridging role to make connections between minority and majority societies.

In the macrosystem the focus of Korean language transmission moves from a Korean-speaking environment to an English-speaking environment. The influence of both formal educational settings and a majority English-speaking society are reported to be influential factors on Korean language transmission. This leads Korean migrant families to keep, revise or change family language policy and practice. The findings in the macrosystem appear to reflect current trends towards globalisation and multilingualism (Ministry of Education, 2014, 2018; Office of Ethnic Communities, 2016). However, a general lack of information and multilingual awareness in the majority society hinders minority language transmission in migrant families (May, 2012; Office of Ethnic Affairs, 2013). Differing government policies create confusion for migrant families, who want their children to be bilingual, in their family language choices and practice.

The findings in this study have implications for providing rich, empirical, research data in intergenerational transmission of a minority language by exploring and understanding majority, country-born children, of migrants regarding their experience of, and feelings towards,

minority language transmission when living in a majority society. This study found that micro family language practices are somewhat supported by factors in minority language community (meso) and wider New Zealand society (macro) leading to the current high rates of intergenerational transmission of Korean. However, certain elements are also evident which indicate that these high rates will not be maintained.

Chapter 1.

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Prologue

“Mum, stop speaking Korean. You should speak English with us at home because we live here in New Zealand!”

I often had this comment from my older son because I mostly spoke Korean in family conversations and he did not fully understand. My children and my husband often switched to using English as the tool of family communication on a daily basis.

My two sons were born in Korea, but have lived in both the UK and New Zealand for almost 20 years. They lived in Korea for two and four years from birth but they started their formal education in the UK and then had their primary, secondary and university education in New Zealand. Both sons feel English is their dominant language, their first and *primary language*, and Korean is their second and *secondary language*¹ (Montrul, 2013).

At home I deliberately choose to speak Korean, while my Korean-born husband tends to speak mainly English, and occasionally Korean, with the children, but he always speaks Korean with me. The children have *passive* knowledge of Korean. They understand Korean but prefer to use English. The children’s paternal grandmother and aunt’s family live nearby. So before they left home for university my sons used to have regular contact with extended family, and spoke Korean with both their grandmother and aunt who lack English language proficiency.

When my son challenged my linguistic choices I was unable to give him clear reasons for my decision to speak Korean as the home language because, although I believe that being bilingual is beneficial for career pathways, I was also concerned about English language acquisition in order for the children to integrate into school settings. I sought advice to help meet these

¹ Montrul defines both primary language as “the language is that used most often and may be psycholinguistically dominant”, and secondary language as “the language that is used less or is used in more restricted contexts” (2013, p. 169).

challenges and discovered a lack of information or advice about linguistic choices and practices when raising children in a minority language environment.

It was my experience with my children and the lack of information available about the value of minority language transmission and the best way to support it that led me to want to explore the dynamics relating to language transmission in Korean migrant families in New Zealand.

1.2. Linguistic environment in New Zealand

There are several terms used to refer to languages brought by immigrants to a new country, such as ‘minority’, ‘heritage’, and ‘community’ language. The present study has chosen the term *Minority Language*. The term *Minority Language Speakers* refers to person/people who speak and understand a language other than a majority language at home (Montrul, 2011, 2013; Valdés, 2005). Korean is a minority language in the New Zealand context.

When migrants move to a country other than their country of birth, language shift, or loss, across generations typically occurs. Parents who are born overseas migrate to a new country and maintain their mother tongue, which then becomes a minority language. Their children, who are born in the new country, have significant exposure to a majority language at the expense of their parents’ minority language. These children of migrant parents, the second generation of migrants, become passive bilingual speakers (Fishman, 1991). They are able to understand their parent’s minority language, maintain family conversations in the minority language, but prefer to speak the majority language, and they tend to not pass on their parent’s language to their children, the third generation. Previous studies suggest that a language shift, from the parents’ minority language to the majority language, takes place within three generations in migrant families (Choi, 2015; Fishman, 1991; Macalister & Mirvahedi, 2017). Fishman (1991) emphasised the important role migrant families play in intergenerational minority language transmission and maintenance since the home is the most important site for language transmission.

In line with global trends, Statistics New Zealand (2013) stated that “New Zealand has become an ethnically diverse country” (para. 1). The Royal Society of New Zealand (2013) also described New Zealand as a superdiverse country where more than 160 languages are spoken

on a daily basis. Within the superdiverse environment in New Zealand, the Asian population has increased from 6.4% in 2001 to 11.8% in 2013 (Asia New Zealand Foundation, 2017). According to the Asia New Zealand Foundation (2017), 18% of children under five years old were identified as Asian in 2017, but in 2038, 22%; almost one out of four children under 5-years-old, are expected to report as having an Asian identity.

As New Zealand becomes a more multicultural society, there is increasing recognition that linguistic diversity needs to be considered and noted (Berardi-Wiltshire, 2018). Some government organisations have emphasised the importance of fostering a multilingual environment in New Zealand. According to Te Waka Reo – Statement on Language Policy, languages are important for bringing social, cultural and economic benefits to society (Human Rights Commission, 2009, para. 3). The Office of Ethnic Communities (2016) promoted *Heritage and Community Language Celebration Guidelines* to stress the relationship between multilingualism and the shaping of a national identity, and encourages minority language-speaking communities to celebrate their language by organising cultural festivals.

Despite this superdiversity and becoming a multilingual society, New Zealand remains a monolingual-focused country (Starks, Harlow, & Bell, 2005), and public awareness of multiculturalness remains at a low level (Kitchen, 2014b; May, 2012). In New Zealand, a national language policy has not been implemented (Berardi-Wiltshire, 2018; Royal Society of New Zealand, 2013). As a settlement country, New Zealand has many migrants, with most coming from English-speaking countries rather than from non-English-speaking countries. The lack of a national language policy and a lack of information about interacting with non-English speakers has led to New Zealand being seen as monolingual (Cunningham & King, 2018).

In addition to this, there is a contradiction between recent government reports (Office of Ethnic Affairs, 2013; Office of Ethnic Communities, 2016) and previous research carried out in New Zealand regarding minority language transmission. Researchers emphasised the importance of maintaining minority languages and the economic benefits and cultural awareness they bring to society (Harvey, 2015b; Human Rights Commission, 2009; Ministry of Education, 2014; Office of Ethnic Communities, 2016; Starks, 2005). Maintaining minority languages contributes to shaping a national identity of New Zealand as a multilingual nation (Office of Ethnic Communities, 2016). Fostering a multilingual environment in early childhood education may reinforce a child's cognitive development and mental well-being for a lifespan (J. King, de Vocht, Cunningham, & Davis, 2017). This suggests that the home is a key environment for

minority language transmission, and that is where the speakers of the minority language spend the most time with their children in their critical early years (Bialystok, 2011; Fishman, 1991; Spolsky, 2012). Therefore it would be valuable if minority language transmission occurs in the home, and that is also supported by both minority and majority language-speaking communities. Other researchers argued that such multilingualism hinders social cohesion (Spoonley, 2014), and support the government report highlighting mastery of English as a prerequisite in order to better integrate into mainstream society (Chang, Morris, & Vokes, 2006; Morris, Vokes, & Chang, 2007; Office of Ethnic Affairs, 2013; White, Watts, & Trlin, 2002) which can bring more employment opportunities for those with better mastery of English (Burns & Roberts, 2010; Chang et al., 2006; Office of Ethnic Affairs, 2013; White et al., 2002; Wrigley, Chen, White, & Soroui, 2009). The Office of Ethnic Affairs (2013) reported emphasise both an inverse relationship between minority language maintenance and English language development and a monolingual focus by stressing the importance of assimilation and integration into mainstream society.

The lack of a languages policy and such contradictory messages may guide minority language-speaking families to not transmit their mother tongue to their children (J. King & Cunningham, 2016), in the belief that they are helping their children to integrate into mainstream society (Office of Ethnic Affairs, 2013). While migrant parents are willing to maintain their minority language and transmit it to children born in the new country, they also focus on mastery of the majority language as it is seen as a key factor in children being successful in the new country (De Houwer, 2009). According to Revis (2015), ideally, minority languages are passed on and maintained orally within migrant families, but in reality, a language shift or loss takes place before it is recognised at both individual and community levels. If migrant parents encourage the use of English language at home, their children will not have the opportunity to learn their parents' language and will grow up monolingual with English as their first language.

Studies that focus on multilingualism have been widely carried out both nationally and globally for several decades. Researchers have formulated theories and investigated multilingual practices and the mechanisms of acquiring two or more languages (Cook, 2016; Lightbown & Spada, 2013; Loewen, 2015; Ortega, 2009). In the current era, more people are becoming global citizens and moving to different countries. Some multilingualism research has included a focus on identifying the relationship between multilingualism and multiculturalism and their impact upon daily life (Burns & Roberts, 2010), and how trends such as globalisation,

multilingualism and multiculturalism contribute to the development of ethnically and linguistically diverse societies (Cenoz & Gorter, 2011; Office of Ethnic Communities, 2016).

In New Zealand, research on Korean language maintenance, rather than intergenerational Korean language transmission, started in the late 1990s when the Korean migrant population was rapidly increasing. Johri (1998) indicated signs of language and identity shift amongst the first generation of Korean migrants and explained that although Korean migrants believed in the importance of Korean language maintenance in a new country, settlement issues were prioritised for them to integrate into mainstream society. This led Korean migrants, especially migrant children, to focus more on English language acquisition to achieve success. S. Park's study (2000) also demonstrated that despite having strong beliefs about maintaining Korean language and culture, English was considered to provide better academic and career opportunities, leading to a language shift amongst Korean migrants. At the time of these previous studies, Korean migrants were a relatively recent migrant group to New Zealand and the wider Korean community in New Zealand started to establish and make wider connections with Korean migrants.

Recent studies have suggested that Korean migrant families have the highest rate of intergenerational transmission of their minority language of any ethnolinguistic group in New Zealand (Cunningham & King, 2018; J. King & Cunningham, 2016). Self-reported commissioned, census data from Statistics New Zealand revealed that Korean teenagers, aged between 13 to 18, in New Zealand were, in 2013, the most successful immigrant group in having the ability to speak their minority language (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). As can be seen in Figure 1, 83% of Korean teenagers reported being able to speak their minority language, Korean (J. King & Cunningham, 2016). In contrast to previous studies indicating a language shift occurring amongst early Korean migrant families (Johri, 1998; S. Park, 2000), the Korean migrant group appears to effectively keep the language. This suggests that much can be learnt from the experiences of Korean migrant families in terms of minority language transmission across generations. The overarching question to be made here is why Koreans are so successful at the intergenerational transmission of Korean language in New Zealand.

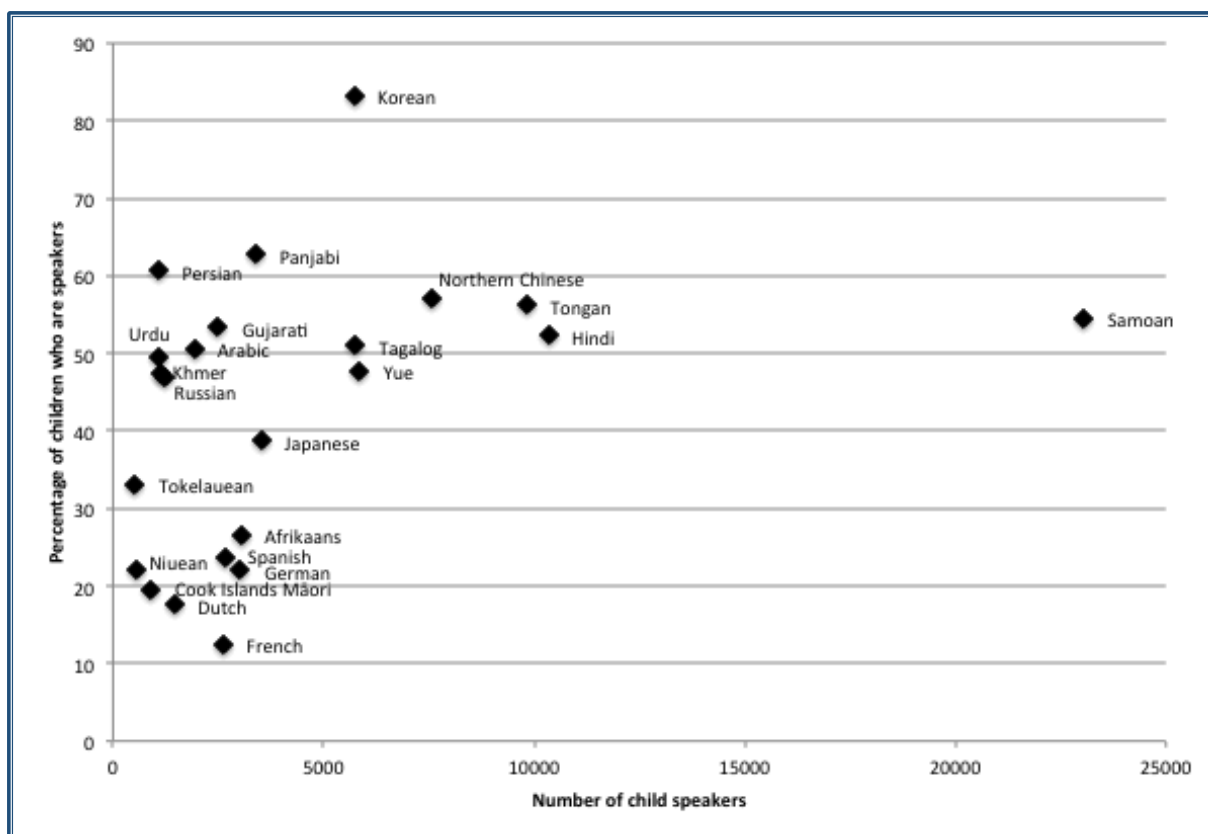


Figure 1.1. Scatterplot of 23 minority languages in New Zealand by numbers of child speakers (horizontal axis) and rates of intergenerational transmission (vertical axis) (J. King & Cunningham, 2016, p. 87).

There is minimal research available about the experiences and ideologies of the children of migrants regarding minority language maintenance (Smith-Christmas, 2017). Conteh and Brock (2011) indicated that there is a lack of research about identifying influential factors in children of migrant families in their social, cultural and linguistic exchanges in formal educational settings. Bernard Spolsky identified a lack of research exploring experiences and feelings about maintaining minority language amongst second generations of migrant families (personal conversation at the Sociolinguistic Symposium 22, 28 June 2018, Auckland). In New Zealand a number of studies on language proficiency and language use in Korean communities (Johri, 1998; J. Kim & Starks, 2005; S. Park, 2000) are quantitative studies based on self-report in questionnaires and research with a focus on intergenerational language transmission in Korean community contexts using interviews is relatively new (J. Kim & Starks, 2005). Since the early 2000s there has been a lack of research investigating minority language transmission

in the second generation of migrant families in New Zealand. Some studies were carried out to investigate beliefs about intergenerational transmission and maintenance of minority languages among minority language-speaking children of migrant parents, but the child participants were often too young to express their thoughts and beliefs about language transmission and maintenance (J. Kim & Starks, 2005; Mishina-Mori, 2011). Due to a lack of research about minority language transmission within minority language-speaking families and communities in New Zealand (de Bres, 2015), and the relative success of the intergenerational transmission of Korean at present, it would be valuable to investigate how Korean migrant families transmit Korean language to New Zealand-born Korean children in the New Zealand context and what they believe about minority language transmission and practices.

The present research evolved from the Greening Research Project on intergenerational language transmission of minority languages (ITML): Chinese, Dutch, French, German, Korean and Spanish, in New Zealand, run by Professor Una Cunningham and Professor Jeanette King. The aim of the Greening Project is to collect material regarding the raising of children of migrant families in order to identify factors affecting intergenerational minority language transmission for greening the information desert (Cunningham & King, 2019). The project generates research-informed information to disseminate findings nationally and internationally through a website (Growing up with two languages, 2016). It also aims to facilitate workshops, seminars and symposia to support both minority language-speaking families and communities in their linguistic choices and practices as well as monolingual English speakers, especially professionals in both medical and educational sectors, who have had minimal information about linguistically diverse families. The researcher was initially involved as a research assistant for the Greening Project. Findings from previous research (J. King & Cunningham, 2016) and a lack of resources in ITML in New Zealand led the researcher to undertake the present study to look at a wider context, ITML in Korean migrant families and the wider Korean community, and to expand the research scope to employ a theoretical framework.

The present study hopes to provide answers to questions about successful language transmission and practices by exploring the successful experiences of Korean migrant families involved in intergenerational Korean language transmission in New Zealand. The questions raised here concern the roles that Korean migrant family members, Korean communities, and mainstream society in New Zealand play in language transmission across generations.

1.3. Research Questions

In line with and following from J. King and Cunningham's study (2016) and a lack of research on the language situation for Korean migrants and their children in New Zealand, the present study aims to investigate the intergenerational transmission of the Korean language amongst Korean migrant families through three systems: micro-, meso-, and macro-systems, of Bronfenbrenner's bioecological human development theory (1999, 2001). The research questions are:

1. What role do family language policy, beliefs and practices play in the intergenerational transmission of the Korean language amongst Korean migrant families in New Zealand?
2. What role does the wider Korean community in New Zealand play in the intergenerational transmission of the Korean language in Korean migrant families?
3. What role does mainstream society play in the intergenerational transmission of the Korean language in New Zealand?

1.4. Organisation of the thesis

The bioecology of human development theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1999, 2001) was employed as an analytical lens to analyse collected data to answer the research questions in this study. With a focus on Korean language transmission among Korean migrant families in New Zealand, the theory was applied with emphasis on three systems of the theory in order to understand and explore the chosen research questions and contexts.

There are eight chapters in the thesis. Each major section and each chapter conclude with a summary.

Chapter 1 describes the linguistic background of mainstream society in New Zealand. The linguistic background section identifies contradictory government messages about multilingualism in New Zealand that create dilemmas for migrant families in raising children, whether or not they are raising their children as bi-/multilingual speakers.

Chapter 2 gives an overview of Korean migrant communities in New Zealand in order to gain a deeper understanding of the Korean migrant context in New Zealand. The chapter explains the history of Korean migration to New Zealand, various migrant organisations and their functions within the wider Korean community, and the impact of global influences, especially the Korean Wave of the early 2000s.

Chapter 3 presents the theoretical framework and literature review of the present study. It begins by presenting the theoretical framework for the present study, and explaining how bioecological human development theory was employed and adapted for the research. Previous and recent studies are then presented and reviewed to give insight into the research field, both nationally and internationally. The literature is compared and contrasted to discuss current trends and identify gaps in research into minority language transmission.

Chapter 4 explains the methodology of the present research. An overview of a qualitative research approach is presented. An informal pilot study that was carried out to test a method of data collection and participant recruitment is described. The chapter then introduces the participants, the method of data collection, data analysis and ethical considerations.

Chapter 5 explores Korean migrant families' beliefs about the Korean language and their attitudes towards the relationship between language, culture and identity, and how their beliefs and attitudes influence and shape their family language policy and practices when living in an English-speaking country. The role of children, parents, and both nuclear and extended families is reviewed and discussed. The chapter identifies crucial factors that enhance Korean language transmission in the family – the micro level in Bronfenbrenner's terms.

Chapter 6 investigates the role of minority language-speaking communities in minority language transmission, and explains how these organisations function to promote or hinder the development of a Korean language-speaking environment in the wider Korean community, outside of the family – the meso-level in Bronfenbrenner's terms.

Chapter 7 examines the role mainstream society plays in minority language transmission. The chapter reviews how a majority society influences minority language transmission, and how such influences impact on Korean migrant families' language choices and practices – the macro-level in Bronfenbrenner's terms.

Chapter 8 discusses findings from each system of the theoretical framework and inter-relationships between the micro-, meso- and macro-levels and concludes the present study. It indicates the implications of the present research for intergenerational minority language transmission within Korean migrant families and the wider community in New Zealand. The limitations of the present research are indicated and suggestions about possible future directions are made.

Chapter 2.

THE KOREAN MIGRANT CONTEXT IN NEW ZEALAND

This chapter presents an overview of the wider Korean community and its function in relation to the history of, and life in New Zealand for Korean migrants. The role of the wider Korean community on settlement issues, and language transmission across generations will be discussed. Some challenges for Korean migrants that have impacted on migration and Korean language transmission will be outlined. To facilitate confidentiality and anonymity, the city where the present study was conducted will be presented as the study region in this thesis.

2.1. [An overview of the history of Korean migration to New Zealand](#)

This section overviews both the history and demography of Korean migrants in New Zealand where the present study was carried out, and some challenges that have arisen during the settlement period.

The history of Korean migration to New Zealand started in the 1960s and appears to be relatively new, compared to other migrant groups (Yoon & Yoon, 2019). In the 1880s, due to the need for labourers in the gold mining industry in the South Island, a great number of immigrants, mainly British immigrants and the first group of Chinese immigrants, began to arrive in New Zealand (Chang et al., 2006). In comparison, the first Korean migrants were not recorded until the 1960s when a group came to the Otago region (Chang et al., 2006). After the Second World War, Korean shipping companies began to have a greater influence in the Pacific economy. The first Korean settlers came to New Zealand to both operate and expand shipping businesses and formed a base in the Southern Hemisphere (Chang et al., 2006). Since then the number of Korean migrants has increased.

In the 1990s, the Korean Government opened overseas travel to the general public. Prior to that only government officials and people who were designated to study or do specific duties were allowed to travel overseas. The opening of travel outside of Korea encouraged people to think about living outside of Korea. In 1997 a currency and financial crisis impacted negatively upon people in Korea (S. Park, 2000). This economic recession resulted in higher unemployment and inflation leading to people becoming anxious about their future. These two factors encouraged Korean people to move overseas to live (Chang et al., 2006). New Zealand was seen as a desirable country for reasons that will be outlined in section 2.2.

In the early 1990s, New Zealand Immigration policy introduced a point system where applicants were given points based on their education, employment, economic and skills background (S. Kim & Starks, 2010; Yun, 2015). This resulted in increasing numbers of economic migrants that, it was hoped, would bring economic benefits for New Zealand society enabling it to become internationally competitive (Morris et al., 2007). Many Korean, as well as other East Asian migrants, moved to New Zealand under this economic migration scheme (Kitchen, 2014a), and these new Korean migrants initially settled mainly in Auckland (over 70% of Korean migrants) and Christchurch (J. Kim & Starks, 2005). The number of Korean migrants increased from 930 Koreans in 1991 (Morris et al., 2007) to 30,792 Koreans living throughout New Zealand by 2006 (W. Kang, Harington, & Park, 2015), the tenth largest minority language-speaking group (Statistics New Zealand, 2007). By 2013, the number of Korean migrants had increased to 45,000 nationwide, with about 70% Koreans in Auckland (Hong & Yoon, 2014) and 3,500 Koreans in the Canterbury region (Office of Ethnic Communities, 2017).

The Korean community population in New Zealand, especially in the South Island, appeared to decrease after a series of earthquakes starting in 2010 (W. Lee, Kang, & Yoon, 2012). This population decrease resulted in economic challenges for the wider Korean community where the majority of businesses targeted Koreans, and business structures often relied on Korean input. Travel agencies, Korean restaurants and accommodation businesses run by Koreans depended on visitors and newly-arrived international students from Korea to remain viable (Hong & Yoon, 2014).

2.2. Reasons for migration to New Zealand

Korean parents prioritise children's education as their primary goal (Chang et al., 2006; Choi, 2015). In Korea employment is highly competitive due to the large population, and tertiary education qualifications and high English language proficiency are required to get many kinds of employment (Choi, 2015). Children have extra-curricular tuition, especially for learning English, outside of formal education systems (Choi, 2015). Parents need to pay private tuition fees to achieve their goals for their children. This leads families in Korea to have minimal family time. Due to heavy study loads and pressures children often do not come home until evening and parents often need to do extra work in order to pay children's extra tuition fees.

New Zealand became one of the preferred immigration destinations, among English-speaking countries, as it was known as a safe English-speaking country with a clean environment for raising children, and a less pressured approach to educational success and the opportunity for parents to have a more relaxed way of life (Chang et al., 2006; Kitchen, 2014a; S. Park, 2000), but Korean migrant parents still appear to pressure children to achieve highly in education even when living outside of Korea (Choi, 2015; Shin, 2005).

People who applied under the skilled migrant category to migrate to New Zealand needed to be able to meet high entry requirements. So the first immigrants who got approval were highly qualified, had high socio-economic status in Korea (S. Kim & Starks, 2010) and were able to meet the requirements of the IELTS (International English Language Testing System) English language criteria set by the New Zealand Government (Chang et al., 2006). Despite meeting all immigration approval criteria, this first group of highly skilled Koreans faced challenges, related to language, culture, employment and integration, when living in New Zealand (Chang et al., 2006; S. Park, 2000).

2.3. Korean community in New Zealand

After moving to New Zealand, many Korean migrant parents faced a number of settlement difficulties. Although all Korean migrants had met the required level of English (IELTS test) set by Immigration authorities, a lack of English language proficiency, especially spoken

language skills, hindered integration into mainstream society including gaining employment (S. Park, 2000). In 2006, the Department of Labour reported that 57% of skilled migrant Koreans were unemployed, one of the highest rates of unemployment in New Zealand (Morris et al., 2007). The language barriers experienced by Korean migrants negatively affected their learning about social, cultural and educational aspects of living in New Zealand which limited employment and participation in the majority society (W. Kang et al., 2015).

In addition, language challenges hindered socialising with New Zealanders. Despite Korean migrants' willingness to participate in local community activities and develop friendships with monolingual English speakers, many Koreans, as well as North Asian migrants, were less likely to achieve these goals within a majority society (New Zealand Immigration Service, 2004). A previous study revealed that many Korean migrants reported they had experienced discrimination and rejection when they tried to participate in mainstream society (Morris et al., 2007). This resulted in the Korean migrants in that study developing friendships within the same ethnic communities even after living in New Zealand for a year and a half (Morris et al., 2007). Many Koreans stressed feelings about being connected, secure and sharing the language and culture through friendships with other Korean migrants within the wider Korean community (W. Kang et al., 2015).

Korean migrants then started establishing an ethnic-based community as their *safety zone* (W. Kang et al., 2015) as well as “working for small-scale business – grocery shops, restaurants, travel agencies – which existed largely to serve the Korean community itself” (Morris et al., 2007, p. 15) and socialised within the wider Korean community (B. Kim, Linton, & Lum, 2015). They set up their own businesses targeting mainly Korean and/or other Asian settlers (Chang et al., 2006). Korean migrants in the study region fostered the establishment of Korean community groups such as the local Korean Society, a Korean school, and various religious groups and a number of businesses in close proximity to each other. Korean migrants, especially those born in New Zealand, had the opportunity to interact in the Korean language on a regular basis outside of their home.

As stated above, Korean migrant families are likely to be closely engaged with other Koreans in the Korean community nationally and globally (B. Kim et al., 2015; Morris et al., 2007). Through these interactions and participation in the wider Korean community Korean migrants, especially those who were born in New Zealand, have exposure to Korean-speaking environments and learn Korean culture (J. Kim & Starks, 2005). In the study region, there is a

Korean businesses-centred suburb where the majority of Korean supermarkets, restaurants, hairdressers, travel agencies and Korean-speaking bilingual bank tellers are located. These businesses provide a broader context in which to use and practise Korean language. The wider Korean community plays a key role in promoting Korean language and culture to a majority society (W. Kang et al., 2015). Many organisations within the wider Korean community support various settlement issues, including employment, and make an effort to build connections with local communities.

2.4. Organisations in the wider Korean community in the study region

In the study region there are several key organisations within the wider Korean community, and they organise, facilitate and promote several cultural events throughout the year. These organisations are the local Korean Society, several Korean Sports Committees including the Korea Football Association, a branch of the Korean Cultural Centre, Overseas Korean Traders Association (OKTA), alumni associations, and other small groups² with a focus on associating with members who have the same social and educational connections from Korea. All these organisations, both formal and informal, operate and run various meetings, gatherings, seminars, cultural and sport activities both regularly and periodically (W. Kang et al., 2015). Korean is the medium of communication for these events. The following section presents some of the key organisations and their roles within the wider Korean community.

The Korean School in the study region [한국학교]

The Korean School, local Korean Community Language Saturday School Trust was established in 1994 and registered as a charitable organisation in 1998 (CINCH, 2018). The Korean School, generally referred to as Korean school, aims to teach Korean language and culture to both Koreans, especially those were born in New Zealand, and non-Koreans. The school follows the Korean educational curriculum that is set by the Ministry of Education in

² These small groups are often informally formed by some Koreans who share a common interest, i.e. leisure clubs, for example a tramping club, essay-writing club and so on.

Korea, and operates on Saturdays, outside of the New Zealand formal education system. Teachers are trained and qualified in Korea and mostly implement Korean educational-teaching practices based on the Korean curriculum. They are occasionally invited to attend professional development programmes that are facilitated by the Korean Government in Korea.

Students study cultural knowledge through Korean-medium instruction, and have the opportunity of cultural exchanges with different ethnic groups in both Korea and New Zealand. The school operates cultural activities for two hours on Saturday morning and Korean language classes for three hours on Saturday afternoon ([Study region] Korean School, 2009). It also promotes performing arts and cultural activities in various festivals and events in the wider Korean community as well as non-Korean local communities ([Study region] Korean School, 2009), and operates Korean language classes for non-Korean speakers.

The majority of the student cohort are primary school children who were born in New Zealand. When these children are in their teens, and at secondary school, most of them have medium to high proficiency in Korean language including literacy. These children often join the *Volunteers' Group* at the Korean school to work as assistant teachers and/or volunteer at various cultural festivals facilitated by the Korean school and the local Korean Society. The school is funded by donations from families, the Korean Embassy, the Overseas Koreans Foundation, and the local City Council ([Study region] Korean School, 2009).

The study region Korean Society [한인회]

The study region Korean Society, hereafter referred to as the local Korean Society, was established in 1991 (Korean Society of [city], 2017), and plays a key role in representing Koreans not only within the wider Korean community, but also in mainstream society. It collaborates with national and local government, governmental bodies and other ethnic communities on various occasions, for example running projects, participating in governmental and local communities' activities, and facilitating cultural events, educational seminars and workshops in the study region. The local Korean Society plays an important intermediary role in both economic and non-economic exchanges between Korea and New Zealand.

This is a non-profit organisation that represents all Koreans; migrants, international students and tourists, in the study region (Office of Ethnic Communities, 2017). The organisation has

been funded by various sources, including the Korean Embassy, the Overseas Korean Foundation, the local City Council, the Office of Ethnic Communities, and donations from individuals and local businesses (Office of Ethnic Communities, 2017).

The organisation annually organises and facilitates a number of linguistic and cultural festivals and sport events, and promotes Korean language and culture to local communities. One of the biggest annual cultural events that is organised and facilitated by the local Korean Society is a *Korean Day* in early December. This event includes Korean speakers and local residents who promote Korean language and culture. It provides a venue for cultural performances, food markets and Korean popular song competitions, referred to as K-pop competitions (see Figure 2.3 in Section 2.5). This enables Korean speakers, especially New Zealand-born Koreans, to have an opportunity to be exposed to Korean linguistic and cultural environments that may reinforce Korean language transmission at the community level.

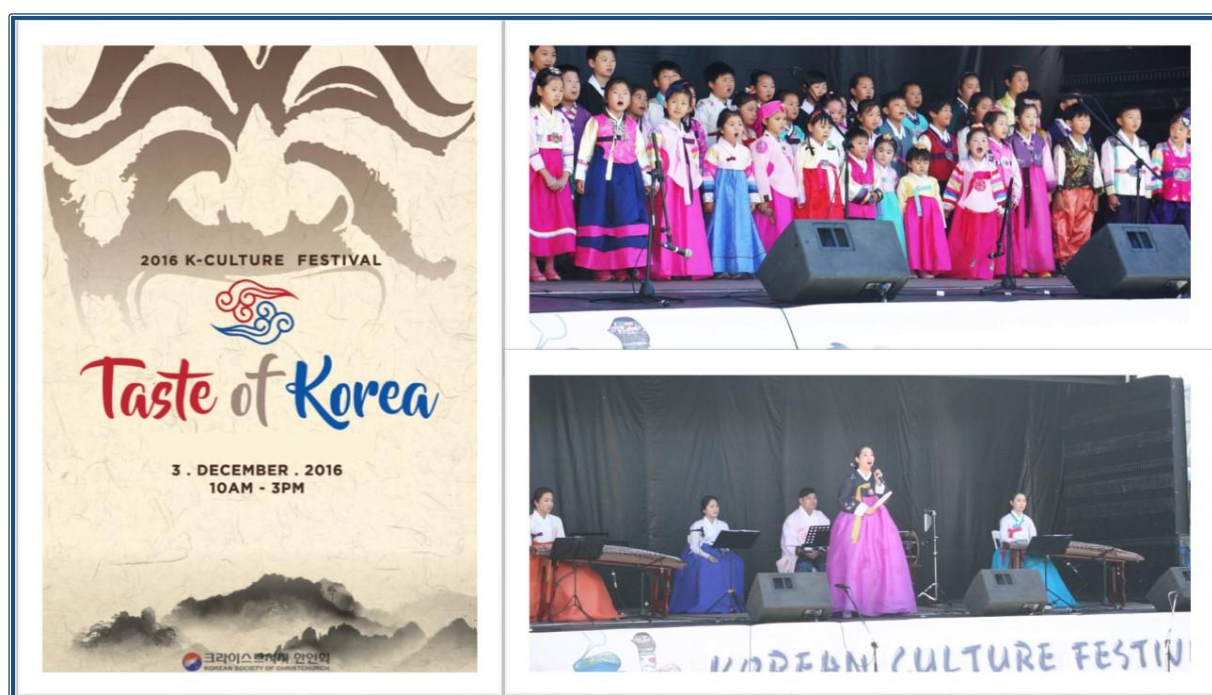


Figure 2.1. Photos from the Korean Day 2016³.

Left: Poster of the Korean cultural festival.

Top right: Korean children choir. Bottom right: Korean traditional chamber orchestra.

³ Photos were taken by the researcher.

Korean religious groups [한국 종교단체]

The role of Korean religious organisations has been described as crucial in Korean migrant settlement history (Chang et al., 2006; W. Kang et al., 2015; Morris et al., 2007). These organisations offer religious services mainly in Korean language and organise cultural activities. Due to language challenges that have negatively impacted on employment and integration into mainstream society, religious organisations play a key role in supporting both mental health well-being and providing employment opportunities through connections with Korean as well as other local church groups (W. Kang et al., 2015).

Such support encourages Korean migrants, including non-Christian Koreans from Korea, to attend a Korean religious group, rather than other non-Korean local churches (Chang et al., 2006; Morris et al., 2007). The majority of Koreans in New Zealand report being Christian (Magee, 2011) and tend to attend a Korean church (Chang et al., 2006; Morris et al., 2007). In the study region, there are 15 registered religious organisations connected to Koreans (Korea Review, 2015), with 13 different denominations of churches, including a Catholic church and a Buddhist temple. The term *Korean church* will be used to cover all Korean religious affiliations in the wider Korean community.

Korean churches are seen by Korean speakers as *hubs* of settlement support (Morris et al., 2007). Churches organise regular social, cultural, sports and religious activities including weekly bible studies. Many churches provide free Korean food after Sunday church services for any Koreans, including international students and visitors, who are not necessarily members of the congregation. By attending a Korean church and participating in these activities, Koreans can have more exposure to a Korean-speaking environment and opportunity to learn the language and culture.

Social connections among Korean migrants are often built through attending a Korean church (Morris et al., 2007). Through such connections, information about settlement issues, including employment opportunities that bring social and economic benefits for Korean migrants, are shared. A lack of English language proficiency hinders socialising with monolingual English speakers, so many Korean migrants develop networks through religious affiliation when living in New Zealand. This helps Korean migrants have “a feeling of ‘being at home’ in New Zealand” (Morris et al., 2007, p. 27).

Korean sports committees [대한 체육회 지부]

There are many sport committees⁴ within the wider Korean community; taekwondo, kendo, basketball, baseball, soccer, rowing, table tennis, tennis, and ice-hockey. These committees run sports competitions on a regular basis.

Recently Kowians⁵ Basketball Team organised annual inter-university basketball competitions for Korean tertiary students. The majority of the players are New Zealand-born Koreans who may feel English is their dominant language.



Figure 2.2. The final game of Kowians Basketball Competition 2016⁶.

⁴ The term sport committees refers to sport clubs. Committee is literal translation of Korean to English.

⁵ Members of the committee of Kowians Basketball Team created a new word, Kowians, combining Korean and Kiwis.

⁶ Photos were taken by the researcher.

2.5. The Korean Wave [한류- Hallyu], impact of global influence in New Zealand

The Korean Wave is defined as the globally increasing popularity since the late 1990s of Korean TV dramas, referred to as K-dramas, and K-pop (Jin, 2018; Ryoo, 2009). During the initial stage of the Korean Wave, many East, South, and Southeast Asia and the Middle-Eastern countries were influenced, but not New Zealand. People in New Zealand appeared to be uninterested in Korea and Korean language. A previous study stated that “New Zealand teenagers did not like them [Korean teenagers] ‘making noises’ [speaking or singing in Korean] in their country” (Morris et al., 2007, p. 21).

In the 21st century, the Korean Wave spread globally, especially when Psy⁷’s song called *Gangnam Style* was a huge hit in 2012. In New Zealand Psy’s song was often played in various places (i.e. gyms and shopping malls), and people started recognising the Korean song and the language. Just like people from other countries, some children, teenagers and adults in New Zealand sang Psy’s song, made their own music videos and uploaded to YouTube (SnapMe Photography, 2012). The New Zealand Army Band performed Kiwi-style combining the New Zealand Haka with a Gangnam Style song at the Royal Edinburgh Military Tattoo Festival in 2013 (Mathewson, 2013).

The popularity of K-dramas and K-pop appears to have increased among secondary school students in New Zealand. Due to such increased interest, a world K-pop singer G-Dragon⁸ had a concert to meet with his New Zealand fans, both Koreans and non-Koreans, in Auckland as a part of his world tour in 2017 (Herald, 2017; Tan, 2017). The Korean Wave has led some New Zealand secondary students to become motivated to learn Korean (S. Roberts, 2017; Tokalau, 2017). Some students joined a Korean language class that was held in their school after school on a Friday in order to understand the lyrics of K-pop and scripts from K-dramas as well as gaining some NCEA credits by learning Korean. A Korean language teacher reported

⁷ Psy is a South Korean singer, songwriter and record producer. One of his singles called ‘Gangnam Style’ was an international hit. The song was one of the most popular songs in 2012. Retrieved from Wikipedia <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Psy>.

⁸ G-Dragon is a South Korean singer-songwriter, rapper, and record producer. He is a member of the hip hop boyband Big Bang. He has globally influenced music, fashion trends and culture for youth. Retrieved from Wikipedia <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/G-Dragon>.

that “many students want to learn the language because of K-pop. There is a slow growing interest in the language and culture” (S. Roberts, 2017, para. 8).

The Korean Wave has influenced people, especially secondary school students, in New Zealand since 2012. This influence has promoted Korean language and culture throughout New Zealand for both Koreans and non-Koreans. In response to the Korean Wave in New Zealand, the local Korean Society holds an annual K-pop competition on a Korean Day. The K-pop competition accommodates both Korean and non-Korean speakers and reflects the recent global phenomenon of increasing popularity of Korean media content in New Zealand (see Figure 2.3). Korean language is the major tool of communication for this event and has encouraged both Korean and non-Korean adolescents to learn Korean language to understand lyrics.



Figure 2.3. The K-pop competition poster 2016⁹.

⁹ The poster was on the university notice board. Photo of the poster was taken by the researcher.

2.6. Chapter summary

The history of Korean migrants has primarily been over a 20-year period in New Zealand. The majority of early Korean migrants were well educated, from mid-to-upper socioeconomic backgrounds and met the English language skills criteria set by New Zealand Immigration, but they often faced difficulties integrating into mainstream society. Due to a lack of English language proficiency, they faced difficulties in employment and settlement issues. While Korean migrants were willing to build friendships with New Zealanders, they often felt rejected. This led Korean migrants to establish ethnic communities in order for them to have support for settlement issues, including employment. These communities help Korean migrants to have a sense of belonging to New Zealand as their new home, foster Korean language-speaking environments and facilitate the use and transmission of Korean language and culture in New Zealand. The formation of the local Korean Society and other groups in New Zealand is one of the strongest factors that has facilitated Korean-speaking environments for New Zealand-born Korean children.

Chapter 3.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter presents and reviews previous studies conducted nationally and internationally in minority language transmission. The structure of this chapter employs *the Blueprint for your House* concept from Grant and Osanloo (2014) and the chosen theoretical framework, the bioecological theory of human development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1999, 2001), is referred to as the blueprint for this thesis. Bronfenbrenner's theoretical framework has four systems, with each system presenting, comparing and contrasting relative literature as *floor plans* (Grant & Osanloo, 2014).

3.1. Theoretical framework

Bronfenbrenner's bioecology of human development (1999) is primarily employed as a theoretical framework to evaluate and analyse studies that have a focus on linguistic, educational, and psychological aspects within a social context. The chosen theory is developed from the early written work of Bronfenbrenner's ecology of human development theory (1979). There are four elements: *process-person-context-time (PPCT)*, in the theory. This section presents how the bioecology theory developed from his early work of ecology of human development theory, including definitions of these elements and its applications to the present study.

3.1.1. Ecology of Human Development Theory

The *Ecology of Human Development Theory* (1979) claims that child development is influenced by individual interactions and activities in immediate environments on a regular basis. In this early work, Bronfenbrenner focused on two elements, *process-context*. Process refers to child-parent interactions in various contexts that play an important role in child development. Context is defined as environmental factors in child development. There are four

systems in the context element: the microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem and macrosystem. Figure 3.1 shows the process element in the context element and their inter-related relationships between the contexts of each of the systems.

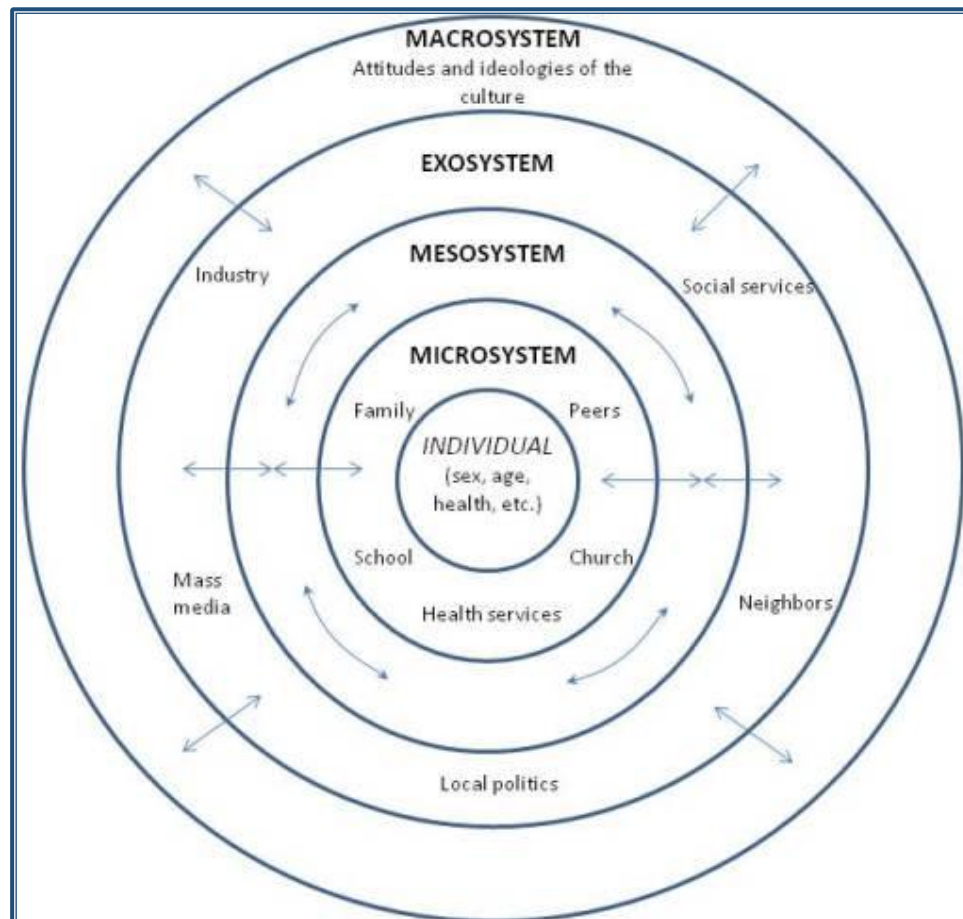


Figure 3.1. The ecological theory of human development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

The diagram shows that the microsystem, as a core, looks at individuals' daily interactions with families at home and peers and teachers at school. This is the most influential system in direct contact in child language development. The mesosystem is defined as "two or more microsystems" (Bronfenbrenner, 1999, p. 17) and looks at various aspect of interactions outside of the home. For example, the mesosystem looks at relationships between parents' active involvement in school activities and a child's school achievement. These two systems are grouped as the proximal zone that is a central part of child development and directly influences one another on a daily basis.

The exosystem looks at surrounding contextual factors in a wider context that do not directly incorporate child development, but influence the development of children's lives, such as parents' educational, economic and social connections within social settings. If parents maintain good social connections with neighbours they will become part of local communities. This could be beneficial for their children's integration into mainstream society. Children are, however, not a member of the exosystem. The macrosystem is the outmost layer of the context element that is incorporated into the microsystem that does not immediately affect child development. The macrosystem refers to cultural aspects in individuals' lives that are related to the micro-, meso- and exosystems. Ethnicity, cultural values, socioeconomic status, the identification of class, laws and policies are all aspects of the macrosystem. The exo- and macrosystems are grouped as the distal zones where incorporative interactions take place outside of immediate environments.

The ecology theory postulates that child development is characterised and affected by daily interactions within these four systems. These interactions are examined in terms of multiple systems in the proximal and distal zones (Vélez-Agosto, Soto-Crespo, Vizcarrondo-Oppenheimer, Vega-Molina, & García Coll, 2017) where individuals interact with others. During language development, the proximal systems undergo changes that are reflected in changes within distal systems. When various factors influence human language development, the inter-related nature of the systems are influential in interactions between, and within, other systems (Atkinson, Martin, & Rankin, 2009).

3.1.2. Bioecology of Human Development Theory

Bronfenbrenner's earlier theory, ecology of human development, focused on the relationship between interactions (*process*) and environment (*context*) (Tudge, Mokrova, Hatfield, & Karnik, 2009); even though he had not presented contextual factors in child development (Rosa & Tudge, 2013; Tudge et al., 2009; Tudge et al., 2016). Later he expanded the scope of his theory with the *Bioecological Theory* (1999), and defined this theory as "evolving theoretical systems for the scientific study of human development over time" (Bronfenbrenner, 2001, pp. 6963-6964). In addition to his previous theory, he focused on various characteristics of individuals (*person*), and claimed that the development of individuals needed to be examined across a lifespan (*time*). The chronosystem was added and highlighted to understand child development in a longitudinal context by presenting a *process-person-context-time (PPCT)*

model. In this version, he highlighted processes of human development by presenting a proximal processes concept (Bronfenbrenner, 1999; Tudge et al., 2009). In the early theory, the proximal processes refer to “parent-child, child-child activities, group or solitary play, reading, learning new skills, athletic activities, and performing complex tasks” (Bronfenbrenner, 1999, p. 5) in immediate environments which may explain the process of interactions in individual, cultural, social contexts and the outcomes (Tudge, 2017; Tudge et al., 2009). In the later theory, the proximal processes were emphasised as “engines of development” (Tudge et al., 2009, p. 204) where bi-directional child-parent interactions continuously take place in a home environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1999). During child development, some factors, such as expectations of parental role and input, can be changed and processed by external environmental changes in social contexts over time (Rosa & Tudge, 2013; Tudge et al., 2016). Bronfenbrenner suggested that the proximal processes of bi-directional child-parent interactions needed to be stable and consistent over time.

Looking at child development in individual, social and cultural contexts during their lifespan is crucial in finding influential factors that reinforce child linguistic development (Conteh & Brock, 2011). The term *context* can be seen as the surrounding environments where interactions take place in at each stage of child development, and can occur in braided contexts such as the inter-relationship of two or three contexts (Conteh & Brock, 2011). Bronfenbrenner’s theory plays an important role in examining and analysing child linguistic development in each system and inter-systems. The following section discusses how Bronfenbrenner’s theory is applied to the present study.

3.1.3. Application to the present study

Bronfenbrenner (1999) stipulated the mutual relationships between individuals and the immediate environments that influence each other in human development. Through these lenses, child development, especially linguistic development, can be seen holistically and individually in the broad context (Anderson, Hamilton, Moore, Loewen, & Frater-Mathieson, 2006). Thus, the theory is often to be employed as a theoretical framework in educational research.

Previous research assessed the PPCT model of the bioecology theory and demonstrated the effectiveness of the ecological model that brings positive outcomes from collaborating with

both minority and majority language speakers in child linguistic development in educational contexts (Brooker, 2006; Conteh & Brock, 2011; Creese & Martin, 2003; Podmore, Sauvao, & Mapa, 2003). Conteh and Brock suggested that the ecological model is vital for exploring the notion of two different linguistic and cultural settings in various social, political and cultural systems (context) that influence child learning and development (process). They concluded that through the use of the bioecological model, ‘*safe spaces*’ are constructed between learners, parents and educators (person) that foster a bilingual environment in formal education settings. Brooker supported this by stating that educators’ understanding of students’ cultures creates a home-like environment at school that enhances students’ positive integration into educational settings. Podmore et al. showed that working with families and teachers enables Pacific language-speaking children (process-person) to have positive cultural and learning experiences when transitioning from early childhood education to primary school (context-time). Creese and Martin emphasised the close relationship between language and an ecological model. They argued that an ecological approach needs to take into account the role of languages in different social contexts, as previous research examined children’s language development in formal educational settings through the PPCT model. However, there is a lack of research on child linguistic development in the familial, local and national contexts and inter-relationships between these contexts.

Te Whāriki, the New Zealand early childhood education curriculum, emphasises the importance of collaborating with other systems in the bioecological model by stating that “Children’s learning is located within the nested contexts and relationships of family, community, and wider local, national and global influences” (Ministry of Education, 2017, p. 60). In line with the focus of Te Whāriki, it is important to understand migrant children’s linguistic development and function of relationships in both each and inter-contexts through the bioecological theory. This is because the social contexts relating to both minority and majority language and culture needs to be considered when looking at migrant children’s language development with a focus on interactions and activities within immediate environments, at home and minority language-speaking communities, as well as in a wider society.

It has been suggested that post-migration theory enables educators to understand students’ experiences and the trajectories of two linguistic and cultural environments in migration contexts (Anderson et al., 2006; Nilsson & Bunar, 2016; Rutter, 2006). The post-migration

ecology is derived and developed from Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory in order to gain a deeper understanding about children of migrant parents and their linguistic development in multilingual contexts. In this regard, recent research has employed post-migration ecology as a theoretical framework for research about newly arrived migrant and refugee students' integration into formal educational settings. In the current study, it is the New Zealand-born children of migrants who are in focus.

Migrant parents bring their native language as well as culture from their countries of origin to a new country. Their native language and culture are usually practised at home, and language and culture from the new country is practised outside of the home. When a child is born in the new country the child naturally acquires the parents' native language at home. When a child is exposed to formal education settings they then discover the difference between speaking a majority language outside of home and speaking their parents' native language(s) at home (Fillmore, 1991). The child, as well as the parents, often live in two different linguistic and cultural settings in their day-to-day interactions. This helps migrant parents and children to understand a concept of two environments comprised of a minority language and culture at home, and a majority language and culture outside of the home (Conteh & Brock, 2011). In New Zealand, de Bres (2015) identified a linguistic hierarchy, with English as the dominant language followed by Māori and New Zealand Sign Language, Pasifika languages, and then minority languages that are spoken by migrants. Such a linguistic hierarchy is experienced by children of migrant parents when exposed to formal education systems, and this is likely to affect migrant children's language choice, as a majority language becomes their dominant language.

The focus of the present study is the intergenerational transmission of Korean language by Korean-born parents and their New Zealand-born children when living in New Zealand. Their daily interactions and activities in two different linguistic and cultural environments influence child language development (Conteh & Brock, 2011). The PPCT model in the bioecological theory of human development (Bronfenbrenner, 1999) accommodates these minority and majority cultural and linguistic environments and can be seen as an effective tool for examining minority language transmission. In the present study, *process* refers to bi-directional interactions between the person element and inter-relationships between the context element. *Person* is defined as individual, nuclear and extended families. *Time* refers to chronosystem that looks at child development during children's lifespans up to the time of interviews. The

context element accommodates both minority language-speaking environments, proximal zones (micro- and mesosystems), and majority language-speaking environments, distal zones (macrosystem).

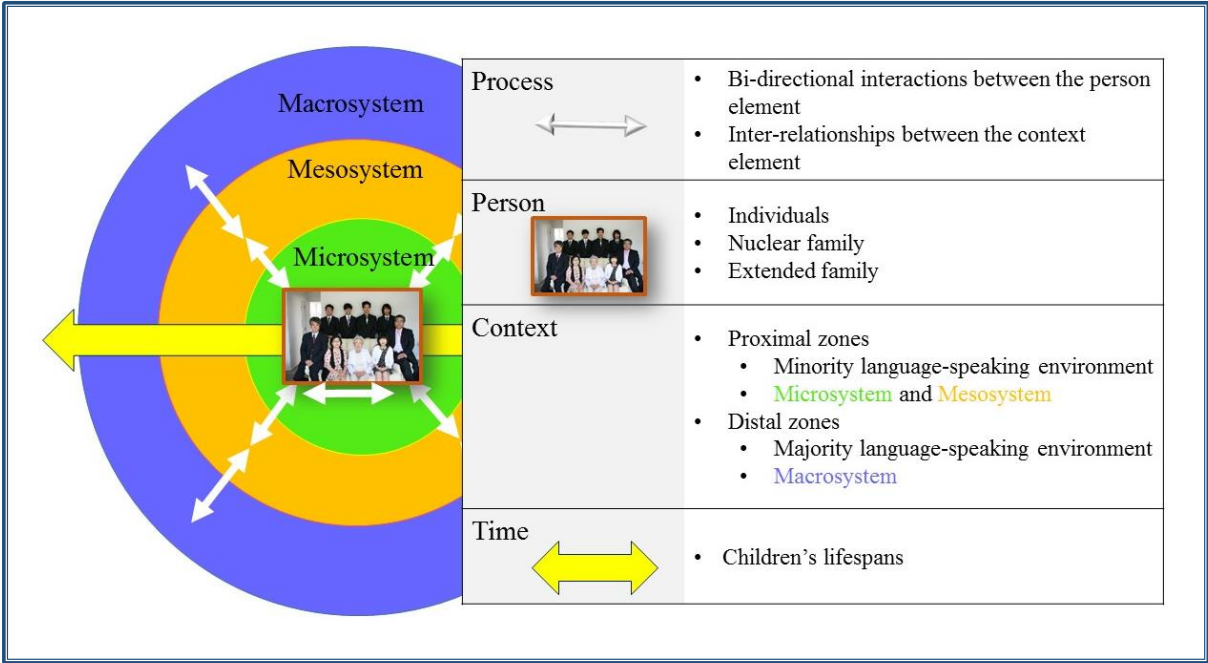


Figure 3.2. The application of the PPCT model for the present study.

The microsystem represents individuals’ regular interactions in their immediate environments as they directly influence child development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1999). These interactions include those between family, parents and siblings, as well as grandparents and relatives who influence and directly affect each other. In this research, the microsystem represents linguistic interactions between Korean-speaking individuals, and nuclear and extended families on a daily basis where Korean language tends to be the norm.

The mesosystem looks at regular interactions between a family and others within local same language-speaking communities. These interactions take place outside of the home and influence child language development. The focus of the mesosystem in this research is the role of the wider Korean language-speaking community in Korean language transmission, for example Korean language Saturday school and Korean religious groups, where Korean is still the norm.

Bronfenbrenner (1979, 1999) defined the macrosystem as cultural and subcultural aspects of individuals' interactions and activities in a wider context in their daily lives. In the present study, the scope of the macrosystem looks at interactions between majority language and minority language speakers in a society where the majority language is the norm. This enables the present study to contribute to our understanding of linguistic hierarchy in the social context of Korean speakers in one city in New Zealand (de Bres, 2015). The macrosystem in the present study represents participants' activities, interactions and experiences with mainstream society.

The exosystem from Bronfenbrenner's bioecology of human development theory explains that parents' educational, social and economic settings around individuals' environments cannot be seen as a direct factor that influences children's development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1999). In this research, the exosystem was not considered as being an influential system as the majority of parent participants, 10 out of 11, reported having similar social, educational and economic backgrounds at the time of the interview. Because of this the exosystem component of bioecological theory was not used in this study. To support this claim, further demographic information about participants is presented in the participant section, Section 4.3. Figure 3.3 illustrates the adapted ecological human development theory that will be used in the analysis of the data in this study.

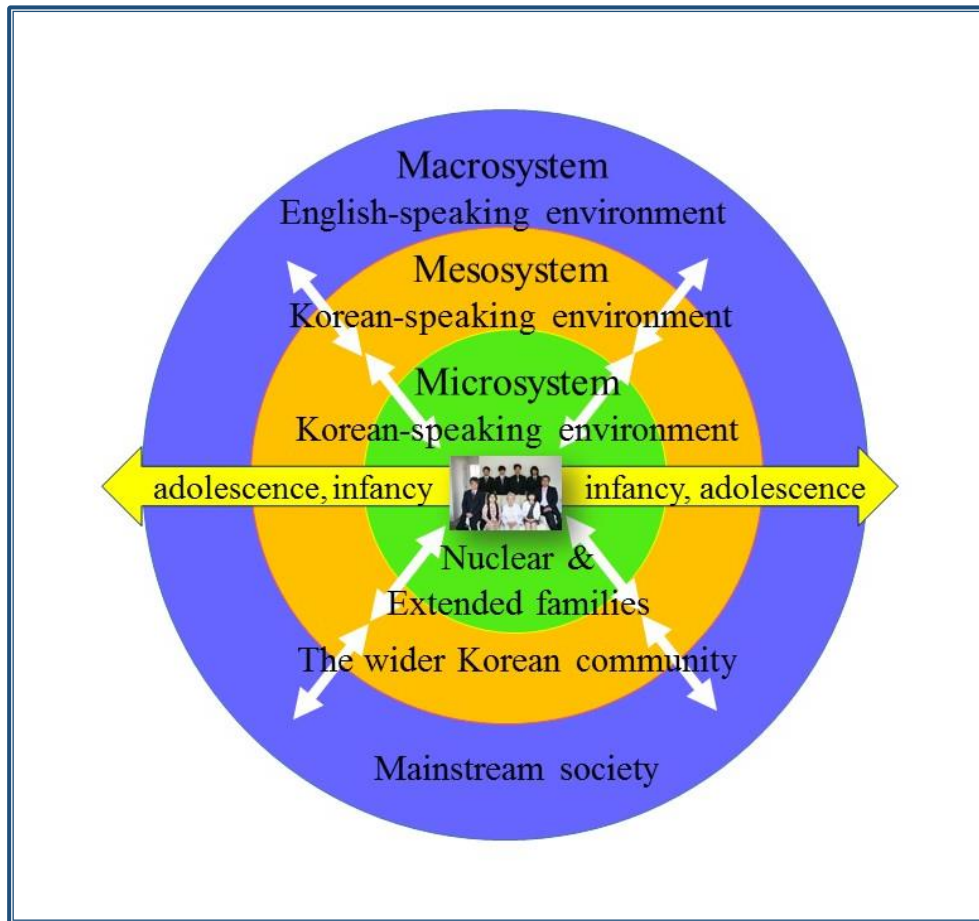


Figure 3.3. The application of the bioecological theory of human development for the present study.

Bronfenbrenner's bioecology of human development theory emphasised the importance of interactions that take place within each system as well as inter-related systems that directly influence children's linguistic development in cultural contexts (Tudge et al., 2009; Tudge et al., 2016). Through this theoretical lens, the role of each system, migrant families, minority language-speaking community and the majority society, and their inter-relationships are identified and examined (Anderson et al., 2006). Child language development is investigated and explored from birth to the time of the interview (adolescence) through collected retrospective data including participants' reflections on early years as well as present situations. This time line is represented by the yellow arrow in the Figure 3.2. The arrow shows that early childhood interactions usually take place at home (microsystem), and child/adolescence interactions occur beyond the microsystem once they start school. This adapted model offers

insight into Korean language transmission within linguistically and culturally interrelated environments.

3.1.4. Section summary

The theoretical framework is based on the work of Bronfenbrenner (1979, 1999, 2001) and emphasises two aspects of environmental context; stability of the environment and consistency of sustaining the environment throughout child language development. This means that interactions and activities in the immediate environment (familial context) need to continuously take place and be sustained over a period of time to significantly influence child language development outcome (Anderson et al., 2006). Child-parent interactions in the immediate environments are important and very influential. So these interactions need to be stable, sustainable and continue throughout child language development.

When parents raise children, consistently speaking Korean language at home and regularly facilitating interactions and activities in Korean language environments within an immediate as well as a wider context, they influence children's Korean language development. The present study looks at all these inter-related factors and complex contextual aspects that enhance or hinder minority language transmission through the PPCT model of the bioecological theory of human development. Through these lens, literature with a focus on interactions and activities in minority language transmission in each system are presented and discussed in the following sections.

3.2. Definitions of, and benefits of bilingualism

In a globalised context, monolingual speakers can be seen as being the minority and multilingual speakers can be seen as the norm (Butler, 2013; Lightbown & Spada, 2013). Previous research suggested that being bilingual brings social, cultural and economic benefits for both individuals and society (Day, 2014; Harvey, 2015b; Human Rights Commission, 2009; Lightbown & Spada, 2013; Starks, 2005) therefore society would benefit from maximising the contribution to be made by multilingual human resources by encouraging minority language transmission across generations (Bialystok, 2011; Fishman, 1991).

There are a number of studies that highlight the individual and social benefits of being bilingual in child cognitive, linguistic and identity development (Bialystok, 2011; Cunningham, 2011; Human Rights Commission, 2009; Otterup, 2011; Royal Society of New Zealand, 2013). Bilingual speakers may demonstrate a cultural awareness that promotes multiculturalism in a social context (Brown, 2011; Ministry of Education, 2014; Office of Ethnic Communities, 2016; Shin, 2005) and brings socio-economic benefits to New Zealand (Harvey, 2015b). Bilingual children may outperform monolinguals in verbal and nonverbal tasks, tend to have positive mental well-being (Bialystok, 2011), and appear to achieve highly at school (Krashen, 1998a) as well as have more opportunities for future careers than monolingual children (Otterup, 2011). Although findings from these studies identified positive outcomes and benefits of being bilinguals that support migrant families in their language choices and practice, other studies reported that there is a lack of heritage language transmission in immigrant families (Choi, 2015; Fishman, 1991).

The terms bilingual and multilingual are often defined as individuals having the ability to speak more than one language. There are, however, due to the dynamics of language use and ability in diverse contexts and times, different types of bilinguals identified in literature. Conteh and Brock (2011), Grosjean (2010), Hall, Griffiths, and Haslam (2001) argued that being bilingual refers to living in two languages, but does not necessarily mean being able to speak two or more languages with equal proficiency (balanced bilinguals). In this thesis, a bilingual speaker is defined as being an individual who is highly proficient in one language in both literacy and verbal skills, and is able to be understood and understand conversations in another language (Butler, 2013; Hall et al., 2001). Some researchers distinguish between early and late bilinguals depending on the age of onset of language acquisition (Butler, 2013; Montrul, 2013). Early bilinguals are defined as acquiring two languages in childhood, before puberty. After puberty, learning an additional language is regarded as second language acquisition and these speakers are defined as late bilinguals. There are two categories in early bilingualism in terms of sequence of acquiring languages. Simultaneous bilinguals refers to being exposed to two languages from birth to three to four years old (Butler, 2013; De Houwer, 2009), whereas sequential bilingual usually refers to being exposed to a minority language at home until the age of four to five and to a majority language when starting formal education (Loewen, 2015; Montrul, 2009, 2011, 2013).

De Houwer (2009, 2015) discussed the distinction between harmonious and conflictive bilingual development based on a language contact situation. Harmonious bilingual development refers to both minority language-speaking children and parents being positive about, and in agreement about the use of home language and choices in family interactions. Positive attitudes from parents, educators and majority language speakers towards child bilinguals are all identified as influential factors. In contrast to that, in a conflictive bilingual environment, minority language-speaking families have negative experience of their family language choices and language use in family interactions. This may result in both parents and children speaking different languages, with parents often speaking a minority language, and children speaking a majority language. In family interactions, this would reinforce majority language acquisition for children and lead to the children not being able to speak the minority language.

3.3. Literature related to the microsystem

Through the chosen theoretical framework, the linguistic and cultural environment at home is seen as crucial for minority language transmission and maintenance in a child's development (De Houwer, 2015). Minority languages are mostly spoken during interactions between parents and children in a home environment (Brown, 2011; Han Chung, 2006; H. Kang, 2013; J. Kim & Starks, 2005; MacLeod, Fabiano-Smith, Boegner-Pagé, & Fontolliet, 2013; Mishina-Mori, 2011; Ok Kim & Starks, 2008). Based on migrant families' beliefs about, experience of, and attitudes towards their minority language transmission as well as their proficiency in the majority language, migrant parents often deliberately or by default speak the language at home. This section presents literature that focuses on key elements of minority language acquisition and transmission: family language policy, beliefs and practice, in individual and family contexts within minority language-speaking families, at the micro-level.

3.3.1. Family language policy

Family language policy can be defined as language policy that implicitly or explicitly regulates language choice and use for family interactions at home (K. King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008;

Lanza & Li, 2016). Investigating a family language policy provides “a window into parental language ideologies” (K. King et al., 2008, p. 907) that reflects individual and social attitudes towards both minority and majority languages, the use of language choice and practice. In a language contact situation within migrant families, migrant parents often desire to speak and pass on their mother tongue, minority language, to their children, and develop a language plan based on their language beliefs and experiences (K. King et al., 2008; Spolsky, 2004). However their majority language country-born children usually prefer to use a majority language once they are exposed to a school environment (De Houwer, 2015; Fillmore, 1991). Spolsky (2012) suggested that implementing a family language policy helps parents and children to focus on speaking their home language.

Family language policy plays a crucial role in minority language transmission and maintenance (K. King & Fogle, 2013; K. King et al., 2008; Spolsky, 2004, 2012). Historically there have been four phases in the field of family language policy research (K. King, 2016). The first three phases mainly focused on outcomes of child language development through parent-child interactions. The first phase looked at a child’s linguistic development within transnational and/or diasporic families where individuals often had different linguistic backgrounds (Canagarajah, 2008; K. King & Fogle, 2013). Through educational influences, children’s cognitive and metalinguistic awareness development were examined (K. King, 2016). The second phase focused on applied linguistic and psycholinguistic aspects. Family was seen as a dynamic system where parental input played an important role in child’s motivation that influenced a child’s identity choice (Gafaranga, 2010). Parental language use and strategies in child-parent interactions were addressed as a crucial factor (K. King, 2016). The third phase looked through a sociolinguistic lens at the language practice and management of families with more than two languages (Curd-Christiansen, 2009). During these three phases, family was seen as a homogeneous group in a local context. Studies in the fourth phase defined family as transnational where each member of the family negotiated and shaped their identity and language choices were based on their social ideology and attitudes in a global context (K. King, 2016). There are, however, some gaps between the first three phases and the fourth phase of research when looking at family language policy. Examining family language policy through a sociolinguistic approach that focuses on relationships between migrant families, minority language-speaking communities and majority societies may not identify family dynamics in a global context (Smith-Christmas, 2017). Multi-layered linguistic contexts of minority language transmission and identity negotiation in individuals in migrant families can be overlooked

using the first three approaches. In response to the identified gaps, Zhu and Li (2016) suggested that, due to having different sociocultural experiences, individuals within a family, both bilingual and multilingual speakers, need to be seen holistically and multidimensionally based on their experiences.

Previous family language policy research focused on family contexts as a domain at the micro-level, but recently, the key focus has been expanded from looking at the micro-level (family interactions) to the macro-level (social attitudes), and aspects of educational, applied linguistic and psycholinguistic to sociolinguistic approaches over time. These changes lead migrant families and majority society to view minority language transmission as a social phenomenon in a wider linguistic context, at a macro-level (Macalister & Mirvahedi, 2017).

At a micro-level, it is important for migrant families to deliberately shape and frame their family language policy to achieve goals for their children to become minority language speakers. Spolsky (2004) identified that language policy needs to contain three components: “language practices, language ideology or beliefs and language management or planning” (p. 186). In the following section, family language ideology and beliefs that influence development of family language policy are presented and discussed.

3.3.2. Family language policy and family language beliefs

Language belief can be defined as a linguistic ideology about the relationship between linguistic attitudes and practices as shown in language policy and strategy (K. King et al., 2008; Spolsky, 2004). De Bres (2015) claimed that specific linguistic and cultural groups construct language ideologies based on interest and the group members’ perception of the language. The current trend of globalisation can be seen as a positive factor that encourages migrant families to raise their children as multilingual speakers to become global citizens, and technological developments enable migrant families to maintain connections with extended family and their heritage cultures (Lanza & Li, 2016; Somerville, 2008). Minority language transmission across generations can be seen as an important factor for the children of migrants as their language is the main tool of conversations within extended family. Research supports such beliefs and identifies that through the use of minority languages, the children of migrant families are able to learn about their minority culture, cultural values and beliefs (Cho, 2000, 2015; Fillmore, 1991; H. Kim, 2011).

Minority language transmission influences child identity development and enables minority language-speaking children to build good relationships with a same minority language-speaking group. Previous research reported a positive relationship between Korean language proficiency and identity development amongst US-born Korean young adults that encourages US-born Koreans to maintain Korean language and culture (Cho, 2015; Choi, 2015; Jee, 2016; J. Lee, 2002). Choi postulated that language is related to identity so it may be helpful for children of migrant parents to acquire their minority language in order to develop a true self-identity. Cho's and J. Lee's studies identified intergenerational transmission of Korean language as a positive factor that results in individual and social benefits including positive correlation with English language acquisition and identity development. New Zealand research also reported that there is a positive relationship between Korean language maintenance and English language acquisition (S. Kim & Starks, 2010). S. Kim and Starks' study found that Korean migrant parents in New Zealand often consider the mastery of English as important in giving more opportunities for their children to integrate into mainstream society, therefore migrant parents focus on the use of English at home. The study argued, however, that parental use of Korean language at home does not negatively impact on children's English language acquisition.

Fishman highlighted that "language is even more than symbolic of the ethnic messages, it is a prime ethnic value in and of itself" (Fishman & García, 2010, p. 520). Researchers claimed the close relationship between language and identity is influenced by social environment (Choi, 2015; H. Kim, 2011; May, 2012; Oh & Fuligni, 2010; M. Roberts, 2005). Oh and Fuligni's study suggested a positive relationship between linguistic choices, minority language proficiency and ethnic identity. They argued that minority language proficiency is an influential factor in ethnic identity development and enhanced positive integration into the majority society. Findings from Oh and Fuligni's study support H. Kim's study (2011) that showed an ability to speak Korean is seen as a positive factor in developing a Korean identity in the US.

Choi (2015) defined immigrant identity as "the outcome of multiplicity – multiple cultures, multiple worlds, and multiple languages – expressed in the formation of a new identity: that is, a hybrid or hyphenated identity" (p. 249). She argued that a hyphenated identity is the outcome of physical features, i.e. Asian appearance. This is a view shared by others from the majority society, who describe "Asians with perfect English, but not authentic Americans" (p. 250). The study also demonstrated that there is a positive correlation between Korean language

proficiency and self-identity as Koreans. J. Lee (2002) supports Choi's findings that having an ability to speak Korean leads US-born Koreans to develop a dual identity, rather than having only an American identity, and this brings social and individual benefits.

Due to technology developments, migrants are closely engaged with extended family in their home country (Zhu & Li, 2016). Findings from Zhu and Li's study concluded that individuals from the same family can negotiate their identities while living away from their home countries. Based on their sociocultural experiences, the status of minority language communities and its potential benefits, individuals from transnational families position themselves on either different levels of the same ethnic identity spectrums or construct a different identity; i.e. dual-identity, from the rest of their family. Other research identified how maintaining family ties with external family impacts on children's identity development of a hyphenated identity (Somerville, 2008). Migrant families often visit the home country or have regular conversations with extended family through Skype and/or other online applications and tools. This gives majority country-born children of migrant parents more opportunity to be exposed to heritage linguistic and cultural environments. In such an environment, children of migrant families tend to develop a hyphenated identity, that is seen through various levels of emotions, appearance and allegiance. This impacts on having a different level of sense of belonging to both minority and majority societies (Castles, 2016; Somerville, 2008). The study demonstrated the process of second generation of migrants' identity development and reasons for the process and outcomes.

Family language policy is shaped and formed by migrant families' beliefs about their minority language and its transmission and is comprised of three aspects: language practices, beliefs and management. Previous research suggested that language is related to culture (M. Roberts, 2005; Starks, 2005). In general, Korean migrants believe in a close relationship between language and culture that is related to maintaining family ties (B. Kim et al., 2015) and make their decision about choice of home language. Given the importance of parental language choice and family language policy, family language practice is presented and discussed in the following section.

3.3.3. Family language policy and practice

Migrant families are seen as crucial resources for fostering and facilitating a minority language-speaking environment (Cunningham, 2011; Fishman, 1991; H. Kim, 2011; S. Kim & Starks, 2010; Spolsky, 2012), and among family members, parents are considered as primary speakers of the minority language. Migrant parents usually make an effort to shape and negotiate a family language strategy and desire to transmit a minority language to their children (Gharibi, 2016), however children often demonstrate varying levels of minority language proficiency and preference (K. King et al., 2008; Smith-Christmas, 2016). In relation to children's language proficiency in the minority language and their preferences, a fundamental question raised here is why some children of migrant parents grow up as bilingual speakers with equal proficiency in both minority and majority languages, but some do not. Parental input plays a crucial role in minority language transmission through implementing a family language policy, but there are other factors too.

Previous research suggested that children feel confident about their minority language proficiency when both parents use the same minority language at home, referred to as a monolingual conversation policy (Brown, 2011; H. Kang, 2013), and pointed out the positive influence of parental input. Krashen (1998a) argued that although migrant parents believe in the importance of ITML, in reality, parents, especially highly educated ones, encourage children to focus on majority language acquisition.

Kwon (2017) stressed the important role mothers' beliefs and input play in minority language maintenance. Through parental input, children are able to maintain family ties and learn more about the language and culture in a transnational family context. His study demonstrated that ITML is a positive factor that may enable children to achieve highly at school (Krashen, 1998a), and to become increasingly motivated to learn the language of their parents. Previous studies (Choi, 2015; Shin, 2005) stated that pressure from Korean migrant parents for their children to succeed still happens when living outside of Korea. Kwon's study may encourage migrant families to speak a minority language at home. Cho's study (2000) agreed with Kwon by arguing that speaking Korean at home is the most effective factor in Korean language transmission for US-born Korean young adults.

Mothers play an important role in minority language transmission as they tend to be more involved with raising children (J. King & Cunningham, 2016). Traditionally, the role of mothers was seen as a crucial factor as they were often the prime carer for children and

interacted more with children on a daily basis. However, one study showed that migrant mothers increased the use of the majority language, rather than the minority language, as the majority language became a dominant language for their children (S. Kim & Starks, 2010). As a result, over time, the majority language becomes the main tool for mother-child conversations at home. Smith-Christmas (2016) reiterated Lanza's parental responding strategies for mother-child conversations with the aim on encouraging the child to use the minority language: *minimal grasp* (monolingual policy), *expressed guess* (dual-lingual policy with a strong emphasis on minority language), *repetition* (dual-lingual policy with a focus on minority language), *move on* (dual-lingual policy) and *code-switching* (dual-lingual policy, but parents also use a code-switching strategy) strategies.

Some studies highlighted how Korean migrant parents' awareness of the benefits of being bilingual affects intergenerational transmission of Korean language (Brown, 2011; Han Chung, 2006; H. Kang, 2013). Brown (2011) identified parents' attitudes and the way in which family language policy is implemented as important factors. These factors are also identified as important by Han Chung (2006), Kang (2013) and K. King and Fogle (2013).

Children of migrant parents tend to speak the minority language for parent-child and grandparent-child conversations, but prefer to speak the majority language among siblings (S. Kim & Starks, 2010; Smith-Christmas, 2016). Sibling interactions are seen as influential factors in minority language transmission within familial contexts. Previous research suggested that older siblings may negatively affect minority language transmission in a minority language-speaking home (Bridges & Hoff, 2014; Caldas, 2006). When an older sibling starts school they tend to primarily speak the majority language when talking with parents and younger siblings. According to Caldas (2006), regardless of parental use of a minority language as their home language, the oldest child prefers to use the majority language as it is the medium of instruction at school. Smith-Christmas (2016) supported this by stating that younger siblings perceive the use of majority language by the oldest sibling as a *cool* language and appear to develop solidarity through speaking the majority language among them. Bridges and Hoff (2014) argued that parents tend to start using more majority language at home when the oldest child starts school. These factors contribute to a reduction in the use of the minority language at home. This results in enhancing younger siblings' majority language acquisition, but impedes minority language acquisition. Findings from previous research in a New Zealand context demonstrated the use of English in sibling interactions (Starks & Lee, 2010) and

emphasised the importance of sibling interactions in minority language maintenance in the long term (S. Kim & Starks, 2010).

The role grandparents play in intergenerational minority language transmission is crucial. Cunningham (2011) pointed out that visiting the parents' home countries where the minority language is spoken as a majority language, and meeting with grandparents and extended family can be an effective strategy that encourages children to become more motivated to learn the language and culture. Child-grandparent interactions are seen as an important factor to pass on knowledge about both language and culture to children (Smith-Christmas, 2017; Umali, 2016). Umali explained that showing respect to the seniors in Filipino communities is an important part of the Filipino culture. Korean culture shares similar attitudes towards seniors. Through such interactions children are able to develop a sense of belonging to their home country and to become motivated to maintain the language.

A child starts learning a language from birth through verbal communication with both their parents and a wider social group (De Houwer, 2015; Fillmore, 1991). When a child starts formal education they are exposed to an expanded linguistic environment. Activities and interactions in a wider context enhance a child's language acquisition, including both verbal communication and literacy skills. This is demonstrated by Smith-Christmas' research (2016) stating that the use of a minority language enables children to become confident and competent in speaking a minority language. Through such functions and relationships between factors and interactions within their linguistic environments, a child acquires language, a sense of self, and social skills. Such linguistic environments can be seen as natural and safe domains where all factors and interactions occur through activities (dynamics) (Conteh & Brock, 2011).

K. King et al. (2008) suggested the elements of family language policy are language beliefs or ideologies, language practices, and efforts and influential factors. They claimed that research on family language policy needs to focus more on family interactions in the microsystem, and support or constraints from minority language-speaking communities in the mesosystem, rather than only focusing on social and political contexts in the macrosystem. Their study emphasised the important role of the minority language-speaking community in the ITML, because implementing a family language policy that focusses on minority language use may not be sufficient for minority language transmission. When children start school a language shift occurs so minority communities (mesosystem) need to work closely with families to maintain the home language.

3.4. Literature related to the mesosystem

This section presents literature that focuses on key elements of minority language transmission in a wider minority language-speaking context. The section begins by introducing Fishman's GIDS (1991) which examines a language shift in an endangered language context, then presenting literature related to the roles of minority language schools, minority language-speaking religious communities, and the wider minority language community, at the meso-level.

3.4.1. Graded intergenerational disruption scale (GIDS)

The Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS; Fishman, 1991) was designed to address language shift in indigenous language contexts, but its focus on home, neighbourhood, and community is relevant to migrant contexts. The GIDS is used to classify the threatened status of minority languages and is divided into eight stages. Stage eight is the lowest stage in the GIDS where the language is classified as endangered. In this stage the language is spoken only by a few isolated elderly people. In stage eight the language would disappear when these speakers die. Stage one is the highest on the scale where the language is used in "higher level educational, occupational, governmental and media efforts" (Fishman, 1991, p. 107) nationwide. Obviously migrant languages cannot aspire to this stage, and Korean is certainly not an endangered language in any global sense.

Fishman suggested that stage six is a critical point at which the threatened language is spoken only in informal interactions on a daily basis within language-speaking families and communities (Fishman, 1991; K. King et al., 2008). Stage six on this scale, a 'home-family-neighbour-community' dynamic is identified as a key factor to impact on the intergenerational transmission of a language which is endangered in its context within minority language-speaking communities.

3.4.2. The role of minority language-speaking communities

K. King (2000) emphasised the role of minority communities in fostering positive language ideology and concluded that minority language-speaking communities need to take a leading role in instructing and educating migrant families to speak their minority language with children at home. Findings from K. King's study identified inconsistencies between language beliefs and language practices by minority language-speaking parents that hinder the ITML. Migrant parents often express the need to transmit and maintain their mother tongue to their children in order to keep family ties alive. Even if a minority language is undervalued in a majority society, migrant parents tend to encourage children to speak a majority language for family conversations as parents believe that majority language acquisition enables children to become successful (De Houwer, 2009). This is evident in Kloss' research (1966) on German-speaking communities in the U.S. Despite the first newcomer groups making an effort to maintain German in order to retain their identity and connections with extended families in Germany, the language community faced difficulties maintaining German due to the social environment and movement of people around the globe. It was not considered important to speak German and following two World Wars, German language and culture were not always popular. In comparison to German in this context, the Korean language has become widely popular due to the Korean wave (see Section 2.5). The social, political and international atmosphere, which varies over time and space, is crucial towards understanding the relative success or otherwise of minority language transmission.

Migrant communities are often affiliated with religious groups. Within minority communities, these groups play a key role in fostering cultural values and beliefs across generations (Wang, 2016), but religious groups do not always positively affect intergenerational language transmission (Wang, 2016), as religious services can be delivered in a majority language depending on the social and political atmosphere (Spolsky, 2003). Korean migrant communities tend to socialise by regularly attending church (Magee, 2011). These church-based groups create more opportunities for children of migrant parents to speak their minority language and have exposure to Korean values and beliefs. These groups provide religious services in Korean and host some cultural activities throughout the year. Churches therefore provide an opportunity for Korean children, especially New Zealand-born children of migrant parents, to enhance their ability to speak their minority language as well as learn their parents' values and beliefs outside of the home environment. This enables children to understand their

families' cultural values in a wider context and helps them to develop a cultural and spiritual identity as adults (Wang, 2016).

Minority language communities are seen as playing an important role in minority language maintenance (Fillmore, 1991; K. King, 2000; Kuncha & Bathula, 2004; Office of Ethnic Communities, 2016). As migrant children reach school age, regardless of whether or not they speak their minority language at home, they spend more time speaking the majority language with peers and the majority language becomes their first language (Fillmore, 1991; Fishman, 1991). Migrant parents have been found to encourage children to acquire the majority language, English, for their academic and career pathways as they live in an English language-centred society (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016; Fillmore, 1991; K. King, 2000). Migrant parents, however, have also expressed concern about both communication failure in the minority language and their children's lack of understanding of cultural values and beliefs (Fillmore, 1991; Wang, 2016). Fillmore (1991) highlighted how a minority language loss impedes family communication. When children are first exposed to a majority language environment at school, that language will mainly function as their second language. At this level, learning a second language does not mean losing the first language. However, Montrul (2013) claimed that as children continue to attend school they perceive that speaking the second language, the majority language, is the only way to participate in classroom activities. Children, she argued, then become less motivated to maintain their first language (Fillmore, 1991).

Minority language-speaking communities also play a crucial role in minority language transmission (Berardi-Wiltshire, 2018; Oriyama, 2016). Older speakers' strong attitudes towards linguistic purism can be seen as a negative factor (Dorian, 1994). These adults tend to not accept the use of loanwords from a majority language and criticise younger speakers' language mistakes. When this occurs, children avoid interacting with adult native speakers, therefore parents and children are unable to maintain communication in their minority language, and relationships built on common cultural beliefs and understandings are disrupted. US-born Korean young adults stated that when adult Korean speakers commented on the young Koreans' language mistakes it made them reluctant to speak Korean (Cho, 2000). The study concluded that careless error correction and insensitive criticism impedes intergenerational Korean language transmission and maintenance.

Attending a minority language school, outside of formal educational systems, is seen as a positive factor for children of migrant parents to enhance their minority language proficiency

as well as learning cultural values. Montrul (2013) reported that minority language-speaking children demonstrate their implicit knowledge of the minority language through speaking it at home, but a lack of explicit knowledge that is related to literacy skills in the language. To enhance explicit knowledge for minority language-speaking children, she emphasised the important role minority language schools play. J. Kim (2011) highlighted the important role Korean minority language schools also play in teaching Korean language and culture across generations. J. Kim's study stressed Korean migrant mothers' contradictory concerns about child language development. On one hand, they are concerned about the rupture of family relationships due to a child's language shift, but on the other hand, they focus on mastery of English language acquisition for their children to have positive integration into a host society. J. Kim (2011) found that migrant parents hoped their children would have emotional support from a heritage language school. She argued that due to a lack of English language proficiency children of migrant parents often faced difficulties fully participating in school activities and building relationships with majority language-speaking peers in a school environment. Attending a minority language school enabled children of migrant parents to meet with their same language-speaking peers to share stories and experiences, thus perceiving such linguistic and cultural differences as positives. Minority language schools can be seen as safe spaces for social and emotional support for children of migrant parents.

Although minority language schools make efforts to foster and facilitate minority language-speaking environments, Cho (2000) found that students do not value the grammar-focused approach at Korean schools, and English is often used as the main tool for conversations among students in Korean school environments. A lack of available resources, and professional development for teachers at Korean schools as well as disconnections with formal education systems in a majority society means Korean school teachers face challenges when teaching students (S. Lee & Bang, 2011). The study demonstrated that there is a need to develop conceptual frameworks and pedagogical tools for minority language school teachers that reflect the educational approach of the majority society.

Being immersed in a Korean language-speaking environment is reported as an affective factor in minority language transmission and maintenance (Cho, 2000; Cunningham, 2011). Visiting the parents' home country encourages the children of migrants to become more motivated to learn the language and culture through interactions with extended family in their parents' home country.

3.5. Literature related to the macrosystem

In New Zealand, although the society has become linguistically superdiverse (Spoonley, 2014), a lack of national language policy and public awareness of multilingualism have led the society to remain a monolingual English-focused country (see Section 1.2). The role of majority society can be seen as an influential factor in minority language transmission.

This section presents literature that focuses on the role of majority society play in minority language transmission. Key elements of linguistic environments in mainstream society; a majority society, and educational settings, at the macro-level are reviewed.

3.5.1. Linguistic environment in New Zealand

In the last twenty years New Zealand has become a linguistically and culturally diverse country that has been called superdiverse (Spoonley, 2014). The 2013 census reported that one in four New Zealand residents was born overseas. Among those overseas-born, Asian-born was the highest at 32% (Royal Society of New Zealand, 2014). In 2013, the Asian migrant population had increased to almost 12% of the New Zealand population, larger than the Pasifika population of 7.4% (Royal Society of New Zealand, 2014). Such an increase in the Asian population needs to take into account the place of Asian languages in the linguistic hierarchy system in New Zealand. At present they are grouped with other minority languages after English, Te Reo Māori, New Zealand Sign Language and Pasifika languages (de Bres, 2015). The growth of linguistic diversity may encourage researchers to pay attention to the lack of a national language policy in New Zealand, something that has not been developed to date (Harvey, 2015a; Royal Society of New Zealand, 2013); New Zealand is still a monolingual English-focused country (Umali, 2016).

The greatest language diversity in New Zealand is found in Auckland, the largest city in New Zealand (Royal Society of New Zealand, 2013) where 39% of residents, referred to as Aucklanders, were born overseas, and almost one in four Aucklanders report having an Asian identity (Royal Society of New Zealand, 2014). Although more than 175 languages are spoken on a daily basis in Auckland, about 72% of Aucklanders are identified as monolingual English

speakers (Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland Languages Strategy Working Group, 2015). Among other language groups Korean is the ninth most commonly spoken language (Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland Languages Strategy Working Group, 2015).

Historically, a national language policy was not seen as being necessary due to New Zealand's isolation and low population (Harvey, 2015a). In the early 1990s, however, due to immigration policy changes, immigration to New Zealand increased rapidly (Benton, 1995; Yun, 2015). With population growth and an increasing diversity of languages, a national language policy is seen as being necessary in order to accommodate and support migrant groups and their languages (Waite, 1992a, 1992b). Research findings about increasing linguistic diversity in New Zealand promoted the importance of having a language policy in New Zealand in order to acknowledge and foster multilingual growth (Harvey, 2015a; Human Rights Commission, 2009; Royal Society of New Zealand, 2013; Waite, 1992a, 1992b).

In 1992, the Ministry of Education presented the commissioned report, *Aotearoa: Speaking for ourselves* (Waite, 1992a, 1992b). It examined a linguistic situation where linguistic and cultural issues in New Zealand were identified. In this report, Waite highlighted the important role that minority languages played in both identity development and understanding of diverse cultural values. He emphasised that New Zealand-born migrant children needed to be supported in minority language maintenance and acquisition in both school and home settings. The report recommended that the majority society should consider utilising multilingual speakers as a resource that could make a valuable contribution to society.

In 1991, the Richmond Road School in Auckland was seen as an early successful example of implementing a holistic school-based language policy across the curriculum to foster a linguistically inclusive educational environment (May, 1991). This state primary school had over 70% of Pasifika descent students and 18% Pākehā¹⁰. The school encouraged parents who spoke a language other than English at home to be involved in developing a school language policy in order to reduce social distance between teachers and parents within the school. In this environment, children learned about different cultural and linguistic values. Minority language-speaking children were encouraged to value their language and culture and to be empowered.

¹⁰ New Zealander of European descent - probably originally applied to English-speaking Europeans living in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Retrieved from Māori dictionary:
<http://maoridictionary.co.nz/search?idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&histLoanWords=&keywords=pakeha>

Findings from this study showed the importance of having a language policy that fosters inclusiveness through multilingualism.

Research identified three models of managing diversity in multilingualism and multiculturalism (Castles, 2000). The first model is a differential exclusion model where migrants have limited access to social, welfare and political systems in a majority society. This model views superdiversity as a threat to the maintenance of a national language and culture. The second is an assimilation model, defined as “the policy of incorporating migrants into society through a one-sided process of adaptation” (Castles, 2000, p. 137). A host society expects migrants to give up their language and culture and learn a majority language and culture to become part of the majority population (Barker, 2015). The third model is pluralism where migrants’ language and culture are recognised and accepted. In this model, migrants tend to establish ethnic communities that foster a minority language-speaking and cultural environment in a host country. In New Zealand, due to conflicting government messages about multilingualism and no national language policy, the assimilation and pluralistic models appear to coexist with more focus on the assimilation model (Berardi-Wiltshire, 2018).

In response to the need to developing a national language policy identified at a workshop, hosted by the Royal Society of New Zealand at the Diversity Forum in 2012, the Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland Languages Strategy was launched to foster multilingualism and multiculturalism in super-diverse Auckland where 175 languages are spoken (Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland Languages Strategy Working Group, 2015). The aim of this local document is that, by 2040, residents will benefit from the economic, social, cultural and well-being advantages that multilingualism brings to Auckland. However, this document noted that nearly 72% of residents are still identified as monolingual. The researchers, including the Auckland City Council, provided action plans to support professionals in education, health and social services, communities and business sectors to implement the languages strategy. It is hoped that this will help all languages spoken in Auckland to be transmitted and maintained across generations.

To further foster a multilingual social atmosphere, the Office of Ethnic Communities (2016) promoted the *Heritage and Community Language Celebration Guidelines* to encourage and support heritage language maintenance. These guidelines emphasise the importance of facilitating cultural events where people share their heritage language, culture and food across generations and cultures.

At a government level, increasing multilingualism may be seen as a trend in New Zealand that reflects overseas patterns. The Ministry of Education in New Zealand, took this into account and encouraged education sectors to be more actively involved in minority language maintenance. At an early stage of evaluating a government report, Benton (1995) pointed out that a lack of resources, including proficient bi/multilingual teachers in educational settings, hindered minority language maintenance outside of the home environment. Benton's study suggested that an effective languages policy for new immigrants, especially in early childhood education, could help to focus on minority language maintenance in formal educational settings.

De Bres (2015) argued that a language hierarchy exists in New Zealand with English dominating and other languages being of lesser importance. She emphasised that despite the efforts of minority language speakers to maintain their language, minority language maintenance may not be achieved, because language transmission and maintenance is affected by general acceptance of a language hierarchy where English is paramount. The dominance of English affects perceptions of the value or otherwise of multilingualism and leads most New Zealanders to be monolingual-focused on English (Human Rights Commission, 2009; Royal Society of New Zealand, 2013; Starks et al., 2005; Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland Languages Strategy Working Group, 2015). This monolingual focus may lead both majority and minority language speakers to ignore the minority language development of children from migrant families (De Houwer, 2009). These factors and the prevailing language social atmosphere lead to migrant families choosing to assimilate into mainstream society through English language acquisition because migrant parents feel that success for their children is seen as being intrinsically linked to English language proficiency and so the minority language is neglected.

Spoonley (2014) suggested that the government needs to launch a policy that addresses inclusiveness, discrimination and intercultural aspects. In a global environment, English is still seen as the lingua franca (Cenoz & Gorter, 2011; Choi, 2015), and this both locally and internationally promotes a "socio-political power of English" (Choi, 2015, p. 251). Minority and majority language speakers tend to focus on English language acquisition rather than retaining their minority languages (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016; May, 2012, 2015; Spolsky, 2004). English has become increasingly powerful both politically and economically as evidenced by its use by international organisations (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016) to promote their agendas globally (Spolsky, 2004).

3.5.2. Linguistic environment in educational settings

Previous studies emphasised the important role schools play in minority language transmission and integration into formal educational systems for minority language-speaking pupils (Brooker, 2003; Conteh & Brock, 2011; Fillmore, 1991). Fillmore emphasised the need to foster a multilingual environment at school. This enhances minority language-speaking pupils' feelings about acceptance and sense of belonging to school. Conteh and Brock (2011) supported Fillmore's findings that experiences of bilingual learners in their home, community and school need to be valued and acknowledged and the school environment should be recognised as a safe space by minority language-speaking pupils. To foster safe and accepting environments, Brooker (2003) suggested implementing explicit practice and designing a curriculum for migrant families. Like May's study in New Zealand (1991), these studies demonstrated the important role schools play in minority language transmission by showing cultural awareness in a school environment that empowers students from diverse ethnic backgrounds so they feel comfortable to "perform their identities" (Conteh & Brock, 2011, p. 358).

Minority language-speaking peers can have a positive influence on minority language maintenance through peer-to-peer interactions and become more important than family members in passing on social and cultural values (Spolsky, 2004). Willoughby (2009) emphasised that minority language-speaking peers in a school environment in Australia both enable minority language maintenance for migrant students and help new students to integrate into the school environment. Through peer-to-peer interactions, minority language-speaking students build strong relationships with same language-speaking peers and this helps their acculturation. Findings from Willoughby's study support previous research (Cho, 2015; Nesteruk, 2010) where minority language maintenance is positively affected through interacting with same language-speaking peers and facilitates access to both majority and minority communities that have a common language and culture. However, Willoughby also presented some negative aspects of peer-to-peer interactions between newly-arrived international and resident students in school settings. Due to having different levels of minority language proficiency, understanding about culture and identity development the two cohorts of students tend to interact infrequently when newly-arrived international students are settling into a school environment.

Learning a minority language as a part of the foreign languages curriculum in formal education settings can be seen as a positive factor in minority language transmission. In New Zealand, the Ministry of Education (2014) has promoted *International Capabilities* as a curriculum theme. Secondary students are encouraged to learn a foreign language in order to become global citizens in a superdiverse environment. Learning a foreign language is also seen as enhancing students' cultural awareness. This stated intention is, however, undermined by only a limited number of Asian languages being offered as formal school subjects in contrast to four European¹¹ and three Pacific¹² languages (New Zealand Qualifications Authority, n.d.b) as foreign languages curriculum in the National Certificate of Education Achievement (NCEA). When the Asian languages are offered, the teaching and learning of them is hindered by a lack of qualified teachers.

In New Zealand, English is the main medium of education and minority languages tend to not be spoken on a regular basis within the school environment (Kitchen, 2014b). Choice of foreign languages as part of the NCEA curriculum can be a positive factor at secondary school when minority language-speaking students are developing their self-identity. Korean language is seldom an available option in New Zealand. Some secondary schools in the South Island that belong to a Virtual Learning Network are able to offer an online Korean class as a part of a cluster group¹³.

The recent popularity of the Korean Wave can be seen as a positive factor in formal educational settings. Former research (Stewart-Strobelt & Chen, 2003) indicated that learners' interests in a foreign language led them to choose the language as a school subject and become motivated to learn at secondary school. The study showed that Spanish was seen as the most interesting language and culture amongst secondary school students in the US and over 64% of students chose to learn the language. This can be seen as a common situation both with revitalising indigenous languages and intergenerational transmission of immigrant languages. Poutu (2015) argued that Māori revitalisation would be reinforced if Māori-speaking teenagers saw the language as 'cool' to make them want to use it. Tan (2015) supported this by stating that Te Reo Māori needed to be used in both formal and informal contexts on a daily basis. He emphasised that through using Māori as a main tool in peer-interactions for conversations about

¹¹ French, German, Latin and Spanish are stated as foreign languages for the National Certificate of Education Achievement (NCEA) in the New Zealand Curriculum.

¹² Cook Island Māori, Lea Faka Tonga and Samoan for NCEA.

¹³ See Virtual Learning Network webpage, <https://vln.school.nz/>

music, Facebook and sports, Māori can be regarded as a ‘cool’ language for Māori-speaking children. The literature about ‘coolness’ illustrates that this is a particular concern in ITML as the teenage years are when children are exploring their identity and are very sensitive to notions that their identity and culture are not valued in wider society. In addition to that it is common for teenagers to rebel against their minority language and culture. Korean is exceptional at present because the world-wide Korean Wave provides support for Korean teenage language and identity at a crucial time.

3.6. Chapter summary

The bioecological human development was chosen as the theoretical framework for the present study in order to explore and examine ITML, Korean, in New Zealand. The application of the three systems to the present study guided the study to focus on minority language speakers’ interactions occurring in the micro-, meso- and macrosystems. Based on the chosen theoretical framework and the order of Research Questions, the role of Korean migrant families (micro-level), the wider Korean community (meso-level) and mainstream society (macro-level) in minority language transmission, relevant literature was addressed, presented and discussed.

Chapter 4.

METHODOLOGY

Qualitative research has been proved to be an effective approach in previous and similar research when looking at lived experiences of various human behaviour and development through social interactions. As previous studies show the interview is seen as a major tool for collecting stories from suitable participants. The following sections present the qualitative research approach that was chosen for the present study. They include an overview of the informal pilot study that was carried out prior to the main study and discusses participants, the method of data collection, data analysis and ethical considerations that were the focus of this study.

4.1. Qualitative research

A qualitative research approach aims to investigate and explore specific realities constructed by individuals through social interactions within linguistic, cultural and social contexts (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). By investigating how knowledge and human behaviour affects human development in specific time and place in natural settings (Glesne, 2016) qualitative research purposes to explore and explain individuals' lived experiences and their defined meanings of truth (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2011; Creswell, 2013; Glesne, 2016; Lichtman, 2013; Mutch, 2013) within a specific cultural context (Vélez-Agosto et al., 2017). It often provides in-depth knowledge about how individuals perceive their lived experiences (Lichtman, 2013).

Creswell (2013) argued that such individuals' perceptions are unable to be easily measured, but that qualitative research provides an opportunity to investigate human behaviour at the level of both the individual and the group. Minority language acquisition and transmission is one area of human behaviour that may be studied using qualitative research. In previous research, qualitative research has been found to be an appropriate research approach to use when

focusing on minority language transmission and maintenance (Brown, 2011; Han Chung, 2006; Holmes, 1997; H. Kang, 2013; MacLeod et al., 2013; Mishina-Mori, 2011). Benefits of undertaking qualitative research are being able to explore and to understand different experiences within different environments (Snape & Spencer, 2003). The qualitative research process may support participants to become empowered and help them to address problems or issues (Creswell, 2013). Qualitative research enables the development of a common group of factors about what it means to live as a minority language speaker in a majority society (Brown, 2011; Han Chung, 2006; H. Kang, 2013).

The qualitative researcher's role is crucial in collecting data (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Creswell, 2013; Lichtman, 2013; Mutch, 2013). It is their role to build rapport with participants in order to explore their interpreted world (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). In the present study, the researcher is an insider of the target community, has already developed connections with members of the community and has an understanding of it.

A qualitative question tends to analyse the specific context in specific time in order to understand others' interpretation of contexts (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Creswell, 2013; Mutch, 2013) by using questions to address what is happening at that time and in a specific place. Instead of testing hypotheses, qualitative research explores multiple realities that are shaped by individuals in order to describe the individual's different experiences that are not reflected in generalised results (Lichtman, 2013). Such multiple realities can be constantly updating so that there is a possibility of research questions needing to change and develop (Creswell, 2013). The present research questions (see Chapter 1) were re-worded and follow-up questions added as a result of carrying out an informal pilot study reflecting a research process can possibly change and develop through either a researcher's self-reflection or discordance between theory and practice that emerges as the research progresses (Mutch, 2013).

In qualitative research the method of collecting data plays an important role as it is related to data analysis. Methods of collecting data are often observation, interview and document analysis in order to pursue triangulation (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Cohen et al., 2011). Triangulation is defined as comparing and contrasting multiple sources of data that reinforce reliability in a qualitative study (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Cohen et al., 2011; Lichtman, 2013). This enables the researcher to examine across collected data in order to find any gaps between participants' chosen strategies and implementations. Such cross-examination enhances trustworthiness and rigour in qualitative research.

Research into minority language-speaking communities, however, needs careful consideration regarding data collection methods. Previous studies have revealed problems when collecting data from observation or audio/video-recordings in a home setting (Han Chung, 2006; H. Kang, 2013; J. Kim & Starks, 2005). During video/audio recording as a part of observation, the majority of interactions within Korean families included negative feedback and/or comments on a child's Korean language proficiency and linguistic repertoire in Korean as well as the majority language, English (Brown, 2011; H. Kang, 2013). This appeared to discourage children from willingly participating in the research. In response to Research Question 1, in particular, exploring and examining natural family conversations by video recording can be seen as a useful data collection tool to review family language policy, beliefs and practice in Korean migrant families. This might have enhanced triangulation of the present study. However, due to the small size of the Korean community in the study region, many Korean migrant families are reluctant to record family conversations at home as they believe it is difficult to ensure confidentiality. This has led Korean migrant families to be unwilling to take part in research. Because of this, interviews were chosen as the most effective method to collect data in this study, and facilitated separately with parents and children, in order to see possible differences in the perspectives of parent and child, therefore enhancing triangulation. Interview was recommended as an effective tool for looking at minority language communities in sociolinguistic research (Holmes, 1997).

Open-ended questions in interviews enable a researcher to hear participants' voices and to explore their interpreted world (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Lichtman, 2013; Mutch, 2013; Tolich & Davidson, 1998). Interviews also enable comparison of data across participants to find consensus or otherwise (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007) as well as giving participants opportunities to express emotional responses to perceived issues and problems (Cohen et al., 2011; Lichtman, 2013).

Peer-checking after completing data collection and employing different theoretical approaches in data analysis enhances reliability in qualitative research (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Lichtman, 2013). Peer-checking is defined as an external evaluation process of research conduct and findings that is provided by peers, reviewers or other researchers (Cohen et al., 2011; Creswell, 2013). Peer-checking can be seen as a tool for the prevention of researcher bias as well as promoting thorough data analysis to facilitate triangulation. Another tool is member checking. This refers to both giving participants the opportunity to review their interview transcripts and

to self-evaluating a researcher's field notes from observation that provide the researcher with clarification of data. Research journals and analytical memos used to record a researcher's developed reflections also help prevent bias and promote accurate data analysis leading to enhanced trustworthiness (Mills & Morton, 2013; Yin, 2010).

As data analysis in qualitative research is an ongoing process, codes and categories used in initial stages will need to be developed and changed as the research progresses (Creswell, 2013). It is important for a researcher to remember this throughout the research process in line with their reflections (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Lichtman, 2013). In general, findings are presented as descriptive themes and categories that emerge from inductive data analysis of participants' responses to research questions (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Creswell, 2013; Lichtman, 2013; Mills & Morton, 2013; Mutch, 2013). Themes and categories are also developed and changed inductively throughout the research process and are informed by the literature review, collected data and researcher's ongoing reflections upon the research (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Creswell, 2013; Lichtman, 2013; Mutch, 2013; Yin, 2010). It is, therefore, important that qualitative findings clearly show connections between collected data, previous research findings, and researcher's reflections.

4.2. Informal Pilot Study

4.2.1 Purpose of carrying out an informal pilot study

The aim of carrying out an informal pilot study was to test the data collection instruments and to promote participant recruitment (Glesne, 2016). The research is community-based, and the researcher is an insider of the target community so a snowball sampling method was employed to recruit participants from within the targeted Korean community in the study region, New Zealand. The informal pilot study focused on a Korean mother and son who met the research inclusion criteria for Korean-born parent and New Zealand-born adolescent aged between 16 to early 20s. The mother and son then promoted the study to the wider Korean community and encouraged other potential participants who met the research inclusion criteria to make contact with the researcher.

4.2.2. Korean family recruited for the informal pilot study

The researcher, through her social networks, recruited a Korean immigrant family that was actively involved with the biggest Korean church in the study region. The family comprised a Korean-born father, a Korean-born mother and an 18 year-old New Zealand-born son all living with a Korean-born maternal grandmother. The parents moved to the study region in the late 1990s and the son was born in New Zealand.

The parents and the grandmother spoke Korean as a home language. The son understood Korean when his parents and grandmother communicated with him. However, he preferred to speak English with his parents, and Korean with his grandmother. All family members went to the Korean church where Korean was the dominant language. The son spoke Korean at the church when he engaged with adult Korean native speakers. When the son was at primary school he attended a Saturday Korean language class run by the Korean church. There he learned Korean literacy skills for over two years. The son was proficient in Korean language including written skills, but felt his English was more proficient than Korean.

The researcher first approached the parents to ask them to participate in the informal pilot study. The father recommended that his wife participate, rather than him, because the mother was seen as being responsible for their son's education, including language development. The mother indicated her willingness to participate in the informal pilot study with her son who was also willing to take part.

The mother gave two reasons for taking part in this informal pilot study. The first reason was that she wished to evaluate her son's Korean language proficiency. She had had two opposing opinions on her son's Korean language proficiency: one from the son's maternal grandmother and the other from Korean native speakers at the Korean church. The grandmother often complained about her grandson's lack of Korean language proficiency. Adult Korean native speakers from the church, however, were complimentary about his Korean language ability. The second reason was that the mother wanted to know about family language policy and practices within Korean migrant communities. She explained their home language situation with adults speaking Korean and the son speaking English, and wanted to know about other families. By participating in this pilot study, she could also find out about her son's feelings and attitudes towards Korean language transmission. The aims of the pilot study fitted well with the mother's desire to develop a better understanding of minority language transmission and to be confident in her decision about family language practice.

4.2.3. Process of the informal pilot study

After both mother and son indicated a willingness to participate, separate information sheets and consent forms for both parent and child were provided prior to carrying out interviews. An additional meeting was requested by the mother in order to gain more information about the research. The mother asked about interview questions, ethics applications, the research process and the dissemination of findings.

An interview with the mother was conducted in a room at her work place. Korean was spoken during the interview. The interview was audio-recorded and transcribed by the researcher. A separate interview was carried out with the son at a café in his neighbourhood. A café was seen as a public space that provided a neutral environment in which people would be comfortable to talk about their stories and experiences. A mixture of English and Korean was spoken. However, due to conducting the interview in a café, the quality of audio-recording was unsatisfactory. This result led to carrying out future interviews in quiet public spaces such as seminar or meeting rooms in libraries. After the completion of transcribing, interview transcripts were sent to both the mother and the son for member checking. The son gave permission for the mother to receive his transcript on his behalf.

4.2.4. Lessons learned from the informal pilot study

Both the mother and the son in the informal pilot study provided positive feedback and reflection on the method and process of the present study. Participating in the informal pilot study gave them more insight into the wider study. This led the participants to become more motivated to recruit participants to promote the need to carry out the research and enabled the researcher to be reassured about the process of this research (Glesne, 2016) within the wider Korean community. Both the mother and son then contacted potential participants who met the research criteria, and promoted the present study. As a result, the researcher was able to recruit six families of Korean-born mothers and their New Zealand-born adolescents, and two female New Zealand-born adolescents whose mothers did not want to participate in the study, but allowed their daughters to participate.

The informal pilot study demonstrated that the data collecting process was effective, but also raised some issues. Initial interview questions showed the need to be aware of appropriate

follow-up questions and to use terminology easily understood by participants as they often asked for clarification of questions. The interview environment also had to be considered, to ensure neutrality and quiet. The interview was conducted in the mother's office after work. There were, however, disruptions from her colleagues and customers who came into and went through the office. The interview was stopped by these disruptions and the quality of recording was affected by background noise. The researcher's body language was also important as it could influence responses within a Korean cultural environment by unintentionally indicating the anticipated answers or giving the researcher control. Through this experience, the researcher developed her reflections on the research process and how to effectively carry out interviews in the chosen context (Roulston, 2012).

4.3. Participants

4.3.1. Purposive recruitment

Using a snowball recruitment method, the mother from the informal pilot study played a key role in identifying and making initial contact with potential participants who met the research criteria (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Cohen et al., 2011; Lichtman, 2013; Mutch, 2013). The son also identified potential child participants who were able to speak Korean, but the mother contacted all the potential participants nominated by both mother and son. Following Korean cultural practice the mother asked potential parent participants to ask their children about their willingness to participate in the research. During this process she introduced the aims of the study as well as sharing her experiences, reflections and findings from the informal pilot study. As a result, many potential parent participants were interested in participating in the research and they also encouraged their children to participate. In Korean culture, there is a typical role distinction between father and mother in the family structure, with father "assuming the role of breadwinner, and mother assuming the nurturing and supporting roles in the family" (Han, Kang, Kim, Ryu, & Kim, 2007, p. 139). In line with this cultural norm, Korean fathers declined involvement in the research as in Korean culture mothers are seen as having primary responsibility for children and their education. Previous research supports this argument that Korean mothers are the main caregivers and use Korean language more than Korean fathers (J. Kim & Starks, 2005; S. Kim & Starks, 2010). Findings from a recent New Zealand study (J. King & Cunningham, 2016) showed the important role mothers play in minority language

transmission. In the study, Korean-speaking children reported a significantly high percentage (about 78%) of Korean language transmission through mothers than through fathers (about 52%). The study also reported that Korean teens were found to be more likely than other minority language groups to speak their minority language in New Zealand. Due to the short length of migration history, Korean teens are likely to be the New Zealand-born children of Korean migrant parents, as explained in the description of the Korean context in Chapter 2. In this regard, the present study focused on New Zealand-born children of Korean migrants, between the ages of 16 to early 20s at the time of interview, and their Korean-born parents, looking at Korean language transmission in the study region.

When potential participants indicated their willingness to participate in the study, the mother from the informal pilot study passed on names and contact details to the researcher in order to avoid pressure on the potential participants to agree to take part. More information about the study was then verbally provided by the researcher. During this process participants' Korean language proficiency was verified by the researcher through the researcher's personal knowledge of members of the Korean community, and verbal interactions. Demographic information was verified to ensure they met the research criteria. Once potential participants had agreed to participate in the study, information sheets and consent forms in both Korean and English were sent to parents and children (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Lichtman, 2013; Mutch, 2013) (see Appendices 2-5, 7-13).

Child participants in this research were grouped by their self-reported Korean language proficiency during the recruiting process. The first group focused on optimal situations in ITML. For this group the researcher aimed to recruit New Zealand-born Korean adolescents, who identified themselves as proficient bilingual speakers of Korean and English; referred to in this study as "proficient Korean-speaking children". Eight Korean migrant families, six mothers and eight Korean children, were recruited in this group. The second group of child participants were New Zealand-born Korean adolescents who identified themselves as primarily English speakers, referred to in this study as "limited-proficient Korean-speaking children". In this group, five Korean migrant families, five mothers and four Korean children, were recruited and interviewed. Because of the high rates of intergenerational transmission, recruitment for the second group proved difficult. The scope of the limited-proficiency Korean group was extended to focus on families, where both parents were Korean as well as inter-marriage families where each parent spoke a different mother tongue.

The majority of parent participants, 10 out of 11, actively participated in activities in the wider Korean community and encouraged their children to take part. A previous study suggested that a mothers' level of education influences the use of minority language at home for their children (Golberg, Paradis, & Crago, 2008). Ten out of eleven parent participants and their spouses had tertiary qualifications and were employed either full time or part time at the time of the interview. There were no major socioeconomic and educational differences among participants.

In the following sections, participants from the first and the second groups are described. As participants were recruited as two groups based on self-reported Korean language proficiency, their contextual information is presented by their recruiting groups only to explain each process of recruitment. In order to facilitate anonymity, code names were used. A mother participant was coded as Mother 1. Her son was coded as Child 1(M). A female child participant was coded with a number corresponding to their mother, but identified as female by the letter (F), for example, Child 2(F). Table 4.1 shows participants' code names and their relationships.

Table 4.1. *Participants' Code Names and Age at the Time of Interview*

	Code names for Mothers	Parent's age	Code names for Adolescents and their gender	Adolescent's age
Proficient Korean- speaking children group	Mother 1	40s	Child 1(M)	18
	Mother 2	50s	Child 2(F)	17
	Mother 3	40s	Child 3(M)	18
	Mother 4	40s	Child 4(F)	16
	Mother 5	40s	Child 5(M)	17
	Mother 6	40s	Child 6(M)	17
	N/A	N/A	Child 12(F)	17
limited- proficient Korean- speaking children group	N/A	N/A	Child 13(F)	17
	Mother 7	40s	Child 7(M)	18
	Mother 8	50s	Child 8(M)	23
	Mother 9	50s	Child 9(M)	20
	Mother 10	50s	Child 10(F)	17
	Mother 11	50s	N/A	N/A
12 adolescents				
Total	11 mothers		7 Male adolescents	
			5 Female adolescents	

(N/A—not applicable)

4.3.2. Proficient Korean-speaking children group

Six Korean families with Korean-born mothers and their New Zealand-born children, as well as two additional female child participants, were recruited. Figure 4.1 shows the recruitment process for this group of the research. The mother from the informal pilot study initially contacted three mothers, referred to as Mothers 1, 2, and 3. When these three parent participants indicated their interest they were verbally contacted by the researcher who provided more information. Interview times were scheduled to suit participants. Through the researcher's connections, a Korean woman, referred to as Intermediary 1 who herself did not meet the inclusion criteria, was contacted to promote the study and to recruit more participants. As a result a mother, referred to as Mother 5, showed interest and agreed to be contacted by the researcher.

Interviews were carried out with the four mothers, Mothers 1, 2, 3, and 5. On the completion of their interviews, these mothers indicated their confidence in the study. They then gave permission for their children to participate. After her interview Mother 1 nominated and contacted another mother, referred to as Mother 4. Mother 4 agreed to participate in the research without requesting further information. Mother 5 nominated and contacted Mother 6. Mother 6 was willing to participate in the study and asked the researcher for more information. On the completion of their interviews all parent participants encouraged their adolescent children, referred to as child participants, to participate in the research. Interviews with child participants were then conducted. Child 3(M) nominated two female adolescents, referred to as Child 12(F) and Child 13(F), who met the inclusion criteria and contacted them. The mothers of Children 12(F) and 13(F) did not want their personal stories to be shared, but agreed to allow their daughters to participate in the study.

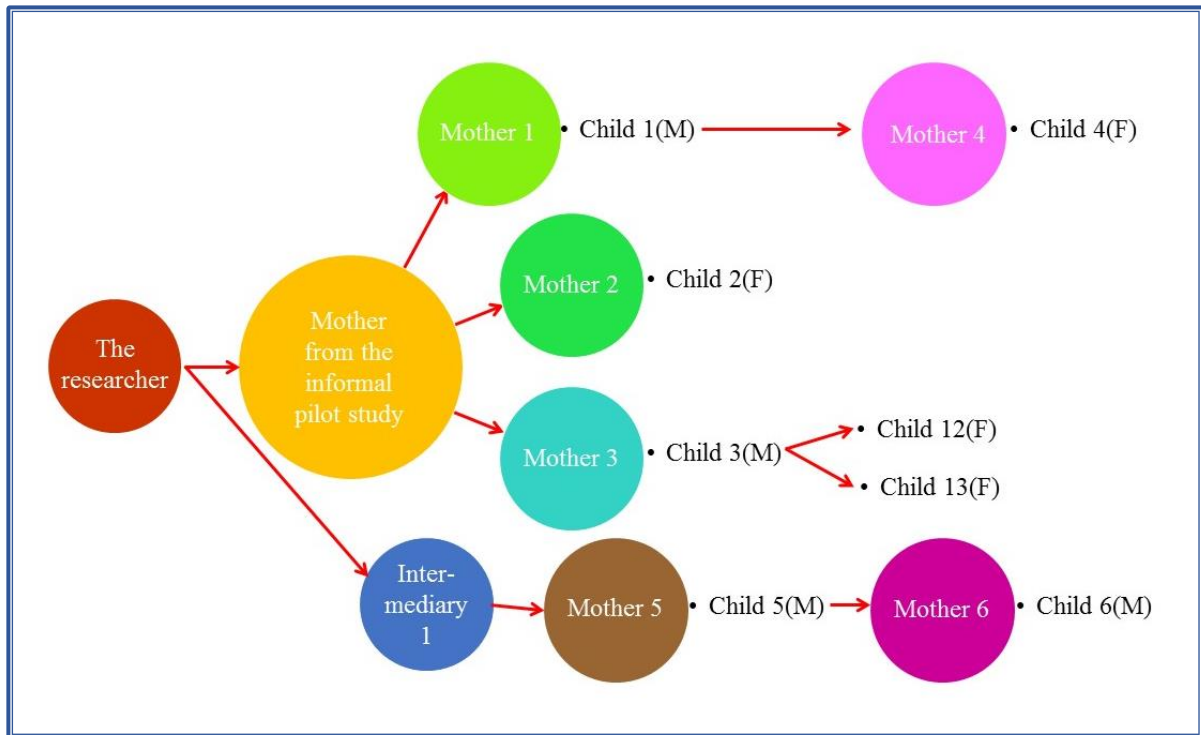


Figure 4.1. Recruitment process for proficient Korean-speaking children group.

All participants from this group spoke Korean as their home language. In all six families, both parents were Korean-born, were tertiary educated, and employed at local businesses. They had all lived in New Zealand for more than 16 years. Demographic information about participants in this group is presented in Table 4.2. To keep confidentiality for participants, detailed demographic information is not included.

Table 4.2. *Demographic Information about Mother Participants for Proficient Korean-Speaking Children Group*

	Mother 1	Mother 2	Mother 3	Mother 4	Mother 5	Mother 6
Home language	Korean	Korean	Korean	Korean	Korean	Korean
NZ-born child(ren)	3	1	3	2	1	2
Korea-born child(ren)	N/A	2	1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Employment	Part time	Full time	Full time	Part time	Full time	Part time
Attending Korean religious groups	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Grandparents' place of residency	NZ	Korea	Korea	Korea	NZ	Korea

(N/A—not applicable)

The following section provides general contextual information about each family's dynamics and daily interactions that influence both the home linguistic environment and child language development as highlighted in the theoretical framework (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1999, 2001; Tudge et al., 2009), but are not a key focus of this research.

Family 1: Mother 1 and Child 1(M)

The mother, referred to as Mother 1, identified herself as being a Korean-oriented person. This self-identity led her to naturally speaking Korean at home and not having a specific family language policy. She lived with her Korean-born husband and three New Zealand-born sons. Her parents lived in the same city so her family regularly interacted with her parents who were

primarily Korean speakers. She worked part time in a primarily Korean-speaking environment. Both she and her husband experienced barriers caused by cultural differences rather than by language differences when interacting with New Zealanders.

Among three sons, only the oldest, referred to as Child 1(M), of the family met the research criteria. He was the most proficient Korean speaker of three brothers. This led him to act as an interpreter for his younger siblings when interacting with his maternal grandparents. Due to his younger brothers' lack of Korean language proficiency the three siblings preferred to speak English with each other. Child 1(M) was born in New Zealand, but lived in Korea for about a year and attended early childhood education in Korea, then came back to New Zealand before the age of three or four. In New Zealand he learned Korean language including Korean literacy and spoken skills from his mother (Mother 1) at home rather than attending a Korean language Saturday school, referred to as a Korean school, in New Zealand. The family attended a Korean church and so had more opportunities to meet with other Korean-speaking families.

Family 2: Mother 2 and Child 2(F)

The mother from Family 2, referred to as Mother 2, identified herself as holding core traditional Korean values whilst having an influence from New Zealand culture. She lived with her Korean-born husband and three children, two Korean-born sons and one New Zealand-born daughter. Both paternal and maternal grandparents lived in Korea. The children, especially her daughter who participated in the research, had regular phone conversations with the grandparents. Korean was the home language. Mother 2 emphasised the importance of maintaining and transmitting Korean language and culture and encouraged her children to speak Korean.

The New Zealand-born daughter, referred to as Child 2(F), had the highest Korean language proficiency of the three siblings. Her close relationship with her mother and living with four Korean-born family members had given her more opportunities to communicate in Korean. Child 2(F) also attended a Korean school in New Zealand for four to five years. However, the siblings preferred to speak Korean until she started her preschool and gradually changed to speak English to each other, but to speak Korean with their parents. This family also went to a Korean church.

Family 3: Mother 3 and Child 3(M)

In Family 3, the mother, referred to as Mother 3, had worked full time for more than 10 years for a non-Korean organisation. Due to her employment, she had actively participated in mainstream society and interactions with monolingual English speakers. She had four children, one Korean-born and three New Zealand-born. The children's grandparents, both parental and maternal, lived in Korea, but the children appeared to have little contact with their grandparents. Some relatives, who were native Korean speakers also lived in the same city. Mother 3 and her husband had Korean as their home language and encouraged their children to speak Korean.

The four children spoke Korean with their parents, but preferred to speak English with siblings. Mother 3 identified that the most proficient Korean language speakers were the oldest, Korean-born son, and youngest, New Zealand-born daughter. The third child, referred to as Child 3(M), participated in the research. He unwillingly attended a Korean school in New Zealand for over four years, but did not have a close relationship with classmates at the Korean school. Family 3 attended a Korean church and were actively involved with church activities.

Family 4: Mother 4 and Child 4(F)

The mother, referred to as Mother 4, lived with her Korean-born husband and two New Zealand-born children. She worked part time in the educational sector and was willing to integrate into mainstream society. She emphasised the importance of learning both Korean and English. Both paternal and maternal grandparents lived in Korea. The children occasionally contacted the grandparents via telephone. Family 4 also spoke Korean as their home language.

Her older child, referred to as Child 4(F), attended a New Zealand-based Korean school for over five years. Child 4(F) believed she had good Korean language skills including written. At the time of the interview, she was motivated to learn Korean language by watching Korean media content including online shopping channels. The younger child from this family was not proficient in Korean so the siblings spoke English with each other. The family regularly attended a Korean church.

Family 5: Mother 5 and Child 5(M)

This family comprised a Korean-born father, Korean-born mother, referred to as Mother 5, and a New Zealand-born son, referred to as Child 5(M). Mother 5 was self-employed in a business

that mainly targeted Korean and other Asian customers. The couple chose to speak Korean as their home language. Child 5(M) was an only child and living with Korean-speaking parents led him to speak only Korean. His paternal grandparents, as well as his uncle's family, lived in the same city. This home environment and having extended family in the neighbourhood enabled Child 5(M) to learn to use Korean honorific language as well as everyday language. Child 5(M) attended a New Zealand-based Korean school for only one year when he was 12 years old, but he had both spoken and written skills in Korean. Family 5 was not affiliated with any Korean religious group.

Family 6: Mother 6 and Child 6(M)

A mother, referred to as Mother 6, and her Korean-born husband lived with two New Zealand-born children. Mother 6 worked part time in a retail business where the majority of customers spoke English. The couple decided to speak Korean as their home language. The paternal and maternal grandparents of the children lived in Korea. The children regularly phoned their grandparents and conversed in Korean.

The older child, referred to as Child 6(M), learned Korean language from Mother 6 at home. He was highly proficient in Korean language including written skills, whereas his younger sister was not proficient in Korean. As a result, the siblings preferred to speak English with each other, and Child 6(M) often played an interpreter's role in family communications. Family 6 was not affiliated with any Korean religious group.

Child 12(F) and Child 13(F)

Two female adolescents, referred to as Child 12(F) and Child 13(F), participated in this research with their parents' permission, but the mothers did not. This section explains their home linguistic environments as described by the participants.

Child 12(F) lived with her Korean-born mother and father as well as her maternal grandmother who all primarily spoke Korean. She had a New Zealand-born older sibling who lived in a different city for his tertiary education. Her parents chose Korean as their home language. Child 12(F) attended a New Zealand-based Korean school for less than six months, but she was able to read and write in Korean. She regularly attended a Korean church with her family.

Child 13(F) had a similar home environment to Child 12(F). She lived with her Korean-born mother and father and her parents chose to speak Korean at home. She had a Korean-born older sibling who was highly proficient in Korean, but resided in another city for his tertiary education. Child 13(F) reported that she and her older sibling spoke Korean with each other. She talked to her Korean-based grandparents in Korean. She attended a New Zealand-based Korean school for four to five years. Her family went to a Korean church and her parents were actively involved with church activities.

Key summary in proficient Korean-speaking children group

All families chose to speak Korean as their home language and maintained contact with grandparents in both Korea and New Zealand. All child participants had learned Korean either at a New Zealand-based Korean community language Saturday school, at a preschool in Korea or at home. All children in the research usually spoke Korean when communicating with parents, but often spoke a mixture of Korean and English or only English with their siblings.

4.3.3. Limited-proficient Korean-speaking children group

The second group of the study focussed on families where minority language transmission was not as successful as in the first group. Due to both the success of Korean language transmission in the Korean community in New Zealand (J. King & Cunningham, 2016), the researcher faced difficulties in recruiting participants who met the inclusion criteria for the second group. The inclusion criteria of the research was then extended to look at inter-marriage families with one Korean and one non-Korean parent and their New Zealand-born adolescents. The five families who participated in this group had Korean-born mothers, but three of them had a Korean-born mother and a non-Korean, New Zealand-born father. One out of three inter-marriage families, Family 9, the child (Child 9) was born in Korea, but was exposed to an English-speaking home environment from birth.

Figure 4.2 shows the recruitment process for limited-proficient Korean-speaking children of the research. Four intermediaries contacted potential participants to introduce and promote the research. They then passed on the details of those potential participants, who had indicated an interest, to the researcher. To avoid coercion, more information about the research and both

information and consent forms were provided to them when they asked to be contacted by the researcher.

Three intermediaries, referred to as Intermediaries 2, 3, and 4, who did not meet the research criterion, but had broad social connections in local communities, were contacted by the researcher in order for them to nominate and contact potential participants. Intermediary 2 was a Korean-born migrant and language teacher at a tertiary education provider. She expressed her interest in the focus of the research as it was her personal question when living in New Zealand. She introduced her cousin's family, Mother 7 and Child 7(M), to the research. Intermediary 3 was a research assistant for the overarching research project, Intergenerational Transmission of Minority Languages (ITML). She passed on her Korean friend's interest in participating to the researcher. As a result a mother and a son, referred to as Mother 8 and Child 8(M), were contacted by the researcher and agreed to take part in the research.

The mother from the informal pilot study nominated and contacted two families with Korean-born mothers and New Zealand-born non-Korean fathers. A mother, referred to as Mother 9, from one of these families directly contacted the researcher to get more information. She then passed on her son's, Child 9(M), contact details to the researcher and agreed to participate. Another mother, referred to as Mother 10, from the other inter-marriage family indicated her interest in participating in the research and encouraged her daughter, referred to as Child 10(F), to take part. Intermediary 4, who was very involved with a Korean school nominated two potential participants and contacted them to introduce the research to them. As a result, a Korean-born mother, referred to as Mother 11, from a family with a New Zealand-born non-Korean father and a New Zealand-born son participated in the study, but her New Zealand-born son did not participate in the research as he did not meet the inclusion criteria.

The researcher provided information to the families when requested and sent information and consent forms to both mother and child. Interviews were separately conducted with five Korean mothers and four children at mutually convenient places and times.

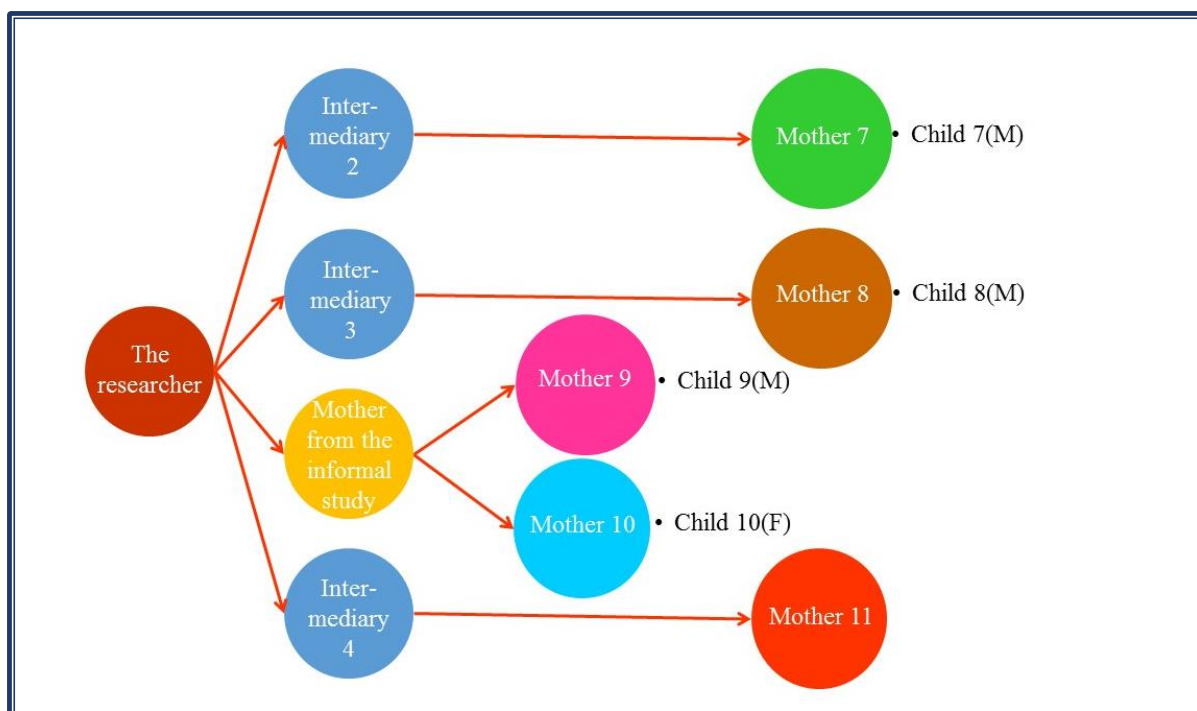


Figure 4.2. Recruitment process for limited-proficient Korean-speaking children group.

The families in this group had different home language policies and practices from the first group families. Mothers 7 and 8 chose to speak Korean as their home language, but allowed their children to speak English at home. Mothers 10 and 11 spoke only Korean at home in order for their children to be able to speak Korean because fathers were New Zealand-born non-Koreans and mothers were Korean-born. Family 9 chose to speak English at home because of the New Zealand-born non-Korean father, even though the mother was Korean-born. All child participants in this group reported having limited proficiency in Korean, but some of them, Children 7, 8, and 10 were able to maintain conversations in Korean with the researcher at their interviews. The researcher observed that, apart from Child 9, child participants showed similar levels of Korean language proficiency, but children from limited-proficient Korean-speaking group appeared to be less confident about their proficiency in Korean. Only Child 9(M) was actually non-proficient in Korean language. Table 4.3 illustrates participants' demographic information, linguistic factors and environment at home.

Table 4.3. *Demographic Information about Mother Participants for Limited-Proficient Korean-Speaking Children Group*

	Mother 7	Mother 8	Mother 9	Mother 10	Mother 11
Home language	Korean	Korean	English	English and Korean ¹⁴	Korean and English ¹⁵
Father	Korean-born	Korean-born	NZ-born	NZ-born	NZ-born
NZ-born child(ren)	2	1	None	2	1
Korea-born child(ren)	None	2	1	None	None
Employment	Part time	Full time	Unemployed	Part time	Part time
Attending a Korean religious group	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Grandparents residency	Korea	Korea	Korea	Korea	Korea

The following section provides more contextual information about family dynamics and daily interactions in this group that could influence their home language and cultural environment as emphasised in the theoretical framework (Bronfenbrenner, 1999; Tudge et al., 2009), but are not a key focus of the findings in this research.

Family 7: Mother 7 and Child 7(M)

A Korean-born mother, referred to as Mother 7, and her Korean-born husband lived with two New Zealand-born sons. Mother 7, who worked in the educational sector, was a fluent

¹⁴ English is a dominant language at home.

¹⁵ Korean is a dominant language at home.

multilingual speaker of Korean, English, Chinese and Japanese. This influenced her to foster a multilingual environment at home, by encouraging her family, especially her children, to learn many languages. Mother 7 and her native Korean-speaking husband chose to speak mainly Korean, but occasionally spoke English and Chinese at home. Both paternal and maternal grandparents lived in Korea. Other relatives, uncles, aunts and cousins, lived in the study region and had regular contact. During interactions with relatives both Korean and English were spoken.

The second son of this family, referred to as Child 7(M), initially reported himself as having limited proficiency in Korean. Child 7(M) did not attend a New Zealand-based Korean school, but was able to communicate with the researcher in Korean. Siblings preferred to speak English with each other. The family attended a Korean church so Child 7(M) could learn to speak Korean using honorific forms when interacting with seniors at church.

Family 8: Mother 8 and Child 8(M)

In this family a New Zealand-born son, referred to as Child 8(M), lived with both Korean-born parents and a Korean-born brother. His mother, referred to as Mother 8, and her husband were joint directors of their own business that targeted both Korean and English speakers. Both paternal and maternal grandparents as well as other relatives lived in Korea. The family appeared to not socialise with either other Koreans or monolingual English speakers. Mother 8 and her children, but not her husband, attended a Korean church. However, due to Child 8(M)'s casual employment he was not always able to attend church.

The family had lived in New Zealand for over 23 years at the time of the interview. During those years this family went backwards and forwards between Korea and New Zealand due to their unstable business situation. Child 8(M) was born in New Zealand, but had his early childhood education in Korea where his younger sibling was born. He attended primary school from year 1 to year 6 in New Zealand and then attended an international English-medium school in Korea for 18 months. When he was in year 8, his family moved back to New Zealand because his younger brother was unable to integrate into the international school in Korea. Of all child participants in the research, Child 8(M) had the most exposure to Korean educational environments. Despite his educational experiences in Korea he reported himself as having limited proficiency in Korean language even though he was able to read and speak Korean.

Family 9: Mother 9 and Child 9(M)

This was the only family in the study where English was chosen as the home language. The Korean-born mother, referred to as Mother 9, lived with her New Zealand-born non-Korean husband and her Korean-born son. This son, referred to as Child 9(M), lived in Korea from birth, moving to New Zealand when he was four years old. During their residency in Korea, the family spoke only English at home. The couple were co-directors of a home-based business when living in both Korea and New Zealand. This led the family, especially Mother 9, to focus on only English language in order to include the monolingual English-speaking father. As a result the father was unable to speak Korean.

Child 9(M) did not interact with his maternal grandparents and relatives in Korea. He used to have phone conversations with his maternal grandmother until he was 12 years old. During these conversations his mother, Mother 9, interpreted and translated into Korean then Child 9(M) copied Mother 9. Due to his lack of Korean language proficiency he has been unable to maintain his Korean family ties. His Korean language was limited to the names for a few Korean dishes and he and his father did not interact with other Korean migrants. They did not attend a Korean church, but the mother regularly met with Korean migrant women and occasionally attended a Korean church.

Family 10: Mother 10 and Child 10(F)

In contrast to the previous family, a mother, referred to as Mother 10, chose to speak Korean language to her children at home. Korean-born Mother 10 lived with a New Zealand-born non-Korean husband and two New Zealand-born children. Her husband was not proficient in Korean, but was supportive of his children speaking Korean. The children from this family spoke English with their father and spoke Korean with their mother. Mother 10 also made an effort to maintain family ties in both Korea and New Zealand. This resulted in her children often visiting their maternal grandparents and relatives in Korea. Mother 10 worked part time in a Korean-speaking environment.

The younger child, referred to as Child 10(F), participated in the research. Initially Mother 10 reported that Child 10(F) was not proficient in Korean. However, Child 10 was able to speak Korean and chose to communicate with the researcher in both Korean and English in her interview. Child 10(F) did not attend a Korean school, but occasionally attended a Korean religious group with her mother. She learned to speak Korean when talking with Mother 10,

and she was able to write Korean with some support, i.e. using Google translate. Child 10(F) spoke English with her older sibling who was more proficient in Korean, and Child 10 and her older sibling spoke Korean with their mother. Mother 10 occasionally went to a Korean religious group and sometimes interacted with other Korean migrants.

Family 11: Mother 11

This family appeared to be the most successful in Korean language transmission among the three inter-marriage families in the research where the father was not Korean. The Korean-born mother, referred to as Mother 11, emphasised the importance of having an ability to speak many languages as she was fluent in English, German and Chinese. Her New Zealand-born husband was fluent in Korean and motivated to learn other languages. In the past her husband had won a scholarship in a Korean language proficiency test for non-Korean speakers. These factors led the couple to speak Korean at home.

Their New Zealand-born son did not meet the inclusion criterion as he was 14 years old at the time of his mother's interview. However, his mother (Mother 11) reported that her son was highly proficient in Korean and won first prize in a Korean language speech contest at a Korean school. He attended a Korean school in New Zealand from the age of four. The family spoke only Korean at home until the son started primary school. Due to the mother's lack of knowledge about the New Zealand educational system, the father started speaking English with the child in order to explain the system. Since then their family language policy has been for the father to speak English and mother to speak Korean. Mother 11 was very involved with the wider Korean community. She attended a non-Korean church, but her son attended a Korean church with his Korean-speaking-peers.

Key summary in limited-proficient Korean-speaking children group

Child participants from this group were recruited because they initially reported having no, or limited, proficiency in Korean. Four out of five parent participants spoke Korean language at home, maintained their family ties with grandparents and relatives in Korea, and attended Korean religious groups. Only Mother 9 chose English as her home language although she attended a Korean church and regularly interacted with Korean migrants. She did not, however, make an effort to allow her son to maintain Korean family ties.

One out of four child participants had his early childhood and primary education in Korea. Three child participants had visited Korea several times and had frequent phone contact with their Korean-based grandparents.

With parental input and extended family dynamics that encouraged Korean language use, a majority of child participants from the limited-proficient Korean-speaking were able to maintain their Korean language proficiency. One child participant, Child 9(M), however, remained non-proficient in the Korean language.

4.3.4. Child participants' language acquisition

All child participants have been exposed to a Korean-speaking environment from birth and to an English-speaking environment since the age of three to five. Except Child 9, child participants can be referred to as both early and simultaneous bilinguals, but feel English is their primary language with Korean as a secondary language used only in limited contexts.

Six families in this study sent their children to a Korean school in the study region, New Zealand. Family 1 sent Child 1 to a preschool in Korea. Two parent participants taught their children Korean at home, including literacy skills, and three parent participants taught their children only verbal skills in Korean. Only one family, Family 9, did not teach their son Korean. Table 4.4 shows how children acquired Korean language and their reported proficiency in Korean language.

Table 4.4. *Methods of Learning Korean Language for Child Participants and Their Reported Korean Language Proficiency*

Speaking Korean at home and learning Korean literacy at a Korean school in NZ	Speaking and learning Korean literacy at home	Only Speaking Korean at home	Exposure to school settings in Korea	None	Self-reported Korean proficiency (including written skills)	Researcher's assessment of child's Korean proficiency in verbal skills
	Child 1		Child 1 ¹⁶		Proficient	Proficient
Child 2					Proficient	Proficient
Child 3					Proficient	Proficient
Child 4					Proficient	Proficient
Child 5					Proficient	Proficient
	Child 6				Proficient	Proficient
		Child 7			Limited-proficient	Proficient

¹⁶ Child 1 went to a preschool for over a year in Korea.

		Child 8	Child 8 ¹⁷		Limited-proficient	Proficient
				Child 9	No-proficient	No-proficient
		Child 10			Limited-proficient	Proficient
		Child 12			Proficient	Proficient
		Child 13			Proficient	Proficient
Total	6	2	3	1	12	

¹⁷ Child 8 went to an international school in Korea for 1.5 years.

Children learnt Korean including literacy skills by either attending a Korean school in New Zealand, attending a preschool in Korea or learning at home. Children 1 and 6 acquired Korean literacy skills at home, and other child participants, Children 2, 3, 4, 5, 12 and 13 learned literacy skills in Korean at a New Zealand-based Korean school. All these children reported being proficient in Korean language. In contrast to these children, Children 7, 8 and 10 who did not attend a New Zealand-based Korean school, reported a lack of Korean language proficiency. Acquiring literacy skills in Korean reinforces New Zealand-born Korean children's competence and self-confidence in their minority language proficiency and appears to give child participants the confidence to identify themselves as Korean speakers.

4.3.5. Section summary

All the parent participants in this research had similar English language proficiency, socio-economic status and educational backgrounds, but some fathers did not speak Korean (Families 8 and 9). The majority of both parent and child participants were proficient in speaking Korean language, attended a Korean church and interacted with other Korean migrants as well as extended families in Korea. Table 4.5 presents a summary of demographic factors in Korean language transmission for child participants in this research.

Table 4.5. *Summary of the Demographic Factors in Transmitting Korean Language for Child Participants*

	Home language	Language spoken with siblings	Attending a Saturday Korean school in NZ	Attending a pre/school in Korea	Attending a Korean religious group	Interactions with Korean- speaking extended families	Father's mother tongue	Father's Korean language proficiency	Child's ability to manage conversation in Korean
Child 1(M)	Korean	English	N	Y	Y	Y	Korean	Proficient	Able
Child 2(F)	Korean	English	Y	N	Y	Y	Korean	Proficient	Able
Child 3(M)	Korean	English	Y	N	Y	Y	Korean	Proficient	Able
Child 4(F)	Korean	English	Y	Y	Y	Y	Korean	Proficient	Able
Child 5(M)	Korean	N/A ¹⁸	Y	N	N	Y	Korean	Proficient	Able
Child 6(M)	Korean	English	N	N	N	Y	Korean	Proficient	Able
Child 7(M)	Korean	English	Y	N	Y	Y	Korean	proficient	Able
Child 8(M)	Korean	English	N	Y	Y	Y	Korean	proficient	Able

¹⁸ Child 5 was the only child in his family.

Child 9(M)	English	N/A ¹⁹	N	N	N	N	English	Non-proficient	Unable
Child 10(F)	Korean and English	English	N	N	Y	Y	English	Non-proficient	Able
Child from Family 11 ²⁰	Korean and English	N/A	Y	N	Y	Y	English	Proficient	Able
Child 12(F)	Korean	English	Y	N	Y	Y	Korean	Proficient	Able
Child 13(F)	Korean	English	Y	N	Y	Y	Korean	Proficient	Able

(N/A–not applicable, Y–yes, N–no)

¹⁹ Child 9 was the only child in his family.

²⁰ The child from Family 11 did not meet the research inclusion criteria.

4.4. Ethical considerations

The role of the interviewer is important in the data collection process as the interviewer may contribute to co-constructing the interview settings. This may lead the interviewer to make an “easy assumption of empathy [that] potentially stifles research” (Mann, 2011, p. 10), and that could raise ethical considerations about the researcher being neutral and impartial during interviews. Ethical approval is seen as a crucial process to overcome anticipated ethical considerations. The present study had received ethical approval from the Human Ethics Committee at the University of Canterbury. The proficient Korean-speaking children group of the study was approved on February 26th 2015 (Appendix 1) and the limited-proficient Korean-speaking children group of the study was approved on November 2nd 2015 (Appendix 6).

Due to a community-based setting with an inside researcher from the community, the recruiting process was carefully planned. As the researcher had been very involved with the target community, power relationships needed to be considered (Cullen, 2005; Locke, Alcorn, & O'Neill, 2013). Power relationships within this community have the potential to positively or adversely affect participation in the research (Locke et al., 2013; Tolich & Davidson, 1998). To avoid coercion in the present study, a snowball sampling was employed, in that intermediaries played a crucial role in nominating and recruiting participants. Informed consent for voluntary participation was required. When potential participants, who were referred by various intermediaries, indicated their willingness to participate in the research, information sheets and consent forms were separately sent to both parents and children (Snook, 2003) in two languages, Korean and English. Two types of information sheets were produced in order to accommodate the two groups of participants in the present study, one for proficient Korean-speaking families (Appendices 2-5) and the other for limited-proficient Korean-speaking families (Appendices 7-9). Consent forms are the same for both family groups (Appendices 10-13).

Providing an information sheet and consent form in two languages enabled potential participants to understand the nature of the research and the format of the research process. It is important to give information sheets and consent forms to participants prior to taking part in a research project. Participants were advised that they were able to withdraw from the research at any time. Voluntary participation was re-checked by the researcher before interviews to verify participants' continued willingness to participate (Finch, 2005; Locke et al., 2013).

Participants were asked to give separate permission for the use of parts of the audio recording as part of a larger research project. One of the goals of the present study was to present findings on the Greening Project website (Growing up with two languages, 2016). In the consent form there were sections for participants to indicate their agreement for the use of interview recordings on the website, for conference presentations and to allow a transcript of their interview to be securely stored for future reference (Lichtman, 2013). Collected data was to be used with participants' agreement. The data would be securely stored in a locked cabinet and on a password protected computer in the researcher's office. Only the researcher and their supervisors would have access to the data.

In order to avoid both expectations of providing hospitality and experiencing intrusiveness participants were asked where they would prefer the interview to take place (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). In Korean culture it is very important to be hospitable to visitors, offer food and drink and to be courteous even if the host would prefer otherwise. Previous studies carried out interviews in public settings (Brown, 2011; H. Kang, 2013) as conducting interviews at a participant's home may create an undesirable power relationship that favours either the interviewer or participants. A neutral environment may be more beneficial (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). Experience from the first few interviews suggested that seminar rooms in city or school libraries could be a neutral environment for both parents/caregivers and child participants. These rooms often had big glass windows to ensure the safety of both child participants and the researcher so there was no need for a chaperone/support person from the community. Carrying out interviews at these venues provides a neutral environment and gives clear recordings of the interview.

If parents are present when children are interviewed, children may be unwilling to be frank about their experiences. Children may tell a story about their experiences that favours their parents to show respect. Brown (2011) identified discrepancies between parent and child perception of interactions using Korean language through carrying out separate interviews with children. In Brown's study, parent participants emphasised putting in a huge effort to maintain Korean for children. In contrast to parents' perceptions, child participants in Brown's study stated that interactions in Korean with parents at home were minimal and parents gradually spoke more English as their English language proficiency improved. So Brown (2011) concludes that there was a discrepancy between parents' beliefs about minority language maintenance and their practices.

Due to the small size of the target community, and referral from the same intermediaries it was possible that both participants and other people from the community could recognise those participants who gave permission to use interview recordings on the website, from both the sound of their voice and information that was revealed in any audio clip (Kvale, 1996). Participants who agreed that their recordings could be used on the website were fully informed about the possibility that their voice may be recognised. To facilitate anonymity and confidentiality codenames were given to all participants (Kvale, 1996; Tolich & Davidson, 1998) and used for both recordings and transcripts. Both transcription and translation were completed by the researcher to minimise revealing identities (Kvale, 1996).

Previous studies have showed that there was a possibility that participants may reveal private issues (Brown, 2011; H. Kang, 2013). The researcher was aware of this possibility and the need to carefully deal with the situation within the cultural norm or stop interviews to minimise breaches of privacy (Cullen, 2005; Lichtman, 2013; Tuhiwai, 2008). This enabled the researcher to carry out interviews in a professional manner especially when two participants appeared to reveal private matters during their interviews.

4.5. Data collection

In a qualitative study interviews are seen as one of the prime tools for collecting data in order to capture real stories from specific individuals in specific contexts (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Mann, 2011; Mutch, 2013; Silverman, 2006). Interviews enable the researcher to look closely into identified issues or gaps, and understand more about participant perspectives of their shared realities (Davidson, Tolich, & Pearson Education New, 1999; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

In the present study, interviews are crucial to investigate Korean migrant families family language policy, practice and the implications, based on their language beliefs, self-identity and culture (Mann, 2011; Talmy, 2011; Talmy & Richards, 2011), for Korean language transmission while living in New Zealand where English is the dominant language. Interviews also explore the role of the wider Korean community in ITML, and how it influences both Korean migrant families and New Zealand mainstream society in fostering a multilingual environment.

An interviewer needs to consider the interview as an “interview-as-local-accomplishment” process rather than “interview-as-technique” to simply collect data (Mann, 2011, p. 11). This means the interview needs to be regarded, not only as a research instrument, but also as a social practice where knowledge and meaning can be negotiated and co-constructed by both interviewer and interviewee (Talmy, 2011). Interviews were conducted and documented by the researcher to collect in-depth data including observation of participants’ emotional reactions (Lichtman, 2013). According to Mann (2011), an interviewer plays a crucial role in conducting interviews because “interview talk is inevitably a co-construction between the interviewer and interviewee” in sociolinguistic research (p. 9). In this research the researcher’s insider status and understanding about the context of and social connections with the target community helped build rapport with participants. This led participants to feel comfortable to share their stories about minority language transmission.

Interview questions are crucial to understand and explore participants’ understanding of, and interpretation about, their perceived reality. As the present study evolved from J. King and Cunningham’s Greening Project on successful ITML (see Section 1.2), some key interview questions from that study were used. In addition to this, there were further and in-depth questions that were generated from the theoretical framework in order to examine specified research questions: what attitudes and experiences Korean migrant families with New Zealand-born young adults who have been raised as minority language speakers, or otherwise, have, and how the Korean migrant families feel about their linguistic choices and practices when living in an English-speaking country (see Section 1.3).

The interviews were semi-structured. Follow up questions, and a list of open-ended questions (see Appendices 14-17), were developed in order to elicit a broad range of information (Lichtman, 2013) and answer the research questions. Interview questions for both parent and child participants consisted of three aspects: background information and linguistic experience, attitudes towards and beliefs about Korean language transmission, and consequences. Table 4.6 explains the three aspects and related interview questions.

Table 4.6. *Key Aspects of Research Questions and Related Interview Questions*

Aspects	Interview questions for parent participants	Interview questions for child participants
Background information and linguistic experience	Questions 1-3	Question 1
Attitudes towards, and beliefs about Korean language transmission	Question 4	Question 2
Consequences	Questions 5-6	Questions 3-4

To effectively carry out interviews, developing a good rapport with participants is necessary (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Mutch, 2013), especially in Korean culture. This enabled both participants and the researcher to have trust in the process and feel that findings may have benefits for both researcher and participants (Harrison, MacGibbon, & Morton, 2001).

Semi-structured interviews were carried out separately for parent and child participants. Interviews with mothers lasted 40-118 minutes and interviews with child participants lasted 30-50 minutes. Table 4.7 shows the length of interview for each participant.

Table 4.7. *Length of Interview Time*

	Parent participants	Length	Child participants	Length
	Mother 1	55 min	Child 1(M)	41 min
	Mother 2	49 min	Child 2(F)	44 min
	Mother 3	58 min	Child 3(M)	52 min
	Mother 4	56 min	Child 4(F)	41min
	Mother 5	40 min	Child 5(M)	32 min
	Mother 6	46 min	Child 6(M)	31 min
	Mother 7	52 min	Child 7(M)	37 min
	Mother 8	57min	Child 8(M)	41 min
	Mother 9	1 hr 59 min	Child 9(M)	37 min
	Mother 10	1 hr 4 min	Child 10(F)	47 min
	Mother 11	58 min	N/A	N/A
	N/A	N/A	Child 12(F)	43 min
	N/A	N/A	Child 13(F)	51 min
Total	11 parent participants	10 hr 54 min	12 child participants	8 hr 17 min

(hr–hour(s), min–minute(s), N/A–not applicable)

Seminar rooms in a library, mostly in university libraries, were chosen to carry out interviews. A library was seen as an appropriate and safe place for both providing a neutral environment and getting clear recordings. Interviews were audio-recorded using three different devices, a voice recorder, a dictaphone and a smart phone.

Some participants, however, chose a different venue in which to conduct their interviews in order to meet their personal preference. Mother 1 invited the researcher to her home because it

was more convenient for her. Mother 4 and Child 4(F) also had their interviews separately in their home for the same reason as Mother 1. The interviews for Mother 1, 4, and Child 4(F) were clearly recorded in their home settings without any disruption. Also an interview with Mother 6 was conducted in the presence of her younger child, who did not meet the inclusion criteria, in their home.

Participants chose the interview language, either Korean or English or both, as they preferred. The use of the participants' preferred language in interviews facilitates a natural environment and assists in developing understanding between the researcher and the participants about the interview questions (Mann, 2011). Table 4.8 presents participants' language choices. All parent participants spoke Korean and the majority of child participants spoke English. Some of the child participants were questioned in Korean, by the researcher, and answered in both English and Korean.

Table 4.8. *Participants' Chosen Language for Interview*

	Parent participants	Chosen language	Child participants	Chosen language
	Mother 1	Korean	Child 1(M)	Korean
	Mother 2	Korean	Child 2(F)	English
	Mother 3	Korean	Child 3(M)	English
	Mother 4	Korean	Child 4(F)	English
	Mother 5	Korean	Child 5(M)	English & Korean
	Mother 6	Korean	Child 6(M)	English & Korean
	Mother 7	Korean	Child 7(M)	English
	Mother 8	Korean	Child 8(M)	English
	Mother 9	Korean	Child 9(M)	English
	Mother 10	Korean	Child 10(F)	English & Korean
	Mother 11	Korean	N/A	N/A
	N/A	N/A	Child 12(F)	English
	N/A	N/A	Child 13(F)	English
Total	11 parent participants		12 child participants	

(N/A—not applicable)

On the completion of interview transcription, participants were invited to do member checking (Cohen et al., 2011; Lichtman, 2013). Transcripts of the interviews were given to participants in order to give them the opportunity to review or change before data analysis began (Creswell, 2013) (see Appendices 18-19). All parent participants met individually with the researcher to review the transcript of their interview. Some parent participants asked questions about their transcript and wanted to keep a hard copy. Other parent participants did not wish to have a hard

copy or to ask questions. Some child participants gave permission for their mothers to do member checking on their behalf, and some preferred to receive their transcripts via email. All participants commented how much they appreciated participating in the present study; they reported that they were surprised by how much they had to offer the study, and were able to reflect upon their own situation through questions from the researcher (see Appendix 20).

Interview data was compared across interviewees: parent and child participants from the same family, between parent participants from different families, and between child participants from different families (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). There are agreements and contradictions between parent and child or between participants. These findings are presented in the Chapters 5-7 and the discussion is in the Chapter 8.

Transcripts of interviews are unable to capture the whole atmosphere of interviews and participants' emotions and reactions (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Lichtman, 2013; Mutch, 2013). To overcome this limitation of qualitative interview study, field notes were taken by the researcher during and after interviews to record both the interview scene and participants' body language and gestures (Mills & Morton, 2013). In addition, a research journal was kept, documenting the researcher's thoughts, ideas and reflections on emerging understanding of the data and the researcher's supervision questions throughout the research (Mutch, 2013). These two additional tools supported accuracy and enhanced triangulation to facilitate rigour and trustworthiness (Yin, 2010).

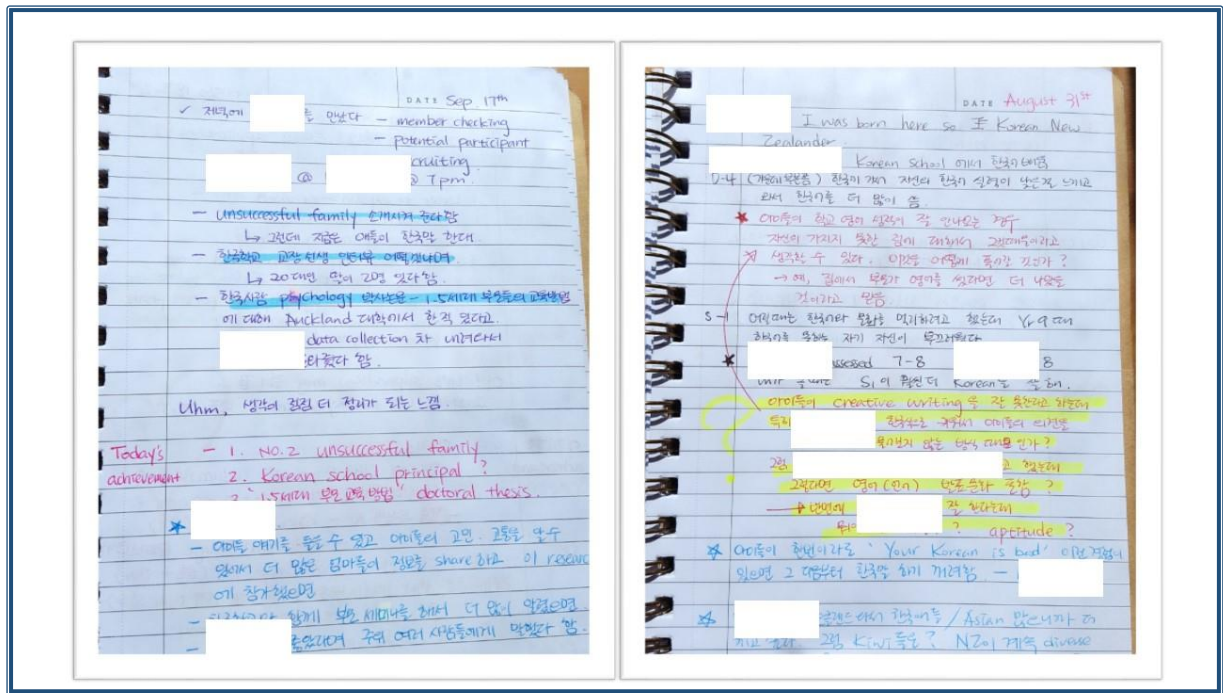


Figure 4.3. Example of field note (left) and research journal (right) with participants' names and code names deleted.

Triangulation is defined as utilising multiple ways of both collecting and analysing data from various sources with different perspectives (Cohen et al., 2011; Mutch, 2013). Member checking, field notes during the interview and recording the research journal were ways of checking data accuracy to facilitate triangulation.

Peer-checking with two research assistants from the Greening Project as well as the supervisors of the present study was also conducted in order to both support data analysis and reinforce triangulation (Cohen et al., 2011; Patton, 2002). In addition to peer-checking, co-coding with one of the research assistants was also carried out to support trustworthiness. Such processes and regular meetings with research assistants and supervisors enabled the researcher to develop reflections about the research and its process. In doing this, the researcher had more opportunities to reflectively conduct interviews during the research and critically analyse collected data.

Upon the completion of the present study, findings will be provided to all participants in order to disseminate the research and to support minority language communities in their language

policy and practice (Appendix 21). Doing this increases reciprocity and reinforces trustworthiness (Harrison et al., 2001).

During the data collection process for proficient Korean-speaking children, within the first six interviews, the data saturation occurred for the researcher that similar information was given by participants. The concept of data saturation is defined as the point of repeatedly obtaining the same collected data (Guest, Bunce, & Johnson, 2006), when “no additional issues are identified, data begin to repeat” (Hennink, Kaiser, & Marconi, 2017, p. 592). This was reached when interviewing Mother 4 in this group, and formed within the first six interviews. In the limited-proficient Korean-speaking children, there were two families comprised of limited-proficient Korean-speaking children: both Korean parents (Families 7 & 8) and parents spoke different mother tongues (Families 9-11). Similar information was collected from Families 7 and 8. Among Families 9-11, the data saturation was reached when interviewing Mother 10.

Key point summary

Interviews are the major tool of this qualitative study. Interviews were carried out with 11 parent participants and 12 child participants for various lengths of time, mainly in a library seminar room. Transcripts of their interviews were given to all participants for member-checking. Field notes were written during and after interviews, in order to capture participants’ emotional behaviour and gestures. A research journal was also kept throughout the research process.

Field notes and a research journal were also employed in the data collection. To overcome the limitations of data collection for the present study, member-checking, peer-checking and reviewing and evaluating with additional research assistants enhanced triangulation that facilitated and promoted rigour and trustworthiness in the research. The data was saturated within the first six interviews in proficient Korean-speaking families and within the first two interviews in limited-proficient Korean-speaking families as similar information was repeated during the data collection.

4.6. Data analysis

Qualitative research analyses data using “inductive thinking” (Lichtman, 2013, p. 19) on descriptive materials to answer research questions (Creswell, 2013). Themes and categories emerge during data analysis leading to findings (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). Carrying out both an informal pilot study and a preliminary literature review enabled the researcher to develop more understanding about the research process. Previous studies clearly pointed out the benefits of developing potential themes from a literature review and making connections between a pilot study, a literature review and research questions (Drew, Hardman, & Hosp, 2008). As interviews progressed, the researcher started comparing, grouping and examining emerging codes from transcripts and the research journal along with patterns from the pilot study and the literature review (Yin, 2010). As found previously by several researchers, codes and themes changed as the research progressed (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Creswell, 2013; Lichtman, 2013). Some patterns and themes emerged, developed and changed as interviews progressed so the researcher drew attention to those changes to make connections to the literature review and research questions.

The main data source for the present study was interviews. Keeping a research journal with analytical memos and field notes throughout the research process also helped to develop codes while reading and re-reading interview transcripts (Mills & Morton, 2013). Field notes could be referred back to, to avoid misrepresenting anything that participants said. The research journal helped to both develop reflections about the research and its process and to “consider a more ongoing reflexive approach” (Mann, 2011, p. 19). Table 4.9 shows the quantity and time for transcribing and producing both field notes and research journal.

Table 4.9. *Quantified Data from Data Collection*

Collected data	Pages (A4)	Time
Transcription in total	559	117 hours
Average of mothers' interviews	35.4	59.5 minutes
Average of children's interviews	14.2	41.4 minutes
Transcription word count in total	232,395	
Average of mothers' interviews	14,262.5	
Average of children's interviews	6292.3	
Field notes	41	During and after interviews
Research journals	94 (B5 size)	Weekly produced

During data analysis three aspects that were outlined in previous studies (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996; Mann, 2011; Mills & Morton, 2013) were considered in order to present collected data. These aspects are; what participants want to speak about; how this is relevant to research questions in the present study; how the collected data makes connections with participants. Research journals and analytical memos help the researcher avoid being biased and to develop reflections during this process. Doing this enhanced the possibility of carrying out sound research that delivers participants' voices (Mutch, 2013).

NVivo was used to organise codes that facilitated the development of themes from collected data (see Figure 4.4). During the data analysis process, emerged and developed coding were compared and contrasted through the theoretical lens to enhance trustworthiness (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Lichtman, 2013).

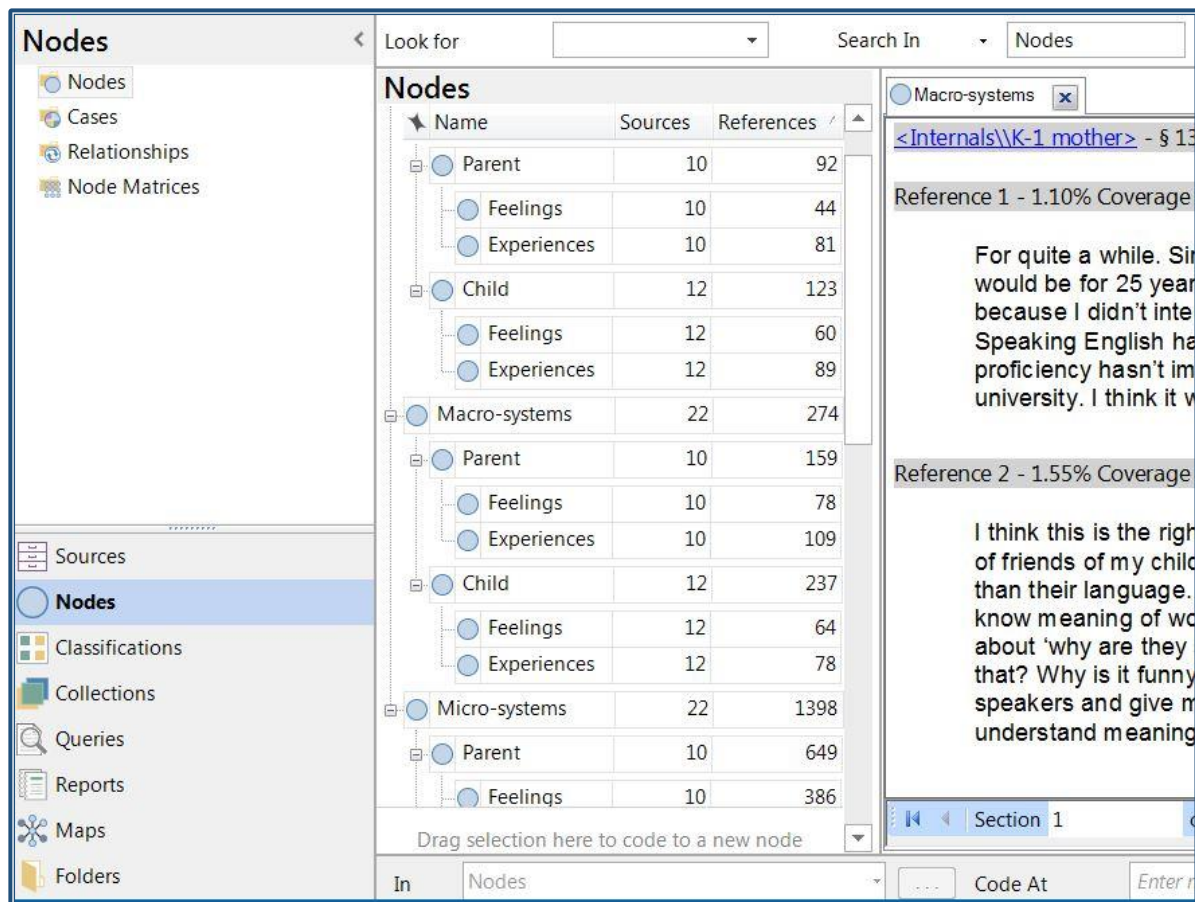


Figure 4.4. Using NVivo for developing codes, categories and themes in data analysis (initial stage of coding).

Thematic analysis was conducted within emerged codes from the initial data analysis process. Thematic analysis approach is seen as a useful tool for identifying issues and reporting common patterns across an entire set of interview data (Vaismoradi, Turunen, & Bondas, 2013). Table 4.10 shows the process of thematic analysis in the research.

Table 4.10. *Process of Thematic Analysis*

Analysis phases	The descriptions
Processing of raw data	Transcribing, translating and noting initial ideas
Coding	Reading and re-reading data, and coding
Grouping for themes	Systematically sorting and gathering relevant codes
Renaming and defining themes	Refining some specific themes and seeking for generating names
Reviewing themes	Verifying connections with research questions, theoretical framework and the literature
Confirming themes	

Through a bioecology of human development theory lens research questions collected interview data that was separated to reflect participants' feelings and experiences of transmitting Korean language within different contexts in New Zealand. Some codes were grouped by identifying similar nuanced or identified issues that related to different areas of the theory used; micro-, family and extended family interactions; meso-, Korean-speaking interactions within the wider Korean community; and macro-, Korean and non-Korean-speaking interactions in a majority society, systems. According to NVivo's data analysis process, collected data for the microsystem was more numerous than it was for the macrosystem, with this followed by the amount of collected data for the mesosystem. The number of coding references for the microsystem was 1,398, the mesosystem 215 and the macrosystem 396. The sum of coding references for experiences was 1,119 and feelings were 1,108. It showed that data regarding experiences and feelings were collected at almost the same amount, but slightly more was collected about feelings. Figure 4.5 shows the quantity of coding reference that emerged from the collected data.

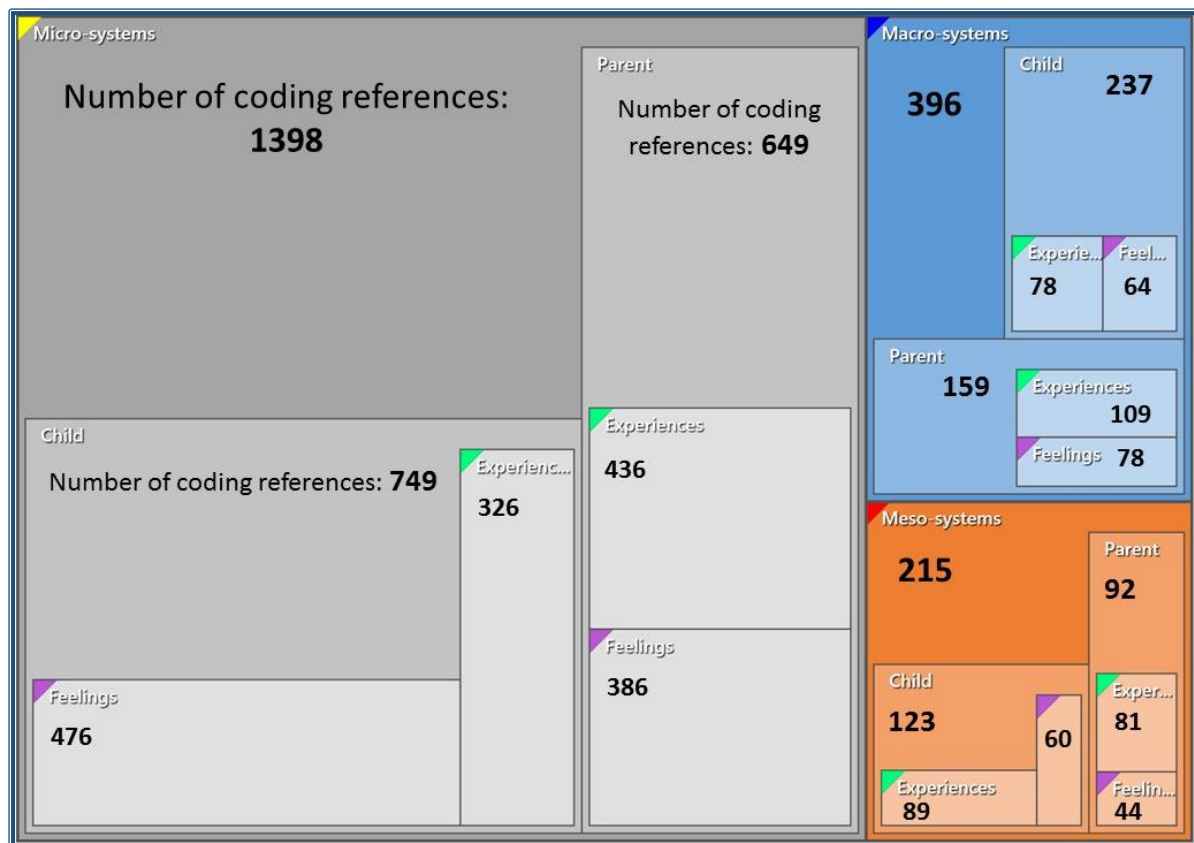


Figure 4.5. Quantity of coding reference that emerged from the collected data.

The researcher then categorised the most commonly emerging codes from both collected data and the literature review and systematically constructed a hierarchy to develop themes (Vaismoradi et al., 2013). The themes were categorised to three systems in the theoretical framework, bioecology of human development theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1999, 2001), in this research. During this process thematic saturation was achieved by between the first 12 to 13 interviews when analysing Family 6's and Family 7's interviews. The definition of thematic saturation is defined as the point when new themes were no longer raised or categorised to existing themes in the emerging and developing codebook (Hennink et al., 2017). Meaning saturation is defined as the point "when no further dimensions, nuances, or insights of issues can be found" (Hennink et al., 2017, p. 594), and this was reached by 18 to 19 interviews when analysing interviews of Family 9. The present study supports findings from previous studies (Guest et al., 2006; Hennink et al., 2017), that 12 interviews would be adequate to achieve a meaning saturation level that enables the researcher to understand the collected data and develop themes to identify answers to the research questions.

In this process, themes were separated into the micro-, meso-, and macrosystems to analyse the data through the perspective of the theoretical model. When examining child-parent interactions at home in the microsystem using thematic analysis, several themes emerged. The themes have been labelled: family language policy; family language beliefs; family language practice; and consequences of family language choices. Findings from the microsystem will be presented in Chapter 5.

In the mesosystem, interactions between Korean speakers, outside of the family, within the wider Korean-speaking community were analysed and examined. Four themes emerged: attendance at a Korean community language Saturday school; participation in a Korean religious community; exposure to the wider Korean community; and influence on Korean language transmission through visiting Korea. Findings from the mesosystem will be discussed in Chapter 6.

In contrast to the micro- and mesosystems where the linguistic context is Korean, the macrosystem linguistic context is English. The focus of the macrosystem is mainstream society where English language is the norm. Emerged themes from this system are; the influence of formal educational settings; and the influence of a majority society on Korean language transmission. Findings from the macrosystem are presented and discussed in Chapter 7.

4.7. Chapter summary

A qualitative research paradigm was employed to explore and understand Korean language transmission in Korean migrant families when living in New Zealand. Thirteen Korean migrant families were recruited through snowball sampling. Semi-structured interviews were conducted separately with parents and children to collect data. Thematic analysis was employed to analyse the data inductively and through the chosen theoretical framework, Bronfenbrenner's bioecology of human development theory. NVivo was used to develop themes from emerged codes. Data saturation was achieved by the first six interviews and theme saturation was identified by analysing between 12 and 13 interviews. Ethical considerations were identified and discussed and approval for the study was secured from the Human Ethics Committee at the University of Canterbury.

Chapter 5.

THE MICROSYSTEM

5.1. Introduction

In this research bioecological human development theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1999, 2001) is employed to analyse collected data. Activities and interactions that take place between individuals are defined and evaluated and how these activities are affected by their environment. The theory emphasises the important role that a person plays in human development within immediate environments (Tudge et al., 2009). The application of the bioecology theory to the present study has three systems, micro-, meso-and macrosystems (Section 3.1). Although bioecological theory has four systems only three are seen as being relevant for this study. In this research the microsystem focuses on minority language transmission where linguistic interactions take place between individuals in family units, nuclear as well as extended.

Fishman (1991) identified the important role migrant families play in keeping their mother tongue alive when living in a different linguistic environment. Spolsky (2012) also emphasised the important role both family and extended family play in minority language transmission across generations.

Many migrant parents wish to pass on their mother tongue language to their majority country-born children (Gharibi, 2016), but they often face challenges in transmitting the language across generations in a majority society (Fillmore, 1991). Other migrant parents may choose not to pass on their mother tongue language to their children as majority language acquisition is seen as a key factor for success in the majority society (c.f. Office of Ethnic Affairs, 2013). Parents' beliefs and ideologies about the value of transmitting their minority language may influence the form and shape of family language policy and practices (Curdts-Christiansen, 2016), other migrant parents contribute to speak their minority language at home without making conscious decisions about their attitudes to language transmission (Spolsky, 2004).

In response to Research Question 1 (what role do family language policy, beliefs and practices play in the intergenerational transmission of the Korean language amongst Korean migrant families in New Zealand?), this chapter addresses findings regarding both the implementation and implications of family language policy in intergenerational Korean language transmission amongst Korean migrant families (microsystem). The context of the microsystem consists of three layers of family interaction, child-parent, child-child, child-extended family, where Korean is the main medium of conversation. Through the lens of the bioecology theory, collected data was thematically analysed to refine and group a subset of the data, and four key themes emerged:

1) family language policy; 2) family language beliefs; 3) family language practice; 4) consequences of family language choices.

The following sub-sections examine how these themes influence each other in shaping and negotiating family language policy and result in implementing chosen family language policy.

5.2. Family language policy

Child language development is fostered by child-family interactions from birth within a social unit. When a child is born, parents develop a family language strategy based on their beliefs and experiences. Such a policy can be defined as the use of a language strategy that is either naturally or deliberately planned by family members (K. King et al., 2008; Macalister & Mirvahedi, 2017; Spolsky, 2004).

Family language policy plays an important role in child language development for migrant families. Migrant parents often have the ability to speak at least one language other than the majority language of the society in which they are living, and often feel the need to pass on their native language to their children in order to maintain family ties (Fillmore, 1991; Gharibi, 2016; H. Kim, 2011). So migrant parents focus on primarily speaking their mother tongue at home in order to facilitate communication (De Houwer, 2015). Migrant parents develop a strategy for family linguistic choice and practice, a family language policy, that is based on, and draws from, what family think about language, do with language, try to do with language, and want to achieve through language (K. King & Fogle, 2013; K. King et al., 2008).

In the present study, five different types of family language policy were reported by participants. These are: laissez-faire policy (naturally speaking Korean or English, or both), the use of a monolingual conversation strategy in Korean (deliberately deciding to speak Korean), the use of a dual-lingual conversation strategy (parents intentionally and deliberately speak Korean, but children prefer to speak English), the use of a monolingual conversation strategy in English (deliberately deciding to speak English), and one-parent-one-language (OPOL) policy (one parent speaks Korean and the other parent speaks English). An overview of family language policies is presented in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1. *Overview of Family Language Policies of Participated Families*

Types of family language policy	Families
Laissez-faire policy	1
Monolingual conversation in Korean policy	2, 3, 5, 6, 12, 13
Dual-lingual conversation policy	4, 7, 8
Monolingual conversation in English policy	9
One-parent-one-language policy	10, 11

The following sections present the five types of family language policy and discuss how Korean families decide and form their family language policy and how they implement their policy in family interactions.

5.2.1. Laissez-faire policy

The first type of family language policy is the natural use of language among family members without planning or making a specific decision about what language to speak, referred to as a laissez-faire policy (K. King & Fogle, 2013).

Excerpt 1.

저는 결심이나 결정을 한적은 한번도 없었어요. 그냥 자연스럽게 집에서 한국말을 했어요. <I have never made decisions on that. I naturally speak in Korean language at home.> (Mother 1)

Mother 1 and her Korean-born husband spoke Korean as their home language and kept using it with their three New Zealand-born children. In contrast to other families in this research, Family 1 left their children to make their own choice to learn Korean, rather than forcing them to learn.

Excerpt 2.

억지로 시키고 싶지 않았어요. 그리고 내가 부모니까 강요하고 내 생각을 강압적으로 push 하고 싶지 않았어요. 그냥 아무리 아기라도 한 인격체라고 생각하고 존중했어요. <I did not really want to force my children to learn and push them to follow my beliefs. I believe that even an infant should be respected as a human being.> (Mother 1)

The first child of this family, referred to as Child 1, acknowledged their laissez-faire policy. He commented that he could learn Korean language in a natural environment. Amongst child participants in this study, Child 1 acquired a high level of Korean language proficiency because he saw the need to learn the language. In contrast to him, his two younger siblings lacked Korean language proficiency as they did not see the need to acquire it. By implementing a laissez-faire policy, children of the same parents within the same environment had different Korean language proficiency. Child 1 expressed his feelings about his parents' decision to speak Korean at home and their family language policy.

Excerpt 3.

좋았죠. 당연히, 굉장히 당연하다고 생각해요. 우리 형제 셋 중에서 그나마 한 명이라도 한국말을 할 수 있다는 게 다행이라고 생각해요. <Great. Of course it is very natural for them to speak Korean. I think it is fortunate that at least one of us out of three can speak the Korean language.> (Child 1)

Mother 1 commented that, as a result of implementing a laissez-faire policy, only one child was able to speak Korean. According to her, she raised her three children in the same linguistic environment, but let her children make a linguistic choice instead of forcing them to speak the language. She emphasised that a child's motivation played an important role in minority language acquisition.

Excerpt 4.

같은 부모 밑에서 같이 키웠는데 한 아이는 한국말을 너무너무 잘하고 이 아이는 한국말을 하나도 못하고 이런 경우가 생겼는데. 제가 한국말을 굳이 가르쳐야 되겠다 하지 않아도 이 아이는 자기가 필요에 의해서 했고 이 아이는 하지 않았고 그래서 저는 그 안에서 제가 의지적으로 한 것은 없었어요. <My children have been raised by the same parents, but the first child is highly proficient, while the second child is non-proficient in Korean. The first one became motivated to learn, but the second did not. I could not intentionally do anything about that.> (Mother 1)

Key point summary about laissez-faire policy

In this study only Family 1, where both parent and child participants were selected as successful Korean speakers, implemented a laissez-faire policy. Parents continued speaking Korean at home and encouraging children to speak, but not forcing them to learn Korean. Only the first child from the Family 1 was able to speak Korean. As a result of implementing a laissez-faire policy, the children in this family have different levels of Korean language proficiency (see Section 4.4.2).

5.2.2. Monolingual conversation in Korean policy

The majority of families, Families 2, 3, 5, 6, 12 and 13, reported that the parents intentionally chose Korean as a home language and asked and encouraged their children to speak Korean as much as they could. These families were selected for being *successful* at passing on Korean to their children. Korean was the medium of conversations between parent and child at home. Mother 3 explained a reason for her decision.

Excerpt 5.

저희가 편하고 한국말로 의사 소통하는 게 자연스러우니까 그렇게 했던 부분도 있지만 더 중요한 것은 저희들이 한국말을 쓰지 않으면 아이들이 한국말을 배울 수 있는 기회가 없다고 생각했어요. <Speaking Korean language was easy and natural for us to communicate in, but a more important fact is that if we did not speak the Korean language my children would not have any opportunity to learn Korean.> (Mother 3)

When the family moved to New Zealand they had one child, a son who was born in Korea. Three younger children were born in New Zealand. Korean was spoken at home and they naturally continued using Korean language in family interactions in New Zealand. This formed the family language policy that was continued with their second, third and fourth New Zealand-born children. As a result, their four children were able to speak Korean but with different levels of proficiency.

Family 6 made similar decisions to other families when implementing their family language policy and practice. Family 6 intentionally chose to speak Korean as their home language in order for their children to become bilingual speakers. The older child, Child 6, was highly proficient in Korean-speaking and literacy skills. His younger sibling, however, was unable to read and write in Korean, but had good listening and speaking skills. Mother 6 stressed her willingness to raise her children as bilingual speakers.

Excerpt 6.

아이들한테 좋은 기회잖아요. <It would be beneficial for my children.> (Mother 6)

The children from Families 3 and 6 appeared to accept a language policy strategy that led them to naturally learn Korean, especially verbal skills. Parent participants from this group spoke of their children's generally positive reaction to being bilingual.

Excerpt 7.

한국말을 쓰는 데 대한 거부감은 없어요. 집에서 한국말을 한다는 걸 되게 당연하게 느끼죠. 왜 엄마는 New Zealand 살면서 영어를 안 쓰고 한국말을 써 이런 생각은 해

본적이 없는 거 같아요. <My children have never rejected speaking Korean. They think it is natural to speak Korean at home. They have never thought or asked me why I spoke Korean rather than English while living in New Zealand.> (Mother 6)

The children's reactions were also revealed during their interviews. Many child participants, 12 out of 13, reported that they did not see it as a problem. A good example was demonstrated by Child 2 who confirmed the natural family language-speaking environment.

Excerpt 8.

I automatically understood the different home language environment when you were at school. It's English anywhere else. At home it's Korean. There was nothing wrong with that. It was just a clear distinction in my mind and it's just the way it's always been.
(Child 2)

The child participants in this study had been exposed to a Korean-speaking environment from birth. They naturally accepted the use of different languages inside and outside of the home. Parents' strong beliefs and practice about Korean language transmission seemed to influence their children to accept the benefits of speaking Korean.

Some Korean migrant families find it difficult to consistently implement a monolingual Korean policy. Family 6 chose Korean as their home language and made an effort to foster a Korean language environment, but used both Korean and English as the home language before Child 6 started preschool to prevent difficulties he might have adapting to an English language environment. Mother 6 and her husband tried to teach him the level of English he would experience at preschool and tried to get him to practise his English at home. By doing this, they hoped their son would be able to understand teachers and peers. Apparently it did not negatively affect Child 6's Korean language proficiency. After this preparation time for Child 6, Family 6 continued speaking mainly Korean.

Excerpt 9.

애가 학교를 5 살부터 시작하니까 한 2-3 년이었어요. 그런데 영어만 쓴 거는 아니고 영어로 얘기를 하려고 많이 노력을 한 거죠. 한국말이 거의 60[%] 이라고 보시면 되요. 그리고 영어가 40 정도 였어요. 보통은 80 정도가 한국말이고 영어가 한 20 정도 되는

거쵸. <Speaking English for about 2-3 years when he started primary school at 5-years old. Even during the preparation time we did not speak only English. We tried to speak English as much as we could. So the whole ratio at that time was like speaking Korean 60[%] and English 40. Normally Korean would be 80 and English would be 20.> (Mother 6)

Key point summary about monolingual conversation in Korean policy

The Korean migrant families, Families 2, 3, 5, 6, 12 and 13, in this study implemented a family language policy of monolingual conversations in Korean language that supported them in fostering a mother tongue-speaking environment at home as well as encouraging their children to learn their parent's language in a natural setting. Child participants from this family language policy group demonstrated higher Korean language proficiency than other child participants. A lack of information about beneficial language choices, however, can hinder consistently implementing a family language policy of speaking Korean when living in an English-speaking country. One Korean family encouraged their children to speak English for a period of time before starting preschool and/or primary school.

5.2.3. Dual-lingual conversation policy

The use of dual-lingual conversations refers to migrant parents tending to speak their mother tongue, referred to as a minority language, whereas their children tend to respond in a majority language. This may be seen as similar to a laissez-faire policy, but in this research the parent participants intentionally chose to speak Korean with their children. This linguistic situation seems to be common in migrant families. Migrant parents in this group deliberately choose to speak their minority language at home (monolingual conversation policy), but when their children experience language difficulties at school the parents focus on majority language acquisition for their children to overcome the language difficulties. The parents continue speaking their minority language, but allow their children to speak a majority language at home (dual-lingual conversation policy). Fishman's three-generation theory (1991) presented the use of dual-lingual conversations as benefiting migrant children, especially for those who were born in a majority country, by helping them become a passive speaker of a minority language.

In this study three families, Families 4, 7 and 8, comprised of Korean-born parents and New Zealand-born children, belong to this group. Initially Child 7 and Child 8 identified themselves as primarily English speakers, but their ability to maintain conversations in Korean language was confirmed by the researcher. Parents from all three families had strong beliefs about the need to teach their children Korean language and culture. There were, however, gaps between belief and practices in their family language policy. Parents spoke Korean in order for their children to be exposed to a Korean-speaking environment and encourage them to speak Korean but allowed their children to speak English for family communication. As a result, both Children 7 and 8 felt they lacked Korean language proficiency and did not have confidence in using Korean even though they were able to understand native Korean speakers. Mother 7 explained the reason for choosing to speak Korean at home despite her children increasingly communicating with their parents in English.

Excerpt 10.

우선은 제가 편하구요. 그리고 두 번째는 언젠간 한국어에 대해서 알아야 되니까. 저는 계속해서 한국어로 얘기 하구요. /.../ 왜냐하면 어느 언어 이든지 간에 가장 자신 있는 언어를 부모가 해야지 되고 그 언어를 통해서, 말을 하면서 아이에게 그 언어의 구성이나 언어를 표현하는 능력이나 이런 것들을 더 자연스럽게 공부하고 알 수 있게 되는 그런 것을 아이가 터득을 하게 되거든요. <First of all I feel comfortable speaking Korean. Secondly, I believe my children need to learn Korean in the future. This is why I keep speaking Korean at home. /.../ Because I strongly believe that parents should speak their mother tongue with their children. Through family communication in the mother tongue children naturally learn the metalinguistic knowledge and awareness that may support their cognitive development.> (Mother 7)

She continued explaining how she was encouraging her children to develop Korean language proficiency.

Excerpt 11.

제가 broken 영어를 하는 거 보다 한국어를 계속해서 사용을 하면 이 아이가 언젠가는 한국에 대해서 더 관심을 가지고 한국어에 대해서도 관심을 더 가질 날이 오게 되기

때문에 그래서 계속 그렇게 하고 있어요. <I think it would be more helpful for my children to become motivated to learn Korean if I continuously spoke Korean rather than speaking broken English.> (Mother 7)

Mother 7 had strong beliefs about the importance of Korean language and made an effort to implement her beliefs at home. She believed that if her son was continuously exposed to a Korean-speaking environment he would quickly pick up Korean words when he needed to learn Korean. Despite her efforts and beliefs about Korean language transmission, she reported her experiences of a language shift in her children.

Excerpt 12.

preschool 가기 전 아니면 학교를 가기 전에는 항상 한국어로 얘기하고 아이들이 한국어를 하고 큰애 같은 경우에는 한국어로 읽고 쓰기 다했어요. 그리고 갔는데도 학교를 다니면서는 다 잊어 버리더라고요. 아무래도 이게 자꾸 하면서 영어가 더 편해 지더라고요. <Before my children started preschool or primary school they always spoke in Korean at home and they communicated in Korean with each other. My older son was able to read and write in Korean too. However, despite my efforts, they started forgetting Korean language once he attended primary school. As time went by they felt more comfortable speaking English.> (Mother 7)

Her son, Child 7, recalled his language acquisition at a young age. He recalled his ability to speak a little Korean when he was young but he had used English as his main language since starting school. He stated that he forgot all about Korean and at the time of the interview he regretted it.

Excerpt 13.

Um, just such a good thing to have. I mean it's a good skill to have speaking another language and when you were from that country. It is like everyone expects you to know that language. So yeah, I regret not learning it more. (Child 7)

In contrast to Mother 7's beliefs about implementing and fostering a Korean-speaking environment at home, Child 7 reported his understanding of the ratio of the home language

situation. According to Child 7, both his mother and father, appeared to allow him to speak English at home.

Excerpt 14.

Like almost all the time I speak English so maybe 95% English, 5% Korean at home. My parents speak 70 or 80% Korean I reckon. (Child 7)

Despite the parents' strong beliefs about the language transmission, implementing a dual-linguistic conversation policy appears to have impeded Korean language transmission in Family 7.

Family 8 also chose to implement a dual-lingual conversation policy at home. According to Mother 8, both she and her husband naturally spoke Korean at home. Their children accepted Korean language as their home language, but they preferred to speak English. The mother shared stories about her children's linguistic choices when they started preschool.

Excerpt 15.

preschool 가서는 막 영어로 얘기 하는데 집에 오면 안 해요. 그게 제일 신기하더라구요. 지네들끼리 놀 때는 막 영어로 해요. 근데 저한테 와서는 영어로 안 해요. <My children spoke English with peers at preschool, but when they came home they did not speak English with their parents. I was quite amazed by that. My children spoke in English to each other. But they did not speak English when talking to me.> (Mother 8)

Excerpt 15 shows that her children tended to use English for communication between themselves, but they understood about Korean being their home language when interacting with their Korean-born parents. Mother 8, did not start speaking English before her older son, Child 8, attended preschool because she believed that if Child 8 had well developed language skills in Korean it would positively affect his English language acquisition. However, Child 8's school teacher expressed concerns about Child 8's silent period at school.

Excerpt 16.

year 1 을 들어갔을 때 애가 말을 안 한다고 선생님이 저를 불렀어요. <In year 1, his school teacher asked me to have a meeting because he did not talk at all at school.>
(Mother 8)

Lacking information about child language development, the parents thought speaking Korean at home negatively impacted on Child 8's integration into the school setting. This situation made Mother 8 and her husband concerned about their family language policy and practice, but Child 8 did not clearly remember his language difficulties when he started school. As a result, the parents no longer focused on speaking Korean and let their children speak whichever language they felt comfortable speaking, and Child 8 did not feel confident about his ability to communicate in Korean with Korean native speakers.

Family 4 had a similar experience when Child 4 started school. Her teacher reported that Child 4 was experiencing language difficulties. Mother 4 assumed that this was because she had limited exposure to English as a pre-schooler. Mother 4 explained her experience of these difficulties.

Excerpt 17.

*큰아이는 일단 유치원 가기 전까지 한국말만 했어요. 영어를 전혀 안 했어요. /.../
그런데 [애가] 학교를 갔는데 영어를 못하는 거예요. 유치원을 갔는데 어려워하고
초등학교 1 학년을 들어갔는데 어려워하는 거예요. <We spoke only Korean at home
before my daughter went to kindergarten. We never spoke English. /.../ But when my
daughter attended school she did not speak English fluently. She faced difficulties at
her kindergarten and continued not being confident in year one at her primary.>*
(Mother 4)

Before Child 4 started school Mother 4 had sought advice from Koreans in the wider Korean community about a family language policy. This influenced and encouraged Mother 4 and her family to speak Korean at home. But when Child 4 started formal education she faced difficulties in English language acquisition in the school environment. Mother 4 again sought advice from the wider Korean community, but she found no information about family language

choice when children face language difficulties. Mother 4 decided to adapt their family language policy to encourage Child 4 to speak more English. A dual-linguistic policy, with parents speaking Korean and children responding in English, was implemented in Mother 4's family. Despite the change in their family language policy Mother 4 and her husband continued speaking Korean as they still believed in the importance of Korean language transmission in the family in order to maintain family ties.

Excerpt 18.

일단 한국에 가족들이 있기 때문에 한국에 가족들이 놀러 오거나 또는 우리가 놀러 갔을 때 communication 이 돼야 되니까 그게 가장 첫 번째로 할아버지 할머니하고 대화가 돼야 되니까 그리고 또 친척들하고 대화가 돼야 되니까요. <Obviously my family still lives in Korea so we need to communicate when we visit them and they visit us. Mostly my children have to be able to communicate with their grandparents and other relatives.> (Mother 4)

Family 4 temporarily revised their family language policy, from speaking only Korean to speaking both Korean and English, in order to support Child 4's language difficulty at school. Consequently, their children came to realise the important role English played in integration into the formal education setting and they began to focus on English language acquisition. The parents continued allowing their children to speak English at home and this affected Korean language transmission across the generations. Attendance at a Korean school enabled Child 4 to maintain her ability to speak Korean (Chapter 5), but her younger sibling was not able to speak the language and he did not want to attend the Korean school.

Key point summary about dual-lingual conversation policy

Some Korean families in this research used a dual-lingual conversation approach. They prioritised both family communication to keep family ties and effective integration into the school system as important elements of their family language policy (Fillmore, 1991). This led to Korean being the dominant language initially but over time English became more common within the family especially as parents became more confident about communicating in English.

Due to inconsistent family language policy and practice the children from these families have varied Korean language proficiency and often are more comfortable communicating in English.

5.2.4. Monolingual conversation in English

In this study only one family implemented the use of monolingual conversations in English. A Korean-born mother, referred to as Mother 9, her New Zealand non-Korean husband and their New Zealand-born son, Child 9, belong to this group. Mother 9 explained about her family language situation.

Excerpt 19.

남편하고 제가 늘 일을 했기 때문에 항상 24 시간 같이 세 사람이 붙어 있거든요. 그러다 보니까 자연히 그냥 영어가 되는 거고. <Firstly, I used to work with my husband for 24 hours so the three of us were always at home together. This naturally led us to speak English.> (Mother 9)

Another reason for her language policy decisions was her belief about educational advantages.

Excerpt 20.

내 결론은 외국 교육을 한 인간이 더 낫다라고 생각을 했었어요. 그래서 어차피 애가 외국 교육을 받을 거 같으면 영어를 선택하는 게 좋겠다 해서 영어를 쓰게 되었어요. <I concluded that western educational systems had better outcomes than the Korean educational systems. In this regard, it would be beneficial for my son to acquire English to be educated in western systems.> (Mother 9)

This family language policy led Child 9 to be unable to speak Korean language apart from just a few names of Korean food and very simple greetings. He was also unable to talk to his Korean-based maternal grandparents and relatives. As a result, Child 9 was unable to maintain his maternal family ties and he had never visited them in Korea. Child 9 did not appear to regret his lack of connection with his maternal relatives in Korea. Rather he appreciated becoming highly proficient in English. He commented about his family language policy and practice.

Excerpt 21.

Because of my unique family situation where one parent is Kiwi, I think that's why my parents decided to just prioritise learning English completely. Um, I'm quite glad of that because it made me able to read a lot of books without much difficulty at all in English and I think I can communicate quite well in English as well. But I do regret.
(Child 9)

Key point summary about monolingual conversation in English policy

In contrast to other families in this study, Family 9 had different beliefs about Korean and English, and family language policy. This led the family to choose a monolingual conversation in English policy. Both mother and child agreed with the importance of English language acquisition when living in New Zealand, but Child 9 came to regret not learning Korean language. Their experiences, beliefs about the language and feelings of regrets will be presented in more detail in sections 5.3 and 5.5.

5.2.5. One-parent-one-language (OPOL) policy

Within the family an one-parent-one-language (OPOL) policy is defined as each parent speaking a different mother tongue (Cunningham, 2011; Smith-Christmas, 2016). Two such couples, Families 10 and 11, reported implementing the OPOL policy. Both families are comprised of a New Zealand-born non-Korean father and a Korean mother with their New Zealand-born children. There is, however, a difference between these two families in their linguistic environment. Due to a lack of English language proficiency, the husband of Mother 10 was unable to speak Korean, whereas Mother 11's husband was proficient in Korean language and was attending a Korean language class at the time of the interview (see Table 4.5).

Excerpt 22.

저는 한국어가 편하죠. 애 아빠는 한국어를 못해요. 한국말 많이 썼죠 처음부터. <I feel more comfortable to speak Korean. But my husband cannot speak Korean at all. I have mainly spoken in Korean more from the very beginning.> (Mother 10)

Their linguistic environment led Mother 10 to implement an OPOL policy at home. The couple was supportive in fostering a dual-lingual environment at home in order for their children to become bilingual speakers. The couple, however, had difficulties overcoming language barriers between themselves. The child participant from this family, Child 10, revealed that her parents were unable to maintain conversations about specific topics in one language. The children often played an interpreter's role during family conversations.

Excerpt 23.

Mum and dad having the language barrier there. /.../ Uh, I think speaking to them, just me speaking to them is fine. But when they speak to each other it is quite short sentences. (Child 10)

Although Mother 10's husband was unable to speak Korean, he was very supportive in the use of dual-lingual conversations and encouraged his children to speak Korean. Mother 10 noted that,

Excerpt 24.

네, 좋아하죠. 그런 거는 한번도 제제를 받은 적이 없어요. <Yes, absolutely. He has never asked me to stop speaking Korean.> (Mother 10)

However, her husband sometimes felt left out when Mother 10 and her children spoke Korean at home.

Excerpt 25.

우리 셋이 있으면 막 한국말을 하다가 소리가 높아지잖아요. 그러면 이제 아빠가 "talk in English" 그러면서 나도 좀 알자고. 그럴 때는 몇 번 있죠. <Sometimes three of us talked about something in Korean with loud voices. Then my husband said "talk in

English” so he could participate our conversations. This happened several times.>
(Mother 10)

Despite linguistic challenges this family maintained both paternal and maternal family ties well. They had regular visits from extended family in Korea so the children often interacted with native Korean adult speakers. The children also had regular family reunions with their paternal grandparents and relatives in New Zealand. Such balanced exposure to both English- and Korean-speaking environments helped the children to become bilingual speakers. Notably, Child 10 complimented her mother’s family language choice.

Excerpt 26.

I like that because it keeps me speaking Korean. Because I don’t want to forget Korean so I think it is good. Because I feel like if she stops speaking Korean I will stop speaking it then I will lose it. So I am glad she can speak, she still speaks Korean to me. (Child 10)

Speaking Korean at home enabled Child 10 to be able to maintain communicative skills in Korean.

Family10 tends to implement a balanced OPOL policy in their family including interactions with extended families and relatives. Mother 10’s lack of English language proficiency and her husband’s lack of Korean language proficiency positively fostered a bilingual environment in their home. Also regular interactions with both English-speaking paternal relatives and Korean-speaking maternal relatives helped the children to become bilingual speakers. However, Mother 10 reported that while her children felt English was their dominant language Korean was the tool of conversation with Mother 10 as well as their maternal relatives.

The other family, Family 11, also implemented an OPOL policy. Mother 11 lives with her New Zealand-born husband and New Zealand-born son. The parents are highly proficient in both Korean and English. The New Zealand father was interested in learning new languages. He was attending a Korean school at the time of interview. Prior to attending a Korean school he had won a competition in a Korean history exam for non-Koreans and he won a scholarship to travel to Korea. Mother 11 also had the experience of living in other countries; Germany, the UK and Korea. These experiences led Mother 11 to consciously think about family language policy and practice prior to her marriage and to having a child.

Excerpt 27.

저 같은 경우는 예를 들어서 좀 여러 곳에서 살아 봤잖아요. /.../ 애한테 꼭 한국어를 시키자 이런 마음 보다는 자연스럽게 당연하게 모국어기 때문에 한국어를 당연히 내가 한국어를 해야 되지 않겠느냐. <I have lived in different places so far. /.../ This has led me not to force and push my child to speak Korean. Instead, I naturally decided to speak Korean with him because Korean is my mother tongue.> (Mother 11)

Mother 11 reported that Korean language was the medium of family conversations until their son, who did not meet the research inclusion criteria, started primary school. When the son started formal education in New Zealand Mother 11 discovered a lack of information for migrants in their own language about educational systems in New Zealand. As a result, an OPOL policy decision was taken in this family. Eventually the child was able to naturally switch between two languages when talking to his parents, and his parents deliberately spoke Korean with each other.

Key point summary about OPOL policy

In both Families 10 and 11 the parents' experiences and interest in learning new languages positively influenced their decision about implementing a family language policy that would enhance child language acquisition. However, depending on the non-Korean-speaking parent's Korean language proficiency, the level of support from the parents appeared to be different. The husband from Family 10 sometimes felt excluded from family conversations in Korean, whereas the husband from Family 11 demonstrated a high level of support in fostering a Korean-speaking environment at home. Different levels of support resulted in the children achieving different levels of proficiency in Korean language acquisition.

5.2.6. Section summary

This research identified five different types of family language policies implemented by Korean migrant families. Four of the five policies focus on raising the children to be bilingual. These are:

- 1) a laissez-faire policy implemented by one family where the parents naturally spoke Korean and did not force the children to speak Korean. The children from this family had different levels of Korean language proficiency;
- 2) a monolingual conversation in Korean policy was implemented by six families. The children from these families felt confident in speaking Korean with various levels of Korean language proficiency. However, one family changed their family language policy from speaking only Korean to speaking both Korean and English before the first child started preschool. The family focused on only speaking Korean after the preparation time for the first child. This did not negatively affect the children's Korean language acquisition;
- 3) a dual-lingual conversation policy was implemented by three families. The parents allowed the children to speak English while the parents consistently spoke Korean. By doing this the parents hoped their children would be exposed to a Korean-speaking environment as well as become motivated to learn Korean language in the future. Consequently the children from Families 7 and 8 were able to maintain communication in Korean, but did not feel comfortable to identify themselves as Korean speakers. The children from Family 4, especially the youngest one, felt English was their dominant language, but Child 4 was highly proficient in Korean because she learned Korean from a Korean school;
- 4) an OPOL policy was implemented by two families where the parents spoke different mother tongues. Findings from this study show that the children from the OPOL policy families reported they were able to speak Korean language although a non-Korean-speaking parent's lack of Korean language influenced the children's Korean language acquisition as the children had fewer opportunities to speak Korean at home than when both parents were proficient in the language.

The last family language policy,

- 5) a monolingual conversation in English policy, was implemented by a family where a Korean mother and a non-Korean father spoke only English with their Korean-born son. This policy focused on raising a child to be a monolingual English speaker. The mother believed that being highly proficient in English would bring benefits for her son, but as the child matured both the mother and the son regretted he was raised as a monolingual English speaker (see Sections 5.4 and 5.5). As a result, the

child was unable to maintain maternal family ties. The only person in this family who could maintain the maternal family ties was the mother.

Except for the monolingual conversations in English policy, Family 9, other policies promote raising Korean-speaking children bilingually. Exposure to a Korean-speaking environment at home, where either one or both parents speak Korean is seen as a positive factor for Korean language transmission. Except Child 9, all child participants demonstrated the ability to speak Korean before, during and after the interviews. Among the five family language policies the children from families that implemented the use of monolingual conversations in Korean appeared to be more confident in speaking Korean than the children from other family language policy groups. Family language policy, therefore, plays a key role in minority language acquisition and parents need to consciously and deliberately choose their family language policy, and be consistent in its application if they wish to transmit their language to their children. This enables children to naturally and unconsciously learn a minority language in a friendly environment that influences children's beliefs about language and culture, and supports their identity development.

5.3. Family language beliefs

Language belief can be defined as a linguistic ideology that presents ideas about the relationship between linguistic attitudes and practices that are shown in language policy and strategy (K. King et al., 2008; Spolsky, 2004). Migrant parental beliefs about the use of a minority language play an important role in making a family language policy that anticipates outcomes of raising bi-/multilingual children when living in a majority society (K. King et al., 2008). Parent participants' experiences of living in various countries as well as their perception of language proficiency influence their choice of a family language policy.

In this study the majority of participants believe that language is related to culture and identity. Participants reported that parents speaking Korean facilitated a Korean linguistic and cultural environment at home that identified them as Koreans. They also believed that their New Zealand-born children had a Korean identity so it would benefit their children to speak Korean and understand Korean culture. Child participants in this study presented different self-identities depending on their language beliefs and experiences. Both parent and child

participants, however, believed having an ability to speak Korean would help with children's identity development and could bring benefits for them in academic and employment pathways.

The following sections discuss how family language beliefs shape and form family language policy in Korean migrant families, and how language beliefs impact on Korean language transmission when living in an English-speaking country. This sub-section is organised into two sub-themes that emerged during the thematic data analysis process. These are: language and culture, and language and identity. The first sub-theme presents what participants believe about the relationship between keeping Korean language alive and maintaining Korean culture both inside and outside of the home. The second sub-theme discusses how participants negotiate and form their identity when speaking Korean language at home while living in an English-speaking country. In the following sections these sub-themes are presented and discussed through comparing and contrasting participants' stories and experiences.

5.3.1. Language and family communication in Korean culture

This research shows that Korean migrant parents strongly believe in the importance of positive relationships between Korean language, culture and cultural values. They believe that speaking Korean language in their family interactions enables their children to learn a minority language as well as about the culture. They stress that having the ability to speak Korean language enhances family ties and creates special bonds with nuclear and extended family in both Korea and New Zealand. Such belief about the relationship between Korean language and culture, families in this study highlights the importance of maintaining family communication in Korean.

A previous study stated Korean migrants tend to form a sense of belonging where they reside (W. Kang et al., 2015). Findings from this study suggest that maintaining minority language and culture in a non-Korean-speaking country develops a sense of belonging to both countries.

In this study participants, especially parents, emphasised relationships between language and culture during their interviews. Participants stated that speaking Korean language actively fostered a Korean cultural environment at home as they usually had Korean food that required specific etiquette. Also Korean language was used to explain recipes, concepts and definitions about food. Mother 2's interview excerpt is a good example of her beliefs about the interactions between language and culture.

Excerpt 28.

말이라는 게 감정하고 연결이 되어 있고 감정하고 연결이 되어 있으면 culture 하고도 연결이 되어 있는 거예요. 그러기 때문에 말 한 마디가 그냥 단순하게 말이 아니라 모든 게 고리고리 되어 있기 때문에 애네들이 한국말을 못하면 뭔가 중간에서 끊긴다는 생각을 많이 했어요. 그래서 될 수 있으면 한국말 하자 하다 보니까 아이들이 영어로 쓰다가 한국말로 바뀌기 시작했죠. <I believe that language is related to emotions and emotions are related to culture. Speaking the Korean language does not simply mean to be able to speak the language, it means that language, emotions and culture are related to each other like chains. I thought if my children were unable to speak the Korean language they would have big gaps across generations. Such beliefs led me to encourage my children to use the Korean language as much as they could at home. As a result, my children gradually changed to speak Korean rather than English.> (Mother 2)

Like Mother 2, Mother 3 also highlighted the important role language played in teaching their children about Korean culture. She noted that language was part of culture and tradition. She endeavoured to speak Korean as she believed it was integral to Korean culture and tradition, and through the language her children would naturally learn about the culture.

Excerpt 29.

존댓말을 하는 부분들이 아이들한테는 어색하고 영어를 쓰다 보면 반말을 하기도 하지만, 그 존댓말을 한다는 거 자체가 어른들을 존중해 준다는 문화의 한 부분이기도 하고 하기 때문에 그런 부분들을 가르치기 위해서 일부러 한국말을 쓰게 된 거 같아요. <Speaking honorific Korean language might make my children feel awkward as they have spoken mainly conversational Korean language in informal settings. English does not have honorific forms so they often tend to talk down when interacting with Korean adults. However, honorific language in Korean is part of the Korean culture that shows a respect to seniors and I wanted to teach my children about those cultural aspects by intentionally speaking Korean at home.> (Mother 3)

Mother 7 also mentioned the benefits for New Zealand-born Koreans of acquiring Korean language. Like Mother 3, she believed that children would naturally come to understand Korean culture through an ability to speak Korean. The same beliefs about the relationship between language and culture were also reported by another parent participant. Mother 10, whose husband was a non-Korean speaker, felt that her children understood cultural differences between Korea and New Zealand through speaking both Korean and English. She valued understanding cultural feelings and emotions as being more important than learning the language.

Excerpt 30.

언어를 통해서 보이지 않는 뭐 그런 거 있잖아요. 애네도 '한국의 정'이란 거, 그런 걸
알아요. 그런 거[정서] 때문에 한국말을 쓰는 거지, 영어만 계속하면 그걸 아무리
영어로 설명을 해도 애들은 모르거든요. 그런데 한국말, 말도 되지도 않는
한국말이지만, 애네들도 한국사람, 엄마는 한국 사람이라고 생각하는 그런 면이 있고,
그러고서 자기네들이 느끼는 그 짠 함 이런 거 있잖아요. 그런 거를 영어만 한다면 알
수 있을까? <Through language, you are able to transmit some invisible things, you
know. My children know well about 'Korean attachment' [that is a way of caring for
people in Korean culture]. In order to teach this [emotions] is why I keep speaking
Korean. If I spoke only English, no matter how hard I explain, my children would never
understand such cultural emotions. Even though they speak broken Korean, they
understand Korean people and respect me as a Korean person. My children also have
special feelings about connections that make them become emotional. If we speak only
English, would we understand about such things?> (Mother 10)

Although her children felt English was their dominant language, Mother 10 practised an OPOL family language policy and this led her children to understand cultural and emotional aspects about Korea through having some Korean language ability. Her daughter said:

Excerpt 31.

*I feel kind of special. I feel myself as it is pretty cool I get to go to Korea. I just feel
special. I am very proud of being half-Korean, yeah.* (Child 10)

Family communication plays a key role in transmitting a minority language and its cultural aspects. Family 10 spoke Korean only through mother-children interactions at home but the children understood cultural aspects and felt attached to Korean culture. Excerpt 31 demonstrates that even with only one parent speaking a minority language children can acquire both the language and an understanding of the associated culture.

Similarly, Mother 2 emphasised the importance of maintaining communication within nuclear as well as extended families. She encouraged her children to speak Korean at home. She also regularly contacted the children's grandparents, both paternal and maternal who lived in Korea, in order for the children to maintain family ties through speaking to their grandparents' in Korean.

Excerpt 32.

가족간에 소통이 아주 중요하죠. 모든 문제는 막히는 데서 나타나는 건데. <Family communication is very important. All difficulties and problems start from a communication failure.> (Mother 2)

Child participants also emphasised the importance of family communication. A child reported that his home environment led him to have positive beliefs about maintaining family communication and relationships.

Excerpt 33.

I think that's a really important kind of mutual relationship you need to have with your parents by being able to speak their ethnic language. (Child 6)

Another child supported Child 6's beliefs and explained his opinions about the reasons for learning Korean language. He felt that success in family communication was crucial.

Excerpt 34.

Their parents were born and raised in Korea, for example, it would be helpful because they would be able to communicate with their own parents. (Child 3)

Many Korean migrant families in this study believe that successful family communication in the minority language brings positive outcomes. When New Zealand-born Koreans acquire

their minority language they also learn about the culture, cultural values and traditions. This results in building strong family bonds that include Korea-based extended family and developing a sense of belonging to Korea.

In contrast, some Korean families had difficulty teaching their children Korean language and culture. A child who lacked Korean language proficiency challenged his parents about their family language practice at home.

Excerpt 35.

둘째가 "왜 우리는 한국말을 해야 되냐? 왜 내가 한국말을 해야 되냐?" 라고 물어요. 그러면 제가 "네가 집 밖을 나갈 경우에는 Kiwi 문화에서 살지만 집안으로 들어왔을 때는 한국 문화에서 살기 때문에 한국말을 꼭 해야 된다" 이렇게 얘기를 하죠. <My second child kept asking "why do we have to speak Korean at home? Why do I have to learn Korean language?" I answered him that "if you were outside of the home you could live in the Kiwi culture, but if you were inside of the home you lived in the Korean culture so you have to speak the Korean language".> (Mother 4)

Many parent participants reported that it was common for Korean migrant parents to face such a challenge from their New Zealand-born children. A lack of understanding of the minority language and culture for their New Zealand-born children resulted in them increasingly living between the two cultures and if English became the more dominant language they could become unaware of a loss of cultural connections and heritage that knowledge of the language gave. Parents' belief, or otherwise, in the importance of minority language transmission has a big influence on maintaining family ties as their children mature.

Excerpt 36.

부모님들하고 의사소통을 못하면 부모님과 자식간의 어떤 끈끈한 사랑이나 정이 그 언어, 한국말, 속에서 통하는, 대화 속에서 통하는 그런 것들을 부모님 스스로가 차단하는 그런 경우가 되기 때문에 아이가 부모님을 이해를 못하고 그 다음에 부모님의 정서를 이해를 못하고 문화를 이해를 못하고 자기의 background 를 이해를 못하는 부분이 되는 그런 것들을 부모님 스스로가 자초 한다고 생각 해요. <If parents

and children cannot communicate with each other in the language, Korean, it will rupture family ties and special bonds. Through communications in Korean parents can pass on the heritage culture and language to children. If they did not, parents could become cut off from their children. Children would not be able to understand their parents, parents' culture, emotions and their background. To me parents are digging their own graves.> (Mother 2)

Mother 2 pointed out a positive relationship between frequency of exposure to, and level of interest in, minority language and culture. She believed that when children were less interested in speaking the language it was because children had had less exposure to the culture. Conversely, children became more interested if they interacted more frequently with people from the same culture.

Two child participants highlighted the importance of learning the minority language and understanding the minority culture. One of them demonstrated his understanding of the long term implications and benefits of using Korean language.

Excerpt 37.

Because the reason is that obviously I can't cut off interactions with Korean people for the rest of my life. And generally you're going to have to understand to a certain degree anyway like you never know. I've been thinking a way of further ahead like if you get married to a Korean you're going to have to be able to speak to the parents to show respect and all that. (Child 3)

The other child participant shared her thoughts on Korean language and culture. Despite her feelings about English as a dominant language, she defined Korean as her language.

Excerpt 38.

Very important. Because you need to know how to speak your own language to go to your own country and then if you can't speak your own language it's kind of embarrassing. (Child 4)

Family conversations and communications appear to play an important role in family ties and special bonds. Mother 9, who implemented a mono-lingual conversations in English policy, reported that her family did not have any communication failures or language barriers. She also

stressed that she taught her son, Child 9, Korean culture, values, thoughts and emotions through speaking English. As a result, Mother 9 and Child 9 were able to discuss, debate and critique cultural differences between Korea and New Zealand. According to Mother 9, language meant simply a tool for communication and her family communicated successfully among themselves in English. She explained her beliefs about language and proficiency development.

Excerpt 39.

언어가 뿌리 언어가 있어야 되겠구나. 임신 했을 때 그 생각을 했어요. 그러니까 여러 개를 한꺼번에 넣어줄 게 아니라 뿌리, 왜냐면 언어가 그 사람의 생각이잖아요. 정서가 되고. 그러니까 여러 개가 들어 가면 헷갈릴 수가 있는 거예요. <I deeply started thinking about this when I was pregnant. I thought that I should teach my child a root language instead of teaching many languages. Because language is related to emotions as well as beliefs of a person. So I thought it would make my child get confused if I taught him many languages at the same time.> (Mother 9)

However, due to Child 9's lack of Korean language proficiency, he was unable to converse with his maternal grandparents and relatives in Korea so Family 9 was unable to maintain family ties. This led Mother 9 to be culturally, not linguistically, isolated from her family and this disconnection from her mother tongue and culture resulted in emotional upset. It also negatively affected her social connections with other Korean speakers within the wider Korean community.

Excerpt 40.

눈물이 나오려고 하네. 아, 아니오. 그게 외국 사는 좀 설움이라나. 그래서 저는 이제 가끔 한국을 가면 너무 푸근한 거예요 그 분위기가. <I am in tears now. Ah, well, I feel sorrow about living away from home. When I sometimes go to Korea I feel warm about general atmosphere in Korea.> (Mother 9)

Most Korean migrants in this study have similar feelings about the relationship between Korean language and culture. Sharing language, culture and cultural aspects within the family enhances feelings about a sense of belonging to their minority culture. The maintenance of family ties is crucial for both Korean migrant parents and their New Zealand-born children and language is

seen as the primary factor in maintaining relationships with extended family. Child 9, son of Mother 9, had a different point of view. He prioritised English language and New Zealand culture over than his mother's Korean culture and language. For him English was more important in order to integrate into mainstream society.

Excerpt 41.

I think the best outcomes are being fully integrated into New Zealand while keeping your Korean identity and heritage. But I don't think you should try to cling to the culture if it is going to be at the expense of your English proficiency. I think that is the top priority. (Child 9)

Family language policy, based on parents' language beliefs, strongly influences a child's language beliefs and practices (MacLeod et al., 2013). Due to implementing a monolingual conversation in English policy, Child 9 did not see the relationship between language and culture, and how this created feelings of isolation for his mother when living in a majority society as a minority language-speaking person.

The majority of parent participants hoped their children would be able to speak the Korean language. A parent participant reported her positive experiences with her oldest child, who was highly proficient in Korean, and pointed out advantages that she felt would help other migrant parents.

Excerpt 42.

한국말을 하는 부모 밑에 있는 한국말을 하는 자녀가 있으면 너무 좋겠죠 소통도 되고, 교류도 되고 그리고 사춘기도 적게 빨리 넘어갔던 거 같아요. 왜냐면 계속 대화를 해왔으니까. 그래서 꼭 한국말을 가르쳐서 어떤 뭐 직업적으로 학업적으로 도움이 된다고 보다는 부모하고 소통이 됐으면 좋겠어요. <I really wish children to be able to speak Korean and to communicate and exchange thoughts with their Korean-speaking parents. In my experience, he quickly overcame becoming defiant during puberty because we kept communicating with each other. Whether having an ability to speak Korean language would bring benefits for employment or academic achievement or not I would rather wish to have good communications between parents and children.> (Mother 1)

Many parent participants in this study expressed positive views on Korean language transmission across generations. One mother, Mother 8, gave an example of this. She identified her son as a bilingual speaker because her son was exposed to a Korean-speaking environment from birth. She was also positive about intergenerational Korean language transmission because she believed that her children would pass on Korean language to their children.

Excerpt 43.

할 거 같아요. 왜 그러냐면 본인들이 나이가 들어서 필요하다고 느꼈으니까 하는 거잖아요. 그러니까 자연스럽게 시키지 않을까 하는 생각이 들어요. <I think my children will. They have felt the need to learn Korean as they were growing up so they became motivated. I think they will naturally pass on the language to their children.> (Mother 8)

Her son, Child 8 confirmed his mother's view of his motivation to become increasingly proficient in Korean. He indicated that he plans to work as an English teacher in Korea after his graduation which would enable him to learn Korean language in a Korean environment.

Excerpt 44.

I think learning Korean will be fun and interesting. And it's my parents' home land so, you know, I want to go back. I feel I am definitely connected with Korea and Korean culture. Yeah, mainly I wanna go back to Korea to visit my relatives again because I haven't been there for a while. That's mainly it. And I'd like to maybe work in Korea for a bit and maybe just travel around so it'd be easier for me. (Child 8)

Some child participants did not feel comfortable in Korean culture. A child participant noted that, even though he could fluently speak Korean, when interacting with Korean speakers in both Korea and New Zealand he faced some cultural difficulties. He explained that he understood that in Korean culture he should respect elders and seniors and he should not call them by their first names. But he felt that this should not apply to some of his friends when they were only one or two years older than him.

Excerpt 45.

It kind of separates you just because of culture. I don't really feel that it's necessary to call someone a completely different appellation just because of age. (Child 5)

He also stated:

Excerpt 46.

Even though I can fluently speak Korean with native speakers in Korea I don't like going to Korea. (Child 5)

Key point summary

Both parent and child participants emphasised the importance of the positive relationship between Korean language and culture. Parents were motivated to teach cultural values and beliefs through the use of Korean language because they believed knowing the language enhanced the maintenance of family ties and a sense of belonging to Korea as well as keeping Korean culture alive. Parents also emphasised the importance of maintaining family ties with extended families in both Korea and New Zealand through regular family communication in Korean language. Parents deliberately used Korean language in family interactions to enable their New Zealand-born children to learn their minority language and culture in natural settings. Most parent participants in this study appeared to see the need to continue to speak Korean language as children get older. They believed their strong belief about Korean language transmission would be passed on to their children and grandchildren.

The majority of the child participants in this study demonstrated a positive belief about the need to become a Korean language speaker. Some child participants, who felt a lack of Korean language proficiency, reported that they became motivated to learn Korean language and culture as they matured. However, some children reported feeling confused about the importance of acquiring English, the majority language, and Korean, minority language, when living in New Zealand. One child participant whose family deliberately spoke only English at home, suggested that English language acquisition should be prioritised over keeping Korean language.

Family language policy is an important factor in the success or otherwise of language transmission across generations when the home language is the minority language.

5.3.2. Language and identity

Many child participants in this study explained how an ascribed identity was given by non-Korean speakers when living in New Zealand. In their experience, their physical appearance led to non-Koreans labelling them as Asian, not specifically Korean. This led the child participants to think about self-identity in their teens and develop a greater awareness of their Korean heritage.

Parent participants believe that their New Zealand-born children have a Korean identity. These parents state that, even after residing for almost 20 years in New Zealand, they still see themselves as Korean. Parent participants believe that their children, as they mature, come to realise they have a Korean identity. That is why parent participants make an effort to keep Korean language alive across generations (Excerpts 53-56).

Findings show that there is a correlation between the strength of parental belief about the connection between language and identity and their motivation to teach their children Korean language, culture and beliefs (Excerpts 28-30, 35-36, 42-43). The language is seen as the key to cultural understanding and identity development as Korean (Excerpts 54-56).

Language and identity were seen by both parent and child participants to be closely related but their beliefs were expressed differently. Although the mothers and children in this research had lived in New Zealand for more than 16 years at the time of the interviews, all mothers strongly identified themselves as being Korean, but the children adopted several different identities depending on self-belief about language proficiency: Korean, hyphenated identity as Korean-New Zealander or vice versa (see Section 5.3.2.4), or New Zealander. As they matured identity changes occurred with Korean identity becoming stronger for most of the child participants.

5.3.2.1. *Korean identity*

Children were naturally raised in two different linguistic and cultural environments, at home and school, but felt English was dominant until they started thinking about their own cultural

and ethnic identity. According to many parent participants' experiences, children discovered the need to speak Korean when they were at secondary school as this was the time when children often started to think about their self-identity. Child's identity development encouraged parents to pass on Korean language and culture to children and children to learn about the language and culture.

Mother 1 identified a relationship between a child's age and their motivation for minority language transmission. She reported her son, Child 1, also felt more at ease with Korean peers than with New Zealand peers as he matured. She strongly stated that,

Excerpt 47.

큰애는 이제 100% 한국 사람인 거 같아요. <I believe he is almost a 100% Korean person.> (Mother 1)

Mother 1's strong beliefs about relationships between language and identity influenced her son's identity development. However her son reported having confused feelings about defining his first and second languages.

Excerpt 48.

아무래도 한국인이고 여기서 처음으로 여기서 배운 언어가 한국어니까 한국어라 해야 되겠쥬. 그런데 여기서 태어났고 제일 많이 쓰는 언어가 영어다 보니까 그거는 좀 헷갈리는 거 같아요. <I would say I am Korean and Korean language is my first language because I learned Korean first. But I was born here and I use English more so it is quite confusing.> (Child 1)

This influenced his language choices at home when interacting with parents and siblings until he started thinking about his self-identity at secondary school. Prior to this he used Korean for child-parent/grandparent interactions, but English for sibling interactions. During his identity development he saw the need to speak Korean and encouraged his younger siblings to speak more Korean for family conversations.

Key point summary

In this study some parent participants identified their children as being Korean, but their children often showed confused feelings about their identity. This resulted in the children having a dual identity, hyphenated Korean-New Zealand.

5.3.2.2. Development of identity and language

Child 1 recalled that he started thinking about his Korean ethnicity when attending high school. Prior to that he had not had many chances to interact with Korean-speaking peers and he did not see the need to speak Korean outside of the home. In this study many child participants reported having similar experiences to Child 1. According to these child participants, Korean was the language of the home before attending school, but once children were exposed to school settings where English was the medium they were more likely to feel comfortable using English. This was the first indication of a language shift occurring amongst child participants.

Excerpt 49.

I was ignoring my own language. I think it was because a lot of the time I was really focused on my friends that could speak English. (Child 2)

Although parent participants implemented their family language policy children tended to speak English in order for them to fit in to a school environment. At secondary school, however, many child participants began to think about their Korean identity. Three child participants shared their stories:

Excerpt 50.

When I was younger I was more comfortable being a Kiwi, but as I've got older I think I am more understanding of where I'm from and where my parents are from and the food is awesome and also just learning about history and my own culture is really interesting. (Child 12)

Excerpt 51.

Towards the end of high school I wanted to start learning more of the Korean language and so I can speak to my parents easier, you know, speak to Koreans a bit easier. (Child 8)

Excerpt 52.

As I grew older I got a few Korean friends and they can speak Korean and English pretty well. It was I reckon at that point I kind of felt like I needed to learn Korean a bit more. Because I am Korean, but I can't speak that well which was odd for them I guess. (Child 7)

The more the children thought about having a Korean identity as they matured the more they realised the need to speak the language. They became more motivated to learn Korean language and began to appreciate a family language policy and practice that naturally provided a Korean-speaking environment.

All mother participants also felt that their children's identity development as a Korean became more obvious at secondary school level. These mothers shared their stories:

Excerpt 53.

아이들이 크면서 본인들도 한국말을 배워야 되겠다 라고 생각하고 한국말을 좀 더 의식적으로 쓰기 시작하더라구요. <As children grew up they saw the need to speak Korean and have intentionally tried to speak more Korean.> (Mother 3)

Excerpt 54.

아이들이 크면서 자기 정체성에 대해서 생각을 하면서 아무리 영어가 편하고 하더라도 그건 어쩔 수가 없는 가봐요. 그래도 확고하게 안에는 한국사람이라는 게 있어요. <As children grow up they have a thought about their ethnic identity even though they feel comfortable to speak English. I do believe that they have a solid Korean identity inside of them.> (Mother 2)

In addition to Mother 2's statement, another mother shared her thoughts on the relationship between language and identity development over time.

Excerpt 55.

영어가 편하다 할지라도 여기에서 살면서 자기 뿌리에 대해서 언젠가 생각하게 될 때가 있다고 저는 생각을 하거든요. 자기 identity 에 대해서는 생각을 하게 될 때가 반드시 온다고. <Although feeling at ease to speak English, I believe my children will have a time to think about their origin and true identity while living in New Zealand.> (Mother 7)

Mother 6 reported that her son had been given an ascribed identity by non-Koreans. According to her, due to her son's physical appearance people saw him as Korean or Asian so she believed her son needed to have the ability to speak Korean.

Excerpt 56.

어쨌든 New Zealand 에서 태어났어요 한국 사람이니까 누가 봐도 한국사람 이잖아요 겉모습은. 그러니까 한국말을 하는 게 나쁘지 않다 라고 생각을 했고... <Even though my children were born in New Zealand people see them as Korean by their appearance. So I believed it would be good for them to be able to speak Korean...> (Mother 6)

Key point summary

All parent participants shared the same beliefs about their children's Korean identity. These beliefs motivated the mothers to raise their children to have the ability to speak Korean. Many child participants had similar beliefs to their parents about their identity and the role Korean language acquisition played in identity development.

5.3.2.3. Identity crisis

Some child participants who felt they had minimal Korean language proficiency were uncertain about their identity. On one hand, these children agreed with their parents' beliefs about having

a Korean identity, but on the other hand, they also felt they had a New Zealand identity. Within the family unit, each member appeared to differently shape their own identity (Zhu & Li, 2016). When children lacked Korean language proficiency it appeared to undermine their sense of connection to their parents' home country. This led both child and parent participants to challenge family language policy and practices within the family unit.

Excerpt 57.

For a certain period of time I'd feel quite lost in who I am like where I'm from like I wouldn't feel any connection at all. (Child 2)

Excerpt 58.

I know a lot of people and they went through a lot of hardship /.../ tremendous amount of difficulty and distraught [distress] for a lot of people. (Child 3)

Child 2 explained about 'difficulty and distraught' feelings that were mentioned by Child 3.

Excerpt 59.

There's a bit of like an identity crisis where you kind of doubt yourself in a way. Should I just stick to being like having that white personality or like that white upbringing or should I try and have the relationship to what country I belong to? (Child 2)

Another child participant also felt frustrated. He highlighted the identity crisis that took place for some New Zealand-born Koreans or Korean migrants who came to New Zealand at a young age.

Excerpt 60.

Because the question is I'm ethnically Korean but nationality is New Zealand. What am I? I think a lot of us went through an identity crisis to a certain degree and I think it was quite difficult, very difficult because while you get the best of those both things you never fully belong to any set because you can't completely integrate into the Korean community but you can't completely become a part of the New Zealand people simply because you look Asian, you know. (Child 3)

According to all child participants, many New Zealand-born Koreans appear to have concerns about identity development. Following confused identity development some child participants, especially Children 2 and 3, became more motivated to learn Korean language and culture. Some child participants indicated their increased interest in watching Korean media content and using Korea-based online shopping websites. The child participants came to realise the advantages of having an ability to speak Korean.

Excerpt 61.

It was during the start of high school. When I started watching more [Korean] drama I was really addicted to drama that's when I was just like I'm so thankful. /.../ Yeah, this was the advantages that made me realise "oh this is the greatness of knowing another language". (Child 2)

Child participants' experiences of developing self-identity and building good friendships with Korean friends motivated them to learn the Korean language. Parent participants emphasised the need to raise children as Korean speakers when living in an English-focused country as the language was important for positive identity development. A mother stressed the important role Korean parents played in children's identity development.

Excerpt 62.

자기 self-esteem 하고 그 자아를 찾는데 제일 어려운 게 나는 한국 사람 모습을 갖고 있는데 왜 나는 한국말을 못하고 한국 문화를 전혀 모르기 때문에 '나는 누구인가' 그때 힘들 거라는 생각에 그때 되면 자기가 선택을 할 수 있잖아요 언어를. 그때까지는 부모 역할이 도와줘야 된다는 생각이 있었던 거 같아요. <It would be very difficult for my son to have self-esteem if he could not speak Korean and could not understand Korean culture because he looked Korean. He would have a question 'Who am I?' When this happens, children can choose a language that they feel more related to them. Until then parents should support them. I think this is a role for parents.> (Mother 7)

Another mother also noted the relationship between language and identity in both cultural and religious identity development.

Excerpt 63.

아이들이 자기들의 정체성을 찾아가면서, 하나님 안에서 정체성을 찾아가면서 아이들이 아 자기가 가지고 있는 것들이 소중한 자기가 한국 사람이다 라는 것을 그때 더 깊이 깨달은 거 같아요. 그러면서부터 한국말을 하는 것을 어색해 하지 않고 한국말을 조금 더 배우려고 하고 한국 문화를 알고 싶어하고 하더라구요. 그래서 저희 셋째 같은 경우에는 혼자 일부러 어린이 성경을 갖다 놓고 공부를 하고 그렇게 했던 시간이 있었어요. 그래서 참 아이들이 정체성을 찾는 것이 언어에 굉장히 중요한 부분이구나 하는 생각을 갖게 됐어요. <Developing self-identity, and believing in God made my children come to realise their identity as Korean. Since then they love themselves as who they are, and identify themselves as Korean. Consequently they do not feel awkward to speak the Korean language anymore and try to learn more Korean language and culture. My third child intentionally studied the children's bible in Korean language. Experiencing all these I have come to realise that Korean language acquisition plays a key role in identity development.> (Mother 3)

A mother shared another possible aspect of Korean migrant children's identity development. She commented about how the development of an ethnic identity was also positively related to school achievement.

Excerpt 64.

예전엔 영어를 그렇게 잘 하지 못했거든요. /.../ 자신에 대해서 정체성을 찾아가고 자신감을 찾기 시작하면서 또 공부를 하는 재미도 알게 된 거 같아요. 그때부터 영어도 훨씬 실력이 향상된 거 같아요. <He did not achieve highly in English in the past. /.../ During his identity development he became confident and found interests in study. Since then his English, especially as a subject, has achieved highly.> (Mother 3)

Key point summary

Child and parent participants suggested that the key to the identity development was the language. Child participants seem to start thinking about identity in their teens. The beginning of identity development in teenage years was often a result of young people finding themselves ascribed an Asian identity by non-Asian people. This led to them thinking about having an ability to speak Korean that influenced developing a Korean identity. Child participants became more interested in exploring their Korean heritage language and culture. Parents' beliefs about family language policy and practices at home supported their children's identity development. A parent reported that the consolidating of a Korean identity through language acquisition had a positive effect on academic achievement as the child developed feelings about sense of belongings to both Korea and New Zealand and became motivated to enhance language proficiency in both languages.

5.3.2.4. Developing a hyphenated identity

Some child participants reported having confused feelings about their self-identity as Excerpts 47 and 48 demonstrated. Although Mother 1 reported her son, Child 1, as a 100% Korean person, Child 1 expressed difficulty in choosing one cultural identity. Like Child 1, most child participants had difficulty in defining which of their two languages would have most influence on their self-identity. It was during identity development that they began to realise the impact of two different cultures, and two different languages upon their lives. After reflecting on these differences they often adopted a hyphenated identity.

Child 3 appeared to be confident in both Korean and English and identified himself as having a hyphenated identity as a Korean-New Zealander. Mother 3 emphasised the important role hyphenated identity played in social acceptance and belonging. She shared her children's experiences.

Excerpt 65.

우리 아이들 같은 경우에는 New Zealand 에서 태어나서 New Zealander 로 살아가고 있지만 한국 사람이기 때문에 본인이 자신의 정체성을 Korean-New Zealander 로 알지 못하는 경우에는 뭔가 불안정한 정체성을 갖게 되는 거 같아요. 그렇게 되면 언어

능력을 떠나서 자기가 여기서 살아가는 자신감을 가질 수가 없는 거 같아요. 왜냐면 밖에 나가면 Kiwi 로 살아가고 집에 들어오면 한국 사람으로 살아가고. <Like my children, who were born in New Zealand and have lived as New Zealanders but they are Korean. If they did not accept their dual identity as Korean-New Zealander, they could have unstable identity. As a result, no matter how highly proficient in English they are unable to become confident in living in New Zealand. Because they live as Kiwis outside of their home, but Korean inside of home.> (Mother 3)

Her son described his identity development journey as causing “*tremendous amount of difficulty and distress*” (Excerpt 58) for him. He eventually embraced having an identity that was also accepted by his mother.

Excerpt 66.

So we kind of settled on the term Korean-Kiwi. (Child 3)

When child participants were asked about their identity some of them also described a hyphenated identity. Two child participants referred to this during their interviews.

Excerpt 67.

I don't know what to call myself like Kiwi-Korean. But I'm a Korean person who has been born in New Zealand I think. (Child 12)

Excerpt 68.

I have Korean heritage so sort of learn the language as well, yeah. /.../ I identify myself as New Zealander, but also Korean as well so Kiwi-Korean, yeah. (Child 6)

Excerpt 69.

I identify myself as New Zealander, but also Korean as well so Kiwi-Korean, yeah. (Child 8)

Child 4 also identified as having dual identity. She pointed out that it was not easy to separate two different cultures and identities within herself. She liked Korean heritage aspects that were

related to extended family interactions and the recent Korean Wave as well as New Zealand aspects that related to residing and being raised in a majority society.

Excerpt 70.

Because I'm a Korean-New Zealander. Yeah, I was born here so Korean-New Zealander. (Child 4)

Over time some child participants chose to accept and develop a hyphenated identity, Korean-New Zealander or vice versa that showed feelings about their identity that arose from living within a two language society and culture.

Excerpt 71.

I wouldn't want to forget how to speak Korean because it's such an important part of me. (Child 13)

Key point summary

Many child participants in this study acknowledged having the ability to speak and understand language and culture in both Korea and New Zealand. This led the children to develop a hyphenated identity to accommodate two linguistic and cultural aspects within themselves. Findings from the study demonstrate that having a hyphenated identity is seen as a positive factor for New Zealand-born Korean children in Korean language transmission and identity development by giving the child participants a positive sense of belonging to both Korea and New Zealand.

5.3.2.5. *Korean speakers' perceptions about Korean language and identity*

Within the wider Korean community there is an underlying assumption by native Korean speakers that Koreans must be able to speak the Korean language (for example, Excerpt 52). Such a general assumption was accepted by the majority of participants in this study. Most parent participants strongly supported such a belief and many child participants indicated their awareness of this belief and seemed to agree with it. The strength of the parents' belief appeared

to influence the strength of children's belief and affected an identity development that was also influenced by family language policy and practice.

Excerpt 72.

겉모습은 한국 사람인데 한국말을 못하는 것도 굉장히 아이러니한 거거든요. <I think it would be very ironic if someone looked Korean but could not speak the Korean language at all.> (Mother 6)

Parent participants pointed out that children were interested in acquiring Korean language as part of their identity development. The children, however, reported being aware of the general underlying assumption made by adult Koreans that being Korean meant being able to speak Korean language. A child commented about this beliefs held both by his parents as well as the wider Korean community.

Excerpt 73.

If you're a Korean you have to know Korean. Or else you're some sort of a failed Korean. (Child 3)

Excerpt 74.

If a Korean person who can't speak Korean people think he/she is kind of dumb. (Child 4)

This attitude towards Korean language and identity made New Zealand-born Koreans feel the need to acquire Korean language including literacy skills. Two child participants commented:

Excerpt 75.

But I realise it's kind of weird for a Korean person not to know how to read or write Korean. (Child 5)

Excerpt 76.

Some Koreans just never learned Korean so I think that's important that you need to learn Korean to be a Korean yeah. (Child 4)

One mother voiced the perceptions Korean parents had about other Korean looking people.

Excerpt 77.

만약에 부모가 다 한국 사람인데도 애가 한국어를 못하면 그런 생각이 들더라구요. 왜 한국말 안 가르쳤지? <If both parents were Korean, but their child could not speak Korean. I immediately had a question to those parents why they did not teach their children Korean?> (Mother 6)

Parent's general beliefs and attitudes influenced children's beliefs and attitudes towards Korean language and identity. No matter how inconsistent the family language policy and practice was the children generally had a positive view on living in two cultures and how that influenced the development of self-identity as Korean. Some child participants, however, did have confused feelings about the relationship between language and identity.

Excerpt 78.

Well, I am a Korean and I do need to speak Korean but then I can always learn it again when I speak English better. I think English is like the main language so I think I should learn English better than Korean cause I'm not really a person that goes to Korea a lot so I would speak English more. (Child 4)

Child 4 faced language difficulties when starting primary school. This led her family to revise their family language policy, from speaking only Korean to speaking both Korean and English (Excerpt 17). After the child overcame her language difficulty at primary school, the family allowed the children to continue to speak English at home. Such inconsistent implementation of family language policy and beliefs made Child 4 feel that English was their dominant language. Child 4 self-identified as being Korean but emphasised the importance of English language while living in New Zealand. Child 5 also reported himself as Korean but was not comfortable in Korean culture (Excerpt 46).

Some parents whose child self-identified as having a dual identity remained positive about a Korean identity eventually becoming more dominant. Although some child participants expressed positive feelings about English as their dominant language they agreed with the parents about the importance of having a Korean identity, and identified as Korean-New Zealander.

Mother 8 reported that her son, Child 8, often identified himself as a Korean person who lived overseas. Also he was able to fluently speak both Korean and English. Mother 8 believed that her son's bilingual skills and his acceptance of his Korean identity enabled him to integrate positively in both mainstream, minority and majority, societies. Child 8 agreed with his parent, but more definitely self-identified as Korean-New Zealander to the researcher. During his interview he emphasised the importance of Korean language transmission and Korean identity and indicated his willingness to transmit Korean to the next generation.

Excerpt 79.

I think parents should speak Korean to their kids also teach them about Korean culture and the Korean language because it's part of you, /.../ Yes, definitely teach my children Korean. Because they will have some Korean in them. (Child 8)

Key point summary

This study demonstrated how Korean language proficiency impacted upon self-identity development. Most parent participants believed it was important for their New Zealand-born children to have a Korean identity. The children agreed with their parents, but tended to have a dual identity as Korean-New Zealander although some child participants expressed positive feelings about English as their dominant language. In the wider Korean community there is an underlying assumption made by native Korean speakers about a correlation between Korean identity and Korean language. This appears to be a positive factor for New Zealand-born Korean children, encouraging them to see the need to speak Korean when interacting with other Korean native speakers.

Consistent implementation of family language policy and practice played a crucial role in a child's identity development. Both children's positive feelings about having a Korean identity and the general assumption about Korean language and identity being inseparable led child participants to become motivated to learn Korean language. Being able to speak Korean when living in New Zealand led many child participants to develop a hyphenated identity as Korean-New Zealander. Both child and parent participants stressed that a hyphenated identity that created a sense of belonging to both majority and minority societies could also result in high academic achievement.

5.3.2.6. *Language and identity in the OPOL policy families*

Compared to child participants with both parents Korean-born, child participants with parents from different mother tongue backgrounds follow a different identity development path. Three families, Families 9, 10 and 11, have different experiences and stories about their children's identity development. In the following section experiences and stories from each of three mixed families are presented and discussed.

Family 9

This family implemented a monolingual conversation in English policy. Mother 9 believed in the importance of majority language acquisition for educational purposes (see Excerpt 20). Her New Zealand non-Korean-speaking husband ran his home-based business with his wife which fostered an English-speaking environment at home. This family appeared to not interact with maternal extended family and relatives in Korea and Child 9 never went to Korea to visit them or was exposed to a Korean-speaking environment.

Because he was born and lived in Korea until he was 5-years-old Child 9 identified himself as a Korean person when he was at primary school. Now in his early 20s, he identified as a New Zealander. His mother said:

Excerpt 80.

초등학교 때 아들이 혼혈아 치고는 한국적으로 생겼어요. /.../ 그래서 학교에서 전부 Korean boy 로 통했어요. /.../ 어릴 때 아주 어릴 때 아들 일기장을 보니까 태극기 같은 거를 그렸고 비행기 타고 자기가 뉴질랜드 오는 거를 그렸어요. 그래서 제가 물어 보니까 자기는 한국 사람으로 인식을 하고 있더라구요. 그때 내가 너는 한국 사람이야 이렇게 말을 해 준 적도 없는데. <When he was at primary school, he was looked on as Korean even though he is from a mixed marriage. /.../ So he was known as a Korean boy at his school. /.../ One day I saw his diary. He drew something like the Korean national flag and he was on the plane to come to New Zealand. So I asked him about his drawing and discovered that he identified himself as Korean. It was very interesting because I never told him that he was Korean.> (Mother 9)

According to Mother 9, she taught her son cultural values and beliefs arising from Korean and Eastern philosophy, but she never made connections between those cultural aspects and his having a Korean heritage. She expressed a belief that it was more important to teach him broad cultural and philosophical aspects rather than a specific heritage language and identity. She explained her belief about his universal identity.

Excerpt 81.

한국 사람을 강조하고 싶으면 사상을 넣어주는 게 더 중요하다고 생각했기 때문에 실제로 내 아들 같은 경우는 한국말을 거의 못해요. /.../ 제가 아이한테 너는 한국말을 꼭 해야 돼 한적은 없지만. 너는 한국인이기 전에, 뉴질랜드인 이기 전에, 영어를 하기 전에, 한국말을 하기 전에 너는 너야. "너야 너". <I believe that it is more important to teach him cultural values and philosophy if I wanted to emphasise his Korean identity. So my son can hardly speak Korean. /.../ I have never asked him to speak Korean, but I have often talked to him about his universal identity, rather than a Korean, a New Zealand, an English speaker or a Korean speaker. I've said to him that he is just himself. "You are just you".> (Mother 9)

She intentionally used English to teach Child 9 cultural values and beliefs, but she now regretted not teaching him Korean language. She felt that there were language barriers when explaining Korean philosophy in English. Child 9 reported the same story as his mother:

Excerpt 82.

I don't really identify with being Korean that much because I haven't been back to Korea since I left when I was five. And most of my friends in primary school to intermediate and high school I was with just from other ethnicities, purely because there weren't many Korean students there. So I've always spent more time outside Koreans there so to speak. So because of that I've never felt attached to Korean identity that much and because of that I've never felt an obligation to learn Korean or speak Korean. (Child 9)

Due to Family 9's lack of exposure to a Korean language-speaking and cultural environment, they appeared to not see the need to speak and learn about Korean aspects of their identity. Mother 9 felt isolated when living in New Zealand (Excerpt 40) and Child 9 did not think of

his having a Korean connection. This lack of a Korean identity and language made it difficult to interact with Korean international students at university, even though he would have liked to have had the contact.

Excerpt 83.

I do regret not knowing Korean throughout the past five years. It would've been useful. Not just talk with other Korean student, but also leaning another language is interesting.
(Child 9)

Key point summary

Both the mother and the son appeared to regret not acquiring the Korean language that would enable the son to develop a Korean identity. At the time of the interview the son had left home for university in Auckland where he would have more opportunities to interact with Korean-speaking peers. The mother had felt isolated since her son left home.

Family 10

Child 10's self-reported identity was '*half-Korean and half-Kiwi*' (Excerpt 31). The father of Child 10 was non-proficient in Korean, but was supportive in raising his children bilingually. This was seen by the family as a positive factor in language and identity development in a hyphenated identity situation.

Excerpt 84.

애기 때부터 한국을 왔다 갔다 하니까 당연히 자기는 half-Korean, half-Kiwi. 엄마는 왜 한국 사람 이런 적도 없고. 오히려 애들이 좋게 얘기를 하죠. <Because we often visited Korea since my children were infants, they naturally believe themselves as half-Korean and half-Kiwi. They've never asked me that why I am Korean at all. In fact, my children see having a Korean mum as a positive factor.> (Mother 10)

Child 10 reported that she had not been given an ascribed identity as Asian by others. She felt special and proud of being *half-Korean and half-Kiwi*. Such positive feelings motivated her to acquire Korean language and she hoped to work in Korea in the future.

Excerpt 85.

*Not many people can look at me and be like she is half-Asian. They can't see it. /.../
Now I am quite into Asian art and stuff. That is why I think if I didn't know Korean it
wouldn't be such a big thing in my life maybe. (Child 10)*

Key point summary

Within Family 10 implementing an OPOL policy, a balanced exposure to a Korean language-speaking and cultural environment and successful Korean language transmission tends to facilitate a positive identity development (as being half-Korean and half-Kiwi) for Child 10. As a result, both parent and child were able to maintain positive family connections and be satisfied with their family language policy and practice.

Mother 11 (the child was out of research scope)

The third family from this group, Mother 11, identified her son as “*full-Korean and full-Kiwi*” (Excerpt 87). Like Family 10, this family also had balanced exposure to Korea and New Zealand and implemented an OPOL policy. However, contrary to Family 10, the husband was proficient in Korean language and mainly spoke Korean until their son attended primary school. As a result, Mother 11 was able to naturally continue speaking Korean with her son both inside and out of the home.

Mother 11 emphasised the important role speaking Korean language played in identity development. She pointed out that if she spoke English at home her son would not develop his Korean identity. She believed children learned about culture through a language so without exposure to a Korean-speaking environment Korean children would become confused when they started thinking of who they are. She noted that she and her husband deliberately thought about their son's identity development and they endeavoured to equally provide two different

cultural aspects and exposure to different linguistic environments. The parents acknowledged their son's ability to appreciate two different cultures and languages.

Excerpt 86.

아마 영어만 썼다면 다른 것보다도 그 한국인이라는 마음 가짐이라든지 흔히 얘기하는 정체성에 대한 어떤 이미지가 자리를 못 잡았을 거 같애. 자기가 한국인이라는 그 어떤 마음 가짐이라든지 아니면 한국 사람이 어떻게 하고 한국 문화는 어떤 거고 그리고 한국 언어를 통해서 문화 이런 걸 많이 습득하거든요. <If we only spoke English he would not develop his identity as Korean. I do not think he could think about himself as Korean and identify himself as Korean either. I believe that through speaking Korean language children can realise themselves as Korean and learn about Korean culture, cultural values and behaviour.> (Mother 11)

In this family, balanced exposure to a two language-speaking environment and practising an OPOL language policy appeared to enhance the child's hyphenated identity. This excerpt shows the child's equal abilities to speak Korean and English languages.

Excerpt 87.

언젠가 아들이 *ethnicity* 에 대해서 어느 문화에 속하는가를 쓰는 게 있었어요. 그래서 *half-Korean half-Kiwi* 이런 식으로 쓰는 난이 있었나 봐요. 남편이 그렇게 쓰지 말고 *full-Korean full-Kiwi* 라고 쓰라고 왜냐면 너는 두 가지를 확실하게 갖췄으니까 그런 얘기를 하더라구요. 남편이 그런 얘기를 하니까 아들도 분명히 그렇게 믿고 쓴 거 같아요. <Once my son was filling in a form and there was a section about his ethnicity. He wrote his identity as half-Korean and half-Kiwi. My husband suggested him whether he could write full-Korean and full-Kiwi instead because my husband commented that he had a very good awareness of two cultures. My son wrote as his father suggested and he has believed what his father said since then.> (Mother 11)

Key point summary

Mother 11 and her husband deliberately implemented a family language policy and practice that aimed to influence their child's language and identity development. In contrast to Child 10's self-identity, *half-Korean and half-Kiwi* (Excerpts 31 & 84), Mother 11's child identified himself as *full-Korean and full-Kiwi* (Excerpt 87). Child 9, whose mother was Korean, had had minimal exposure to a Korean-speaking environment, but indirectly, through comments he made, suggested his identity was New Zealander. Language proficiency and cultural awareness appear to influence self-identification.

5.3.3. Section summary

Findings from this present study show that both family language beliefs and family language policy enhance child language proficiency in minority language as well as influence child identity development.

According to the participants, the majority of parent and child participants emphasised the importance of the relationship between minority language and identity development. All child participants went through an identity development process that was influenced by their linguistic environment and language proficiency. Based on family language policy and implementation the children used Korean as their home language before and after starting school. Once they started formal education they were more exposed to an English-speaking environment and often did not see the need to maintain Korean language. Family language policy and practice played an important role in keeping Korean language as a major tool of conversation at home, even when the children were not motivated to speak Korean. During their teens the children began to think of themselves in relation to others and consequently, many of them discovered their Korean identity. As children came to realise the value of living in a Korean-speaking environment with Korean-speaking parents they also discovered the need to have an ability to speak the language because they, as well as the parents, believed a Korean should be able to speak Korean. This led child participants to become motivated to learn and maintain their minority language and culture. Varying levels of Korean language proficiency and belief about Korean language transmission have an impact upon how children developed their identities as Korean, Korean-Kiwi, and Kiwi-Korean. Mothers, however, continued to see their children as Korean.

Child participants agreed that speaking Korean at home helped them to retain their Korean language and they appreciated being able to connect with their minority language and culture and develop an identity through the language.

5.4. Family language practice

Previous sections discussed how participants' beliefs about transmitting Korean language across generations influenced and shaped their family language policy. Both parent and child participants came to realise the importance of having a Korean identity through an ability to speak the Korean language. Based on beliefs about the importance or otherwise of speaking Korean, their own experience of interacting with other Korean speakers and family linguistic background the participants implemented their chosen language strategy/plan/policy to meet their goal to be the primary source of speaking Korean with their children.

In this study all parent participants reported believing in the importance of understanding Korean culture and cultural values and made an effort for their children to be exposed to Korean cultural environments. However, depending on the parents' linguistic ideology, parent participants employed different types of family language policy (see Section 5.2). The majority of parent participants shaped and formed a family language policy that stressed the use of Korean for family communication. Mother 1, however, employed a *laissez-faire* policy where everyone in her family chose a language of their preference while Mother 9 chose to implement a monolingual conversation in English policy.

Korean-born mothers played a crucial role in implementing a family language policy that achieved their goals for their children. To further enhance Korean language acquisition for their children the parent participants also employed strategies such as teaching Korean literacy skills at home, providing resources in Korean language, visiting Korea and exposing children to Korean cultural activities. Through these experiences the child participants had more opportunities to learn Korean language and culture, important elements of self-identity development as Korean.

Speaking Korean language was reported as the tool of parent-child communications at home for most families. However, many child participants reported using English as a tool of

communication for sibling interactions. As child participants and their siblings had more exposure to school environments they felt more at ease speaking English rather than Korean to each other. Each family had different degrees of use of English, but except in single child families, siblings tended to prefer English to communicate with each other.

Maintaining family ties was reported as an influential factor in Korean language acquisition for the child participants in this study. Even when English was used as a tool in parent-child and child-child interactions, children reported speaking Korean when engaged with their extended family in Korea who had limited English language proficiency.

Parental input, sibling interaction and engaging with extended family in Korea play key roles in family language practices. In the following section family language practice is presented and discussed.

5.4.1. The role of interactions with parents

All parent participants, with the exception of Mother 9, talked to their child in Korean from pregnancy, before birth, until the present time. Mothers in this study stressed that their children had been exposed to a Korean-speaking environment for their entire life. In addition to this, mothers adopted various techniques and strategies to give their children opportunities to acquire Korean. In the following section family language practices and outcomes are outlined and discussed.

Mother 1 reported different influences when teaching Korean language including literacy to her children. With pressure from her parents and advice from other Korean parents, she decided to teach Child 1 Korean at home.

Excerpt 88.

큰애 같은 경우에는 집에서 한국 책 읽어주고 한국말 쓰고 한 거 외에도 한글을 조금 가르쳤어요. 첫 애라서 잘 키워야 되겠다 생각하고 주위에 물어봤더니 한글을 꼭 가르쳐야 된다고 해서 붙잡고 앉아서 가르쳤었어요. <For Child 1, I taught him Korean in addition to reading Korean books and speaking Korean at home. He was my first child and I wanted to raise him well. I asked [Korean migrant] people about how to

raise children [here]. They all suggested that teaching Korean language was compulsory so I did it. I made him sit at a desk and taught him Korean.> (Mother 1)

Instead of sending her children to the Korean school, Mother 1 naturally spoke Korean at home in order to foster a Korean-speaking environment and focussed on teaching Korean. Despite his mother's efforts, it was only in his teens he became more willing to acquire Korean. The other children in the family were not taught Korean either at home or at a Korean school. As a result, Child 1 who was a research participant was the only highly proficient Korean speaker among his siblings.

In Mother 2's home linguistic environment there was a strong emphasis on Korean language acquisition. Child 2 spoke of feeling comfortable speaking English and communicating with her siblings in English. However, in her parents' presence Child 2 and her siblings spoke Korean in order to include everyone in conversations. Child 2 did, however, have some concerns about her own Korean language proficiency.

Excerpt 89.

There's a lot of miscommunication between me and my parents through the Korean language because I know only a little bit and they know a lot. If I say something in Korean I can't really express myself completely so miscommunication is one big thing. So it can be very frustrating at times. That is how I feel about it but usually it's okay.
(Child 2)

Mother 2 used a dictionary to help overcome the language barrier with varying levels of success, but found smartphone technology was very effective in facilitating successful family communication. All her family members had access to electronic dictionaries and these were helpful in maintaining family interactions.

Although most migrant parents wanted their children to be able to speak the Korean language, children could become reluctant speakers with a preference for using English. Mother 3 implemented the use of monolingual conversation in Korean language as her family language policy, and endeavoured to expose her children to Korean-speaking environments. She sent her children to a New Zealand-based Korean school and took her children to Korean cultural events and activities. However, despite her endeavours, her son, Child 3, noted that second generation Koreans were more likely to become passive rather than active speakers.

Excerpt 90.

I think New Zealand born Korean speakers are generally speaking much less than their listening. Because when you speak in Korean obviously you're kind of in a passive status, just saying ㄴ/[yes], ㄴ/[yes], ㄴ/[yes], you know. And when you talk on the phone with your grandma that way you just kind of passively go along with it so there is not too much need for speaking. So it gets to the point where sometimes because I think the grammar is different but when you talk sometimes you just can't string a sentence together. You just give up and say in English. (Child 3)

Another factor that may impact on family language policy and practice was revealed during Mother 3's interview. The oldest child of the family, who did not participate in this research, recently recalled his language difficulties in his early childhood education and primary school years. Mother 3 noted in her interview:

Excerpt 91.

영어를 제대로 모르는 상황에서 kindergarten 을 가고 학교를 시작했는데 저는 아이들은 그냥 놔두면은 영어를 그냥 배울 수 있다고 생각했기 때문에 사실은 하나도 가르쳐 볼 생각을 안하고 놔뒀었거든요. 그런데 나중에 아이가 시간이 지나고 나서 자기가 왜 학교에 있었을 때 노래를 안 불렀는지 아느냐고 말하면서 그 당시에 몰랐었기 때문에 부르지 못했다 라고 얘기를 하고 path 라는 단어를 자기가 year 4 때까지 몰랐다는 얘기를 하더라구요. 그래서 엄마로서 굉장히 미안한 마음이 들었었어요. 그런데 그렇다고 해서 개가 학교에서 학업 능력이 떨어졌냐 하면 그렇지 않았거든요. 굉장히 뛰어난 아이였기 때문에 엄마로서는 그걸 눈치채지 몰랐었어요. <My first child started at kindergarten not knowing English well. I believed that he could naturally learn English at school so I didn't teach him [English at home] and let him learn. Later on he told me the reason that he did not sing along with songs at primary school. He did not know any English songs. He also said that he did not know the English word 'path' until he was in year 4. It was heart-breaking as his mother. He was not struggling. He was outstanding and highly achieved with his school work so I had not noticed his difficulties at all.> (Mother 3)

As this fact was not found out until the oldest child was an adult this did not alter their family language policy and practice at the time. But in Family 4 family language practice was adapted in response to their child's late language development in English at primary school level.

Mother 4 intentionally chose to speak Korean as the home language. Advice from other Korean migrants led her to believe that her children would naturally acquire English when they started school. However, her daughter, Child 4, had delayed English language development and Mother 4 became concerned about this (Excerpt 17). Mother 4's concern led to a change in family language policy. The family was encouraged to speak English at home in order to support Child 4. As a teenager Child 4 did not remember that she faced language difficulties when attending primary school.

Excerpt 92.

I don't actually remember. /.../ I think my mum invited my English friends over so I could learn more English, not my Korean friends. She preferred me playing with more English friends than Korean. She still does. (Child 4)

This dilemma was experienced by other parent participants. They were concerned that having Korean-speaking peers would hinder English language acquisition for New Zealand-born Koreans. Mother 4 expressed concern about how a lack of exposure to an English-speaking environment hindered English language proficiency as her daughter, Child 4, had late language development in English when attending primary school. She believed that speaking Korean at home had negatively affected her daughter's English language development.

Excerpt 93.

왜냐면 집에서 계속 엄마랑 한국말을 하는데 학교에 가서는 말수가 적다 보니까, 그리고 자기가 친한 친구들이, primary 때도 주로 아시안들을 많이 만났고 Korean, 그 다음 Japanese, Chinese 이렇게 친하다 보니까 그렇게 항상 사용하는 단어가 정해져 있었어요. 왜냐면 그 아이들도 집에 가서는 Chinese 하고, Japanese 하고, Korean 을 하기 때문에 그러다 보니까 저보다는 훨씬 더 어휘력이 좋지만 그래도 약간은 Konglish 같은 그런 느낌이, 100% Kiwi-English 는 아닌 그런 걸 제가 좀 봤죠.
<Because my daughter keeps speaking Korean at home with me and she does not talk

much at school. Since primary school her friends were often Asians, mainly Korean then Japanese and Chinese. Due to interacting with non-native English speakers, her range of English vocabulary seems to have become limited. Her friends speak Chinese, Japanese or Korean in their homes. This would negatively affect her English language proficiency. Her English language proficiency was obviously higher than mine, but I can sense that, it would not be 100% Kiwi English. It was like Konglish [Korean-English]>. (Mother 4)

Because of this concern, Mother 4 encouraged her daughter to interact more with monolingual English speakers rather than Asian peers in order to improve her English language proficiency and Child 4 often invited her English-speaking friends for sleep-overs.

Mother 4 was concerned about her daughter having to cope with two languages, Korean and English, at the same time as she started primary school. She believed confusion about two languages may have hindered her daughter's English language acquisition. Contrary to Mother 4's concerns about her daughter's language acquisition problems, her daughter had a positive experience of simultaneously learning two languages. In Child 4's interview, she explained the difficulties her school peers have when they learn a foreign language in their teens. She emphasised:

Excerpt 94.

You can learn Korean and English at the same time and then you don't need to study harder. (Child 4)

This inconsistent family language policy and practice had unexpected consequences for the second child, a younger sibling to Child 4, who was not a participant in this study. Mother 4 explained what happened.

Excerpt 95.

첫째 경험으로 둘째를 또 실패한 게 있어요. 둘째는 preschool 을 두 살 반부터 일찍 보냈어요. 두 살 반 전까지는 한국말을 잘 했어요. 둘째는 언어가 참 빠르더라구요. 한국말을 되게 잘 했어요. 그렇게 한국말을 잘 하다가 어느 순간 preschool 갔다가 집에 왔는데 영어로 말을 저한테 했는데 3-4 문장을 영어로 하는 거예요. 제가 그 순간

깜짝 놀라면서 "혹시 애도 한국 Primary school 을 들어가서 한국말을 잘하고 영어를 못해서 힘들어하면 어떡하지? 그래 그러면 영어를 좀 더 하게 해야 되겠다" 해서 한국말 보다 영어를 할 때 내버려 뒀거든요. 그랬더니 지금 한국말을 좀 힘들어 해요. 듣기는 잘 되는데 말하는 걸 되게 힘들어 해요. <The challenges from my daughter's experiences negatively affected my second child. I sent my second child to preschool early, at two and a half years old. He had developed Korean language skills early. He was able to speak Korean very well back then. One day he came home from his preschool and started speaking English to me in three to four sentences. At that moment I was quite surprised and immediately thought that "what if he had difficulties learning English at primary like his sister because he felt at ease speaking Korean rather than English? Maybe I should encourage him to speak English" so I let him speak English at home. As a result my son has difficulties in speaking Korean now. His listening comprehension is good but has difficulties speaking.> (Mother 4)

Mother 4 commented about having a lack of information about linguistic development when raising children as other Koreans only told her success stories about Korean children's English language acquisition at school. This advice, when deciding what to do about her children's language development, did not take into consideration individual differences in language acquisition. Their family language policy changed from monolingual conversation in Korean to a dual-lingual conversation policy giving lack of opportunities to practise Korean language resulted in her children having different levels of proficiency in Korean. Her younger son, who did not participate in this study, had low proficiency in Korean language and had no motivation to learn the language.

Family 8 had similar experiences arising from implementing an inconsistent family language policy and practice. Child 8 of this family had a silent period when they started primary school. This led Mother 8 and her husband to encourage their children to speak English as the home language in the hope that their child would be more confident to speak English at school. Despite the parents' concern, like Child 4 (see Excerpt 92), Child 8 had no clear memory of this experience. His response to a question about experiencing any language difficulties at his schools was:

Excerpt 96.

No, no not really. At the start maybe a little, but I can't remember if that would've been, yeah. (Child 8)

He explained about his feelings about English language acquisition at primary school:

Excerpt 97.

Um, no. not really. Because I started speaking English from quite a young age so I'd be able to write when my other friends wrote so, yeah. One year started learning the alphabet so everyone learned the alphabet at that time so yeah, I learned it at the same time so we all sort of progressed at the same time. (Child 8)

Child 8 believed that he and monolingual English-speaking children made the same progress in English language acquisition at school. Despite Child 8's belief, his parents' concern about his silent period changed the family language policy and practice from the use of a monolingual conversation in Korean policy to the use of dual-lingual conversation policy. The father of the family used English as a medium of family conversation rather than Korean whereas the mother chose to speak Korean at home. As a result, the children were encouraged to speak English for conversation within the family. Mother 8's interview, however, suggested the change was not as radical as it first appeared as she stated that Korean was still a home language.

Excerpt 98.

한국말로 하고 잘 모르고 애들이 이해 안 되는 거는 아빠가 이제 영어 설명을 하거나 아니면 지네가 얼른 찾아서 아빠 이런 한국 뜻이야 그러고 물어보죠. <Mainly speaking Korean, but my husband occasionally spoke in English to give them [my children] clarification. Or they looked up English-Korean dictionary in order to double check meaning of those words with my husband.> (Mother 8)

Mother 8's continued focus on speaking Korean gave Child 8 exposure to a Korean-speaking environment at home. Child 8 was able to develop his verbal skills in Korean at a very young age, but he did not feel confident to identify himself as a Korean speaker even though he was able to maintain a conversation in Korean.

Many child participants commented that a language shift occurred for them as they had more exposure to the school environment with English becoming their dominant communication tool. In this changing situation parental input became increasingly important in transmitting Korean as their home language.

With Mother 5's beliefs about her son, Child 5, needing to be able to speak Korean, Child 5 had the ability to speak Korean at a young age. Like other migrant children, he had a language shift challenge when he started school, but after a period when English was his preferred language he followed the family language policy and practice and spoke Korean at home (see also Excerpt 28).

Excerpt 99.

When I was at a very young age I still remember just consistently speaking English because at school I'd mostly speak English. So when I came back home I'd usually speak English but my parents were continuously speaking Korean. I just kind of picked that up. I guess they'd rather want me to speak Korean at home rather than English so at the age of seven or eight I just started speaking Korean at home rather than English.
(Child 5)

The parents from this family deliberately spoke Korean at home and encouraged him to speak it also. Being an only child was seen as a positive factor in Korean language transmission in this family. With only his Korean-speaking parents to speak to at home he had to speak Korean.

Many child participants appreciated their ability to speak Korean language and their parental input in Korean language transmission. One child participant, Child 6, commented on some of the advantages of maintaining communication with his parents and believed that this helped to have a strong family relationship (see Excerpt 33).

Excerpt 100.

Speaking Korean shows that you can bond with your parents on two different levels. Like your ethnicity and they overcome that barrier. I guess when they're using the language they're confident in when trying to speak to you they can feel more loving and friendly towards you I guess. (Child 6)

Lack of exposure to a Korean-speaking environment hinders maintaining Korean language proficiency. Mother 10 reported that her son, who did not participate in this study, was highly proficient in Korean before he left home for university. Since then, her son had not had many opportunities to interact with Korean native speakers and this negatively affected his Korean language proficiency. Her daughter, Child 10, supported Mother 10's story. Child 10 recalled that her brother's Korean language proficiency was higher than hers, but Child 10 now felt more comfortable to speak Korean than her brother did.

Excerpt 101.

I don't think he knows as much since he is not at home any more. He is kind of losing his Korean language. /.../ He is not speaking as much so he is kind of forgetting words.
(Child 10)

Many Korean migrant families tend to foster a Korean-speaking environment inside and outside of their homes in order for their children to learn the Korean language. Among some Korean families there are, however, some negative feelings about minority language and culture transmission. Mother 9, who implemented the use of mono-lingual conversation in English, expressed her concerns about teaching Korean language and culture to second generation Korean children. She felt that the speaking of a different language led to some Korean children being bullied at school.

Excerpt 102.

그러니까 한국말을 쓰지만 영어도 해야 되는 건데 이런 생각이 드는 거거든요. 맨날 너는 한국말을 써라 한국에 관한 뭐를 해라, 한국 음식을 먹어라, 한국 이러면서 밖에 나가면 애가 당연히 격리 감을 느끼죠. 그러면서 너는 왜 뉴질랜드 애들이랑 안 놀아, 너는 왜. 모순이잖아요. <I think we should speak Korean but need to speak English as well. Korean parents always ask their children to speak Korean, learn about Korea and eat Korean food. This led the children to have a lack of exposure to English language and cultural environments in New Zealand. As a result Korean children may find difficulty in integrating into mainstream society. Then Korean parents complain about their children not interacting with Kiwi children. I think this is a contradiction.>
(Mother 10)

Her son, Child 9, supported his mother's opinion. He also commented on the importance of English language acquisition when living in New Zealand.

Excerpt 103.

If you aren't as confident and proficient in English, you can't include as well socially with other kids and that's especially important when you were in primary school, I think, yeah. So not just being able to communicate with other people, but having the confidence because you can communicate with other people is important, I think. If you weren't proficient in English you suffer because of that I reckon. (Child 9)

Although some participants spoke of negative factors that hinder implementing a Korean focused family language practice, both child and parent participants in the study reported advantages, rather than disadvantages, of having an ability to speak Korean. Parental input in the use of Korean language at home was seen as a key factor in Korean language transmission.

Excerpt 104.

I think talking in Korean with my parents made me better at it. I think I improved a lot when I talk Korean with my parents. (Child 13)

Key point summary

Many factors influence family language practices that are adopted to promote minority language transmission. Findings from this study show that parental input is seen as a crucial factor in family language practice as the use of the Korean language by parents may be the only exposure to a Korean-speaking environment for their children. Twelve out of thirteen Korean parents chose to speak Korean as their home language. All the parents implemented various strategies for their children to acquire Korean language as well as learn about Korean culture. They taught Korean language at home; sent children to a Korean class/school outside of formal education²¹, participated in various cultural events in Korean communities²², and visited Korea²³. Being an only child was also seen as a positive factor. Negative factors in minority

²¹ Sending children to Korean community language Saturday school is presented in the Mesosystem, Section 6.2.

²² Participating in various events in the wider Korean community is presented in the Mesosystem, Section 6.4.

²³ Visiting to Korea is presented in the Mesosystem, Section 6.5.

language transmission are believed to be a child's late language development, having a silent period when attending school²⁴, child leaving home and feeling isolated from peer groups within the minority language culture.

Mothers reported being confused about how to make the best language choices for their children and so they implement conflicting practices in speaking Korean language and English. On one hand, parents believe that having Korean-speaking peers builds strong relationships by enabling sharing of the minority language and culture. On the other hand, parents prioritise high English language proficiency to facilitate academic and career success for their children, as well as integration into New Zealand culture. As a result, some parents encourage children to have weak relationships with Korean-speaking peers and focus on strong relationships with monolingual English-speaking peers.

5.4.2. The role of interactions with siblings

Migrant children tend to speak the majority language in interactions with siblings (Caldas, 2006). Previous studies show that the birth order of children also plays a key role in minority language transmission and maintenance (Cho, 2015; S. M. Park & Sarkar, 2007; Shin, 2005). The oldest child tends to have high proficiency in their minority language whereas the youngest child often has low proficiency. All child participants in this study who had siblings stated that they often used English to communicate with their siblings. This section looks at sibling interactions and their influence on language use.

Child 1 explained that English was the communication tool among his siblings and expressed his concerns about his siblings' inability to effectively communicate in Korean.

Excerpt 105.

*둘째는 한국말을 아예 못해요. 그리고 막내는 이제 조금씩 하려고 하고 있어요. 이제
엄마가 말을 하면 대답을 하고 그러는데 아직 둘이 대화할 정도의 능력은 안 되는 거
같아요. 특히 둘째는 좀 걱정이예요. <The second [child of his family] cannot speak
Korean at all. The youngest recently tried to speak Korean. They both can answer when*

²⁴ Having a silent period in formal education settings is presented in the Macrosystem, Section 7.2.

my mum asks questions but they cannot communicate in Korean with each other. Particularly I am really worried about the second.> (Child 1)

Although he felt responsible for his siblings choosing to speak English among themselves, he had positive feelings towards Korean language transmission.

Excerpt 106.

조금 죄책감이 들죠 제 책임도 있었으니까. 그런데 아직은 별로 늦진 않았다고
생각해요. 충분히 가능성은 있는 거 같고. <I feel guilty because I am partially
responsible. But I do not think it is too late for them to learn Korean. There is still a
possibility.> (Child 1)

Child 6, who was highly proficient in Korean language, also expressed his concerns about his younger sibling's lack of proficiency in Korean language.

Excerpt 107.

*I definitely want her to know more how to speak Korean. /.../ But sometimes I
discovered that her range of Korean vocabulary was greater than mine because she
said some words that I didn't understand so surprised me sometimes. I guess that's the
advantages you'll sometimes hear that word being spoken in Korean society and then
you'll immediately understand what they're saying. So it's advantageous I guess. (Child
6)*

Concern about younger sibling's lack of Korean language proficiency was expressed by several of the child participants when interviewed. They also felt that they had a role to play in encouraging younger siblings to maintain their minority language in the belief it would be beneficial in the future.

Three child participants, Children 10, 12 and 13, stated that not having older siblings at home enhanced their Korean language acquisition (see Excerpt 101). According to these child participants, older siblings used to play an interpreter's role in family interactions and so they did not see the need to speak the Korean language. However, once their older siblings left home, the child participants had to communicate directly with their Korean-speaking parents. As a

result, these child participants became confident to use Korean language. Child 13 described her home language environment since her brother left.

Excerpt 108.

With my brother I always talk English with him and since my brother's gone to a different place it's more of a Korean environment now. (Child 13)

Key point summary

Interactions with siblings in Korean language can be seen as being an influential factor in minority language transmission. In this study the use of Korean language in sibling interactions was reported giving more opportunities for minority language-speaking children to use the language, but sometimes an older sibling's high proficiency in Korean hindered a younger sibling's minority language acquisition because the older sibling acted as an interpreter between parents and younger children, and so there was no compulsion for younger siblings to use Korean. Even though older siblings expressed concern about their younger siblings they also accepted some of the responsibility for their siblings' lack of Korean language proficiency. This led siblings to use English as their main communication tool among themselves. However, when an older sibling left home, younger siblings tended to have a greater need to speak Korean language to communicate with their parents and this enhanced their Korean language acquisition.

5.4.3. The role of interactions with extended families and relatives

In Korean culture, maintaining family ties is crucial. No matter where a Korean migrant lives they wish to be connected to their extended families and relatives. This can be seen as a positive factor for children of migrant parents to have exposure to Korean-speaking environments.

Family 1 was more exposed to a Korean-speaking environment than some other Korean migrant families as Mother 1's Korean-born parents, who spoke minimal English, lived nearby. Regular contact with extended family encouraged Family 1, especially their three New Zealand-born sons, to speak Korean.

Excerpt 109.

저희 부모님만 해도 부담을 주세요. 저를 혼내시면서 한국말을 하게 해야지 이렇게 말씀 하세요. <My parents pressure me. They tell me off saying that I should have let my children learn Korean language.> (Mother 1)

This led to her oldest child, Child 1, to be highly proficient in Korean despite primarily communicating with his two younger siblings in English. Child 1 also acted as an interpreter in extended family interactions. He could confidently contribute to extended family discussions about a variety of topics using Korean language.

It was more difficult for the grandparents to communicate with their younger grandchildren. Mother 1 explained their frustration,

Excerpt 110.

너무너무 대화를 하고 싶어 하세요. 특히 둘째 아이가 조금 humorous 하거든요. 그걸 좀 이해하고 알아듣고 싶은데 그걸 못 알아 들어서. <They really wanted to communicate with my children, especially with my second son who had a great sense of humour. They really wished to understand his jokes, but they could not.> (Mother 1)

Mother 2 gave an example of trying to maintain family ties with non-English-speaking family members. Her mother-in-law wished to engage with her granddaughter by talking about K-pop stars.

Excerpt 111.

어머님이 아이돌 누구를 얘기하면 우리 아이가 같이 얘기를 해요. 우리 어머님이 “너는 누가 좋니?” 이러시면 우리 아이는 “누가 좋아요, 그러셨어요?” 이런 얘기를 해요. 그게 아주 길지는 않아요, 잠깐 이예요. 그래도 우리 아이가 하는 얘기는 “우리 할머니는 나랑 세대 차이가 없어” 라고 얘기를 해요. 대게 그런 식의 얘기를 해요. <My mother-in-law talks about K-pop stars, like boys’ or girls’ bands/groups when she calls my daughter. For example, my mother-in-law asked my daughter “Who is your favourite?” and my daughter responded “I like such and such. What about you?” Such

conversations does not last long, quite short. But my daughter keeps saying that “My grandma speaks my language. I do not feel any generational gaps between us”. This is how they can normally communicate with each other.> (Mother 2)

Although Mother 2 seemed to feel that intergenerational communication was not a problem her daughter, Child 2, reported engaging with grandparents as problematic. The daughter’s lack of Korean language proficiency caused difficulties in maintaining regular communication with grandmothers in Korea.

Excerpt 112.

Whenever I talk to my grandma I always talk about basic topics like how's the weather there? /.../ It put me out of my box though because you're forced in to a position where you have to speak Korean because, you know, like my grandmas are full Korean, nothing about English. Sometimes I use Konglish [Korean-English]. It's really confusing for them. They're just like 'what?' (Child 2)

Mother 5 commented that having extended family in the study region was a positive factor in Korean language transmission for her family. Paternal grandparents and an uncle’s family lived nearby so Child 5 had more opportunities to use Korean with native Korean speakers. While Mother 5 was talking about their extended family interactions she commented on her family language dynamic.

Excerpt 113.

할머니 할아버지랑 하기는 하는데요, 저희 남편도 그렇고 그렇게 얘기를 많이 하는 편은 아니에요. 그래도 꼭 한국말 하고 어른들한테 얘기 할 때는 존댓말도 합니다.
<My son speaks Korean with his paternal grandparents, though my husband and his parents generally do not talk much. Anyway he [my son] always speaks Korean to Korean adults and is able to use the honorific language.> (Mother 5)

Family 6 did not have extended family living in New Zealand at the time of the interviews. Mother 6 encouraged her son’s English language acquisition before preschool but Korean language remained as the dominant home language (Excerpt 9). However, they had a positive experience when relatives visiting from Korea for an extended period enhanced Child 6’s

Korean language acquisition by providing the opportunity for Child 6 to speak Korean with native speakers.

Excerpt 114.

어느 날 한국에서 조카가 언니랑 같이 왔었어요. 그때 제가 한글을 붙잡고 가르쳤죠. 사촌이 같이 있으니까 재미있어 하면서 그때 하더라구요. 그러더니 그때 확 늘었어요. 시기가 참 중요한 거 같아요. 그때는 빠르게 언어를 확 받아들이는 시기였던 거 같아요. <One day my nephew came to visit us with my sister. So I taught my son and my nephew Korean together. My son and nephew had so much fun learning the Korean language together. Consequently my son acquired Korean language and significantly improved it at that time. It is very important not to miss out a critical time. I think it was the critical time for him to develop his language skills.> (Mother 6)

The relatives visit from Korea provided the children of Family 6 with more opportunities to engage with native Korean speakers and resulted in Child 6 with becoming more proficient in Korean, both orally and in writing.

A mother implementing an OPOL policy, Mother 10, often had visitors from Korea. She explained that,

Excerpt 115.

애기를 놓을 때마다 항상 엄마가 오셨어요. 엄마 와서 한 삼-사 개월 계시고 이러다 보면 한국말 하게 되고. <My mum always came to help me when my children were born. She stayed with us for at least three to four months. So we naturally spoke in Korean at home.> (Mother 10)

Frequent interactions with extended family are also a positive factor in minority language transmission. Many Korean migrant families had both paternal and maternal grandparents who were native speakers of Korean language. Three families from this study have monolingual English speakers on the paternal side, so they tended to speak English in extended family interactions. Mother 11, whose husband is a European New Zealander, had a different experience.

Excerpt 116.

예를 들어서 어떤 Christmas 라서 가족하고 친척이 모일 때가 있는 데 제가 한국어를 계속 써도 당연하게 생각 하시는 거예요. 처음에는 내가 한국말 하는데 다른 사람들이 다 영어를 쓰고 있으니까 약간 조금 어색하다는 느낌이 있었지만 그래도 갑자기 시댁 간다고 내가 다시 또 영어를 쓰는 건 더 이상할 거 같아서 계속 한국어를 쓰다 보니까 또 시댁 어른들은 당연하게 받아 들이고 따로 왜 우리가 쓰는 말 안 쓰니 뭐 이런 식으로 할 그제 없었던 거 같아요. <For example, at a Christmas party, everybody has naturally accepted my language choice to speak Korean at family gatherings. Initially I felt awkward to speak Korean there because I was the only Korean speaker among all of extended family members who were monolingual English speakers. But I thought that if I changed my language from speaking Korean to speaking English my son would soon become confused. So I decided to continue speaking Korean language and my extended family naturally accepted my decision.> (Mother 11)

Such positive support from his English-speaking family encouraged the child's Korean language acquisition. As a result, the child identified himself as '*full-Korean and full-Kiwi*' (Excerpt 87).

Because of family frequently visiting from Korea, however, late child language development in English was observed by a parent participant. Due to her daughter having more exposure to Korean language than to English, a mother, Mother 10, had some concerns about her child's English language proficiency despite her husband being a monolingual English speaker.

Excerpt 117.

한국에서 계속 삼촌 오지, 이모 오지, 할머니 오지 계속 한국 말을 쓰니까 아이들이 어느 순간에 영어를 불편해 하는지 그게 조금 보이더라구요. 애가 한 다섯-여섯 살 때 그게 눈에 확 띄는 건 아닌데 좀 걱정 됐어요. <My mum, brother and sister kept visiting us from Korea at that time. We all spoke Korean at home. All of sudden I noticed my children felt uncomfortable to speak English when my daughter was five or six years old. It was not significant at the time, but I was a little bit concerned.> (Mother 10)

Influences from outside of the immediate family may have a positive effect in encouraging the speaking of Korean at home. Family 10 reported being influenced by their Korean-based extended family on intergenerational Korean language transmission. Mother 6 expressed her satisfaction at her son's Korean language acquisition.

Excerpt 118.

저는 저희 아이가 한국어를 잘하는 게 더 좋아요. 되게 단순한 이유인데 사람들이 부러워해요. 저희 친척들이, 저희 아들 친척들이, 미국에서 공부한 애들이 있어요. 그런데 개네 들은 한국말을 하나도 못해요. 해도 굉장히 어눌하게 말도 억양도 그렇고 잘 못하나 봐요. 그런데 저희 애들은 어른들이 듣기에 알아들을 수 있을 정도로 한국말을 하니까 어른들이 굉장히 신기해 하시더라고요. “어쩐지 그렇게 한국말을 잘하니. 여기는 잘 못하는데.” 이렇게 말씀들을 많이 하시더라고요. 그래서 속으로 이게 어렸을 때부터 한국말을 집에서 썼으니까 이런 효과를 보는구나 이런 생각이 들더라고요. 그래서 저는 좋던데요. <I prefer my son to be able to speak good Korean. Simply because people around me envy us. I have some relatives, cousins of my son, who live in the States. They cannot speak the Korean language at all. If they tried to speak the Korean language they would have weird pronunciation and accent. But my children were able to engage in conversations with their grandparents and their grandparents were very impressed with my children's Korean language skills. Grandparents commented that “How can your children speak the Korean language so well? Grandchildren in the States are not able to speak well.” I thought that because I spoke the Korean language at home, my children were able to speak the language. I was pleased about that.> (Mother 6)

Key point summary

Findings show that input from extended families positively encouraged Korean migrant families to transmit Korean language and maintain family ties when living in an English-speaking country. As maintaining family ties is crucial in Korean culture, grandparents who speak minimal English often want to communicate with their grandchildren. This has

encouraged migrant families to pass on the language and culture to their children who were born in a non-Korean-speaking country. However, due to some child participants' lack of Korean language proficiency communication with grandparents who speak minimal English appear to be challenging. Also parents appear to be concerned about children's late English language acquisition when children have more exposure to Korean-speaking environments.

5.4.4. Section summary

All parent participants in this study expressed a belief in the importance of Korean language acquisition and learning about Korean culture. All mothers emphasised the importance of speaking Korean at home as by doing this New Zealand-born Korean children learn the Korean language in a natural setting. Parent participants reported that children had various levels of exposure to Korean linguistic and cultural environments at the micro-level. Some parents taught Korean at home, including literacy skills. Other parents had regular communication and interactions with extended Korean-speaking family. Such parental input meant the children spoke Korean and understood Korean culture. The majority of child participants acknowledged parental input as being a positive influence.

Despite parental input, however, some child participants reported a lack of Korean language proficiency that hindered interacting with Korean native speakers. Communication with Korea-based grandparents who had limited English appeared to be difficult. Both speaking and having a meaningful conversation with native Korean adult speakers also presented challenges with responses limited to a simple and repetitive 'yes'. Self-assessment as poor Korean speakers impacted on confidence to communicate in Korean with other Korean speakers. Late English language acquisition by a child resulted in families emphasising the use of English at home. A silent period experience by the child when they started school led to a change of family language policy and practice. Inconsistencies in family language policies and practices had varied results with some children becoming proficient in both Korean and English while others struggled with one or other of the languages with English becoming dominant.

Another factor that seems to influence language acquisition is place in the family. Findings from this study demonstrate that the oldest child usually had much better Korean language proficiency than younger siblings. This also, in their teens, led the oldest child to feel responsible for and concerned about their siblings lack of Korean language. Only children had

a different experience with no siblings to speak English with they had to converse in Korean with their parents, leading to them becoming fluent Korean speakers. Another factor influencing language acquisition was the change in family dynamic when the oldest child left home. A younger sibling now became the spokesperson for siblings when talking to their parents. Their language proficiency improved.

Despite both negative and positive influences, parental input plays a key role in Korean language transmission and the development of cultural awareness. However, some parents felt that a lack of information about linguistic choices and child language development in migrant families hindered minority language transmission, but they used a variety of strategies to counteract this. Parental input was acknowledged and appreciated by their children who understood, as they matured, the importance of Korean language proficiency and cultural awareness in maintaining family relationships.

All the participants in the study were very positive about the success of Korean language transmission. However, a language shift challenge tend to occur as the children are increasingly exposed to an English language environment outside of the home and families believe they need to adapt their home language policy and practice to meet the challenge.

5.5. Consequences of family language choices

When both parent and child participants were asked about their beliefs, attitudes and practices about speaking the Korean language while living in New Zealand, almost all of them expressed regrets about not transmitting or maintaining the Korean language across generations. The family language practice section (Section 5.4) showed that similar patterns occur in child language development in both Korean and English among Korean migrant families. When children start school both parents and children appear to focus on English language acquisition in order for their children to actively participate in school activities. As a result, they sometimes overlook minority language transmission and later regret not encouraging their children to speak their minority language.

5.5.1. Parental regrets

All parent participants emphasised that they should put more effort in teaching their children the Korean language. They all spoke Korean as a home language from their child's birth until their child started school, but only some parents intentionally taught Korean language, including literacy skills, at home. Many parents believed that speaking Korean at home would provide enough exposure to Korean for their children to be able to communicate with native Korean speakers, grandparents and relatives in Korea. They overlooked the need to acquire literacy skills in Korean language. Mother 2 expressed this belief and her regrets.

Excerpt 119.

오히려 더 어렸을 때 조금 더 많이 시킬 걸. 조금 더 완벽하게 할 수 있도록 내가 더 노력을 했어야 되는데 못했구나 하는 아쉬움이 더 많아요. <I should have taught them [my children] more about the Korean language. If I did that they could perfectly acquire the language. I regret I did not put more effort on that.> (Mother 2)

This limited the family's ability to have in-depth conversations in Korean, especially when talking about topics such as Korean history and politics. Mother 2 explained that she had to use an English-Korean dictionary when conversing with her children in order to explain definitions of some Korean words.

Mother 8 also stated her regrets and concerns about her son's lack of Korean language proficiency.

Excerpt 120.

어렸을 때부터 좀 한국말을 가르치고 강요를 했더라면 애네들한테도 훨씬 많은 도움이 됐을 거라 생각해요. 지금 와서 한국말에 대한 고민은 없었을 거라는 생각이 들어요. <If I taught my children Korean when they were little and forced them to speak Korean it would be much more beneficial for them. Then they would not have any concerns about their lack of Korean language proficiency now.> (Mother 8)

This is a good example of the regrets that are expressed by many Korean migrant parents. Although parents focused on speaking Korean at home, as children grew up they felt more at ease using English. At the same time, their parents' English language ability improved,

especially verbal skills, so that dual-linguistic conversations tended to naturally take place in parents-child interactions at home. As parents' English improves some children may not see the need to acquire Korean language to communicate with them.

Children discovered that it was valuable for them to maintain their minority language while developing their self-identity during adolescence. During this identity development period children came to realise that their Korean-identity was within themselves and they became motivated to learn more about Korean language and culture. At this point many adolescents regretted their low Korean language proficiency, and they turned back to the family to improve Korean language proficiency. Child 7, a son of Mother 7, blamed his mother for not forcing him to learn Korean when he was younger (Excerpt 127).

Mother 9, from an inter-marriage couple, who deliberately chose to speak only English at home also regretted her decision.

Excerpt 121.

지금 생각하면 아, 영어가 거의 90% 뿌리 언어니까 한국말을 내가 조금 조금씩 썼어도 상관이 없었을 걸 하는 후회가 있어요 지금. 그런데 이제 다시 애를 키운다면 그럴 거 같아요. <Now I reflected that my son has had English as a root language by over 90%.

I regret that I did not understand that it would not negatively influence [in English language acquisition] if I spoke Korean occasionally. If I could raise another child I would do that.> (Mother 9)

Mother 9 was the only Korean migrant in the study who did not speak Korean at home. English was chosen as the home language. Like Mother 4, she believed that mastery of English language would lead her son, Child 9, to positively integrate into mainstream society as well as prevent him feeling confused by simultaneously speaking two languages (see Excerpt 39). As a result, Child 9 was able to speak only a few names of Korean food. Even though Mother 9 and her family did not have any difficulties when communicating with each other, she expressed her concern about feeling isolated when living in New Zealand (Excerpt 40). She also referred to her son's inability to maintain family ties on his maternal side due to a lack of Korean language proficiency. She did not participate in Korean community activities in the study region. All of these factors led to her feeling isolated and regretful about her language decisions.

Other parent participants told similar stories about other Korean people and their regret about having a lack of Korean language proficiency and becoming gradually isolated from Korean communities. Some Korean migrant mothers focused more on English language acquisition and spoke English at home with their children, rather than speaking Korean. These mothers did not attend either a Korean church or cultural events within Korean communities. The children of these mothers had no exposure to a Korean-speaking and cultural environment so the children faced difficulties trying to maintain friendships with other Korean-speaking children and so they avoided interacting with them. When these mothers became aware of what was occurring they tried to teach their children Korean language and culture in order to prevent their children experiencing such problems.

Mother 2 gave an example of someone having difficulty in interacting with Korean speakers in the wider Korean community. This story encouraged Mother 2 to become motivated to pass on Korean language to her children and maintain it.

Excerpt 122.

엄마가 한국 사람이고 아빠가 여기 사람인 젊은 이를 만난 적이 있었어요. 그 사람은 자기가 한국말을 못하는 거에 대해서 되게 싫어 하더라구요. “왜 나한테 한국말을 안 가르쳐 줬는지, 나는 정말 한국말을 배웠으면 내가 지금 삶이 달라지지 않았을까” 라고 얘기를 하더라구요. <Once I met a young man whose mother was Korean and father was Kiwi. He was not very happy not to be raised as a Korean speaker. He kept saying that “why did not my mum teach me the Korean language? If I learned the Korean language my life would be much better now”.> (Mother 2)

Key point summary

The majority of Korean migrant parents, twelve out of thirteen, in this study reported speaking Korean or both Korean and English at home as their family language policy. Eleven out of twelve child participants were able to maintain conversations in Korean language. However, parents regretted not making more effort to teach children Korean language including literacy skills.

5.5.2. Child's regrets

Except Child 9, all child participants have been exposed to a Korean-speaking environment from birth. When they were asked about their Korean language proficiency they identified a lack of Korean language proficiency in all four skills areas; reading, writing, listening and speaking, even though they were able to maintain conversations in Korean. They then expressed regret for not maintaining a high level of proficiency in Korean.

Family language practices are often based on the belief that children go through similar stages of linguistic choices during their language and identity development irrespective of the language (Section 5.3.2). Children may stop making an effort to acquire Korean once they start formal education in New Zealand. In child 2's interview she said:

Excerpt 123.

When you're focused on your friends you kind of just like "I don't need family communication. I just need to have friends" that kind of like immature thing. (Child 2)

Children of migrant parents endeavoured to form and maintain friendships in the school environment by speaking English with peers. Many child participants reported thinking about their identity in relation to others at secondary school level, and discovering that their ethnic identity was ascribed by others from the majority society. During this self-identity development period children began to see a wider view of the relationships between minority language, culture and identity. Their understanding about their parents' beliefs about the relationship between language and identity and implementation of family language policy played a crucial role in a child identity development. During this process, children may see the need to acquire their minority language and became motivated to learn it. Child 4 explained her understanding of this change.

Excerpt 124.

Like not being able to completely ever immerse myself in the Korean environment to see what it's like in that culture. (Child 4)

Child participants in this study were from 16 years-old to early 20s at the time of the interviews. All of them were dissatisfied with their level of Korean language proficiency and regretted not

learning the Korean language earlier as they believe it would have been easier to simultaneously acquire two languages in their early childhood.

Excerpt 125.

Um, I guess it is kind of I have this big regret that I didn't learn it when I was younger.
(Child 5)

Excerpt 126.

I think that would be my only regret is not picking up Korean a bit earlier and just carrying it through years. (Child 8)

Child 7 regretted not learning Korean language more when he was young (see Excerpt 16) and wished his parents had encouraged him more to learn Korean at a young age.

Excerpt 127.

I guess I kind of do wish that my parents pushed me a bit more to stay at Korean school when I was younger, yeah. (Child 7)

As a teenager, Child 7 became motivated to learn Korean.

Excerpt 128.

Yeah, I am motivated to learn it now. But I wish I had learnt it when I was younger, yeah. /.../ just so I can talk with other Koreans more easily. So I plan to go to Korea just to learn the language for a bit, yeah. (Child 7)

As well as expressing regrets, some reported that they became motivated to learn Korean by observing other Korean migrant children who were non-proficient in Korean. Child 13 stated that she was motivated and encouraged to keep her Korean language proficiency when meeting with some Korean migrant children who had a lack of Korean language proficiency.

Excerpt 129.

I've seen people who were asked if they couldn't speak Korean. It sometimes seems embarrassing to them to answer so it's good not to regret and just learn Korean. (Child 13)

The majority of child participants, 11 out of 12, regretted not being more proficient Korean speakers even though they were able to communicate with native Korean speakers. One child participant, Child 9, who was non-proficient in Korean gave several reasons for his regrets. The advantages of being bi/multilingual come from his personal experiences.

Excerpt 130.

I think there are several reasons why I regret. Firstly, you can't talk with Korean students I think that has become stronger since I moved to Auckland where there are more Korean students. So not being able to talk to them is one reason. And another reason is often you hear in the news that the psychological and physiological benefits of learning another language that can be healthy for your brain and so on. That's another reason. The third reason I think is, it's just fun in general. You get to know the workings in another language. You get to watch TV shows in another language. Um so those three reasons I think they make up my regret. (Child 9)

He also revealed that he envied bilingual speakers.

Excerpt 131.

I envy them in a way because they manage to keep up with Korean while just being proficient in English like any other person in New Zealand. I think that is the biggest feeling I have towards them yeah so mainly envy them. It's a kind of like I'm being locked up of friends to speak to, yeah. (Child 9)

His envy of bilingual speakers led him to become motivated to learn Korean language in Korea and want to maintain family ties.

Excerpt 132.

Um, my plans for once I graduate university might be different because I might work in Korea. Um, those are the main ones. Also I can speak with my family in Korea more which would be nice, yeah. /.../ Um, it is possible. /.../ Perhaps not, yeah. (Child 9)

Even though Child 9 became motivated to learn Korean language and wanted to work and live in Korea, due to his lack of Korean language proficiency and understanding about Korean culture he felt anxious about working in Korea.

Child 13 was positive about the outcome for Korean language transmission.

Excerpt 133.

I guess my parents taught me Korean to pass on the language. I mean as generations go by some languages will be lost and obviously Korean would hopefully not be one of them. Teaching Korean to children I think it's really important. (Child 13)

Key point summary

Many of the child participants regretted not acquiring Korean language when they were young and not seeing the need to maintain Korean language when they were at school. However, since they developed a self-identity as Korean they had become more motivated to learn the Korean language. Through their experiences child participants, who were born in New Zealand, second generation Korean, are positive about transmitting Korean language to their children, third generation.

5.5.3. Recommendations based on participants' personal experiences

This study explored language policy and practice in Korean migrant families and presented their feelings and experiences about minority language transmission. Both parent and child participants reflected about their linguistic choices, implementation of family language policy and feeling the lack of incomplete Korean language acquisition.

Before children started school migrant parents appeared to be concerned about their children's exposure to a majority language-speaking environment without any previous exposure to that language. To counteract this migrant parents often attempted to use a majority language with their children at home. Many parent participants believed that this was the starting point of an inconsistent family language policy, and that it was not necessary to promote an English-speaking environment at home. Based on their own experiences many parent participants agreed that.

Excerpt 134.

영어는 어차피 학교가면 다 배우고 다 써요. 그거에 대해서 너무 두려워하지 않았으면 좋겠어요. “아이가 왜 영어를 못하지?” “아 한국말을 해서 큰일 이에요” 라고 생각 안 했으면 좋겠어요. 아이들은 우리보다 더 빨리 배워요. /.../ 한국말만 열심히 시켜도 상관 없어요. 저는 그렇게 생각해요. <Children acquire English at school where English is medium. Parents should not be concerned about that their children are not proficient in English. Stop thinking that “why can’t my child speak English well?” or “My child always speaks only Korean”. /.../ It would be fine if you teach only the Korean language. That is what I believe.> (Mother 2)

Some parent participants reported that speaking Korean at home enhanced Korean language transmission for their children as well as positively affecting English language acquisition. As a result, children were raised as bilingual speakers rather than monolingual English speakers.

Excerpt 135.

모국어가 바탕이 되어야지 제 2 외국어가 그 다음에 제대로 정착을 할 수가 있고 또 학습 능력 면에서도 충분히 많이 효과를 일으킬 수 있다고 생각을 했기 때문에 제가 자연스럽게 한국어를 한 거 같아요. <Mastery of the mother tongue enhances second language acquisition that would enhance school achievement. That is why I have naturally spoken Korean language at home.> (Mother 11)

Excerpt 136.

다른 애들은, 영어권 애들은 영어밖에 못하는데 애네들은 두 가지 언어를 배울 수 있는 chance 가 있는 거니까 그게 좋은 거 같아요. <Other children, monolingual English speakers, may possibly speak only English, but my children could have a chance to learn two languages.> (Mother 6)

Mother 3 who focussed on teaching and speaking Korean at home shared her experience of Child 3’s language development. She explained that,

Excerpt 137.

왜냐면 아이들이 학교를 가기 시작하니까 영어가 익숙해지고 영어를 하기 시작하니까 그 다음부터는 한국말이 *second language* 가 돼 버리더라고요. 그래서 제가 생각했을 때는 아이들을 데리고 있는 동안 만이라도 최대한 한국말을 많이 가르치면 좋겠다 라는 그런 생각을 했어요. 그래서 처음 오시는 분들이 있고 아이들을 이곳에서 나으신다면 한국말을 될 수 있는 한 많이 가르쳐서 키우시기를 권하고 싶어요. <I had the experience that Korean language became the second language when children started primary school because children became familiar with English language. So I think it would be valuable to teach the Korean language as much as I could do while living with my children at home. I would recommend new parents who immigrate here to raise their children speaking the Korean language at home as much as they can.> (Mother 3)

Child participants gave similar advice for new migrant parents. Child 12, who attended a Korean school for a short period of time, commented that,

Excerpt 138.

I personally think what is more important is being able to have a Korean conversation with your child. Korean school can help maybe with grammar and sometimes in speaking but I think just emphasise more on having conversations with your child. (Child 12)

Some child participants also gave advice to new migrant children:

Excerpt 139.

Don't give up on your own country's language. It's like a really good advantage you don't see it at the start. (Child 2)

Excerpt 140.

I still wanna like learn and stuff, you know. It is sort of just like learning when I speak to them. (Child 8)

Excerpt 141.

I think although maybe hard just keep at it. Don't lose that cultural shovel of the country, I think. Learning their language would be good, very good. (Child 10)

Key point summary

Parent and child participants reported their experience in transmitting minority language provided a positive result for child language development. Being low or non-proficient in Korean language resulted in Korean migrant families having regrets. Both parent and child participants emphasised the importance of speaking Korean language at home. This is believed to enhance minority language transmission and have a positive effect on child identity development.

5.5.4. Section summary

Parents and children expressed a belief in passing on the Korean language across generations was crucial because it helped child identity development and maintained family ties. Parent participants regretted not teaching children Korean language including literacy skills at a young age. Child participants regretted not acquiring Korean when they were young. Children seem to be able to more naturally learn two or more languages at a young age rather than when they are older. For Korean-speaking children English is the language of formal education and Korean the language of the home. Participants in this study believe both can be learned simultaneously.

5.6. Conclusion

Parents' beliefs about the relationship between language and culture influences family language policy (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016; K. King et al., 2008; Spolsky, 2004). As such family language policy and practice varies from family to family. Some migrant families focus primarily on minority language transmission (Families 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 12 and 13). Others develop policies that are inclusive of both minority and majority language (Families 4, 7, 8, 10 and 11) while others choose to emphasise the importance of the majority language to the detriment of

the minority language (Family 9). An aspect that is common to all policies is that they are subject to change as circumstances change.

Family language policies and practices were sometimes challenged by unexpected situations. Some migrant parents thought that English language acquisition occurred in the same way as first language acquisition (Families 4 and 8). These parents believed that once their children started school they would naturally learn English in a school environment with English-speaking peers. However, some children of migrant parents faced difficulties participating in school activities because of lack of English language proficiency (Excerpts 16-17). This is often reported for the first child by a first time mother (Mothers 4 and 8). The first child experiences are crucial in family language ideology and practice.

This becomes most obvious as children reach school age and are increasingly exposed to an English language world, creating conditions that may conflict with parents' expectations of a children's language development. Parental anxiety drove change but the responses given to questions in interviews with children seemed to indicate that they were largely unaware of any problems with their language acquisition (Children 4 and 8 in Excerpts 92 and 96).

Due to a child facing language difficulties and challenges when children started formal education, some Korean migrant parents made some changes in their family language policy and practices, changing from speaking only Korean language to speaking both Korean and English at home. In Korean culture, school success for the children is a top priority. For children to have a better start at school, Korean parents temporarily make an effort to speak English at home so their children will be able to understand teachers and peers (Family 6).

Family language policy and practice seem to be influenced by child identity development when children were at secondary school. During their teens children started thinking about themselves in relation to their ethnic appearance and discovered their Korean identity. This led children to realise the value of having the ability to speak Korean through family interactions, and often regretted not learning Korean at a young age. Based on Korean language proficiency and understanding about Korean culture children developed their identities as Korean, Korean-Kiwi and Kiwi-Korean (Excerpts 47-48, 66-70). This hyphenated identity appeared to make children feel confident in social acceptance and belonging to both minority and majority societies. Consequently, parents concerned about their children's lack of Korean language proficiency and focused more on the use of Korean language for family interactions.

Within families there are also issues that affect family language policy. A one-child family found it easier to maintain a focus on minority language use within the home (Families 5 and 11) while families with more children had to adopt strategies to cope with siblings using English as their main tool of communication with each other. They were also faced with the issue of an older child being more fluent in the minority language than younger siblings and acting as an interpreter between parents and children (Families 1, 4, 6, 7, 10, 12 and 13). The need to become fluent in minority language was no longer so relevant for the younger children, until the interpreter sibling left home as in the case of Families 10 and 13. But by then parents' English language ability may have improved so English gradually appeared to become the home language (as in the case of dual-lingual conversation policy group), or, alternatively, one of the younger children became more fluent in the minority language and took on the interpreter position (Excerpt 108).

Outside influences also have an impact on family language policy decisions. Grandparents wanted to be able to build a relationship with their grandchildren but this was dependent on minority language mastery by the children (Excerpts 109-113). Family and friends also offered opinions and often their advice was to stress the importance of learning the minority language (Excerpts 109, 114-117).

The pattern of children becoming interested in minority language acquisition as they mature was common to most of the families in the study. Both parents and children involved in the study expressed regret at not being more actively involved in minority language acquisition from an early age (Excerpts 119-128), and emphasised the relationship between language and culture that influenced child identity development (Section 5.3.2). Despite Korean migrant families' beliefs about, practice of, and attitudes towards Korean language transmission, and having the ability to speak Korean when living in New Zealand (J. King & Cunningham, 2016), a language shift is taking place between Korean migrant parents and New Zealand-born Korean children within Korean migrant families.

Chapter 6.

THE MESOSYSTEM

6.1. Introduction

In response to Research Question 2 (what role does the wider Korean community in New Zealand play in the intergenerational transmission of the Korean language in Korean migrant families?), this chapter discusses the wider context in which Korean language is transmitted as a minority language.

The mesosystem, like the microsystem, is a component of bioecology of human development theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1999, 2001) but now the focus moves away from the family unit, both immediate and extended, as the primary source of language transmission. The wider field of contact is still dominated, however, by minority language learning and use, and encompasses the Korean community in all its facets; education (school), religion (church), business and other social and cultural interactions.

Bioecology theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1999, 2001), at mesosystem level examines, by evaluating the relationship between family group and community, how the community acts to either enhance or limit Korean language transmission across generations. As well as bioecology theory, Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) (1991) is used to examine and analyse minority language transmission (in first-second generation interactions) and maintenance (within first-first generation interactions) in the Korean community. According to Fishman's GIDS, the Korean language in the context of this study is 6 on the scale: "attainment of intergenerational informal oracy [oracy] and its demographic concentration and institutional reinforcement" (p. 92). As per GIDS level 6 Korean language is still spoken in informal daily interactions across generations at home as well as in the wider Korean community. Fishman suggests GIDS 6 is a crucial stage and identifies four elements as impacting on minority language transmission: "home-family-neighbourhood-community" (p. 95).

Using mesosystem in the bioecology theory, collected data was thematically analysed to refine and group a subset of the data. Additionally, when the parameters of Fishman's GIDS were used to deductively identify expressions of actual minority language transmission or shift, four key themes emerged:

1) attendance at a Korean community language Saturday school; 2) influence of religious affiliations; 3) exposure to wider Korean community through social and cultural activities; 4) influence on Korean language transmission through visits to Korea.

The following sub-sections examine both positive and negative influences each of these factors has on language transmission amongst participants in the present study.

6.2. Attending a Korean community language school outside of formal education

Speaking a minority language with migrant parents at home reinforces New Zealand-born children's aural and oral skills so they are able to communicate verbally with other native minority language speakers. This does not, however, necessarily enhance children's written skills, especially when comparing with age-matched native minority language speakers (Montrul, 2011, 2013). Most children born to migrant parents in a country like New Zealand are likely to be able to speak their minority language, but they often face difficulties in acquiring literate levels of "phonetics/phonology, lexicon, morphology, syntax, and semantics and discourse pragmatics" in their heritage language (Montrul, 2013, p. 173). Having minority language-speaking peers also encourages children who were born in a country where another language is spoken by the majority to maintain verbal skills, but not written, as these children often have insufficient opportunities to learn reading and writing skills in their minority language. Korean families in New Zealand need to seek other avenues to teach their children the language as New Zealand schools do not usually offer Korean as a formal subject.

In the following section, the role of a Korean community language Saturday school in the study region, hereafter referred to as the Korean school, in Korean language transmission is examined. The function of the Korean school is discussed and how it contributes positively or negatively to Korean language transmission across generations.

6.2.1. The Korean community language school in the study region

Minority language (and/or community language/heritage language) schools, that are outside of formal educational settings, can be seen as crucial organisations for teaching majority country-born children literacy skills in a minority language. The Korean school attended by many of the participants in this study plays a key role in providing Korean language classes and cultural activities in Korean for young Koreans. The school aims to teach children Korean language, including literacy skills as well as Korean history and provide cultural activities for both children and parents (adults). The school also operates Korean language classes for non-native Korean speakers. The Korean school is actively involved with local communities, both Korean and non-Korean, in the study region. Teachers and students from cultural activity classes are regularly invited to various cultural events to perform Korean cultural activities, such as Korean dance and Korean traditional orchestra (see Section 2.4).

6.2.2. Positives of attendance at the Korean school

Both parent and child participants in this study valued attending the Korean school as they believed it enhanced Korean language acquisition, including literacy in Korean. Many child participants reported attending the Korean school when they were at primary and intermediate school, but, overall, attendance declined at secondary school level as by then they felt confident in Korean language. Secondary school students, however, often continued to work as voluntary staff. Table 6.1 outlines exposure to a Korean learning environment, the duration and child participants' self-reported Korean language proficiency.

Table 6.1. *Methods of Learning Korean Language, the Duration of Attending Korean School for Child Participants, and Their Reported Korean Language Proficiency*

	Language choices at home	Oral skills in Korean	Learning written skills in Korean	Length of attending a Korean school	Self-reported Korean written skills	Self-reported Korean language proficiency
Child 1	Korean	Able	Home	N/A	Able	Proficient
Child 2	Korean	Able	Korean school	4-5 years	Able	Proficient
Child 3	Korean	Able	Korean school	4-5 years	Able	Proficient
Child 4	Korean	Able	Korean school	10 years	Able	Proficient
Child 5	Korean	Able	Korean school	1 year	Able	Proficient
Child 6	Korean	Able	Home	N/A	Able	Proficient
Child 7	Korean & English	Able	Home	N/A ²⁵	Able	Limited-proficient
Child 8	Korean & English	Able	Primary school in Korea ²⁶	1.5 years	Able	Limited-proficient
Child 9	English	Unable	None	None	Unable	Non-proficient
Child 10	Korean & English	Able	Online resources ²⁷	None	Needs support	Limited-proficient
Child 12	Korean	Able	Korean school	1-2 years	Able	Proficient
Child 13	Korean	Able	Korean school	4-5 years	Able	Proficient

²⁵ According to Mother 7, Child 7 attended a Korean class once or twice (See Excerpt 151).

²⁶ Child 8 and his family lived in Korea for 1.5 years when he was 10 years old. Due to his lack of Korean language proficiency Child 8 attended an international school where English was the medium of instruction in Korea. Child 8, however, had to speak Korean during breaks, except class meeting time.

²⁷ Child 10 used online resources, YouTube, Google translate and Korean dictionary, to write in Korean.

Attendance at the Korean school appears to foster confidence in the ability to write Korean, as the only children who did not report being able to write independently had seldom attended Korean school. Table 6.1 shows that some child participants who attended the Korean school for varying lengths of time felt confident speaking Korean, but the children who had a lack of exposure to learning in a Korean language environment reported no or limited proficiency in Korean. All parents agreed about the importance of getting access to a minority language school for children to learn both literacy in Korean and cultural values. Many mothers identified difficulties in teaching their children at home.

Excerpt 142.

아무래도 집에서 하는 교육이라는 게 그렇잖아요. 집에서 대충하는 이야기 보다는 직접 많이 배운 사람들이 전문적으로 얘기하는 게 옳으니까 그리고 배울 게 있으니까 학교를 다니는 거고. 어려서부터 교육을 했던 아이는 다르잖아요. 그래서 저는 교육은 단계 단계 필요하다고 생각해요. <Teaching children at home would not meet a benchmark. Providing education by qualified people with experience, based on the curriculum enhances students' learning. This is the reason to attend schools. A child who has attended a formal educational setting would be different [from non-educated child]. So I believe it is important for children to have formal education step by step.> (Mother 8)

Excerpt 143.

그런 기관이 없다면 제가 아마 해야 됐을 부분을 이런 부분을 기관에서 해주니까 너무 고맙죠. 그래서 다른 부모님들도 마찬가지로 생각에서 한국 학교나 한글 학교에 보낸 거라고 생각을 하고 있거든요. /.../ 애한테도 엄마와 아빠 얘기가 아니고 다른 사람도 그렇게 생각 하는구나 싶어서 어느 정도 타당성을 인정을 하는 거 같아요. 그래서 기관이 있다는 게 아주 중요한 거 같아요. <If there were no facilities I would have to teach my son. I appreciate having these facilities. That would be the same reason why Korean parents send their children to a Korean school. /.../ This can be reassuring for my son [learning cultural values] in a wider context, not only by hearing his parents' opinions.> (Mother 11)

Many parent participants also agreed with, and emphasised the importance of, having extra support in teaching Korean language, especially literacy in Korean, and culture in a wider context.

Excerpt 144.

Kiwi 문화는 학교에서도, 그 다음 클럽활동이나 스포츠 그 다음 친구들한테 배우는데 한국문화는 집에서만 배우니까 어떤 연결되는 게 없으면 오해를 할 수도 있어요 사춘기 때에는. “왜 우리 집만 이래?” 이렇게 Kiwi 랑 비교가 될 수 있는데 다른 한국 친구 집에 가서 그 집 문화를 보고 또 교회에 가서 다른 어른들하고 또 어른과 아이들의 어떤 그런 모습을 관찰했을 때 ‘아, 우리 가족만 이런 게 아니구나’ 라는 거 그게 굉장히 중요한 거 같아요 살아가면서. 안 그러면 좀 약간 부정적으로 빠질 수 있을 거 같아요.

<Children can learn Kiwi culture at school, during sports activities and through interactions with friends, but they can learn Korean culture only at home. Without having support from a wider community, children may ask “why are we doing this?” in their puberty period of time, like comparing to other Kiwi households. If children could be exposed to a wider community, like coming over to another Korean friend’s home and meeting with other Korean adults and Korean children at church, children would realise that ‘it was not only my family’. I believe this is really crucial. Otherwise children can have negative attitudes towards Korean in the rest of their life.> (Mother 4)

Parent participants believed that learning about a minority culture through the language is important. A previous chapter presented the participants’ beliefs about relationships between language, culture and identity, and parent participants acknowledged the value of learning about culture and participating in cultural activities with other Korean-speaking peers at the Korean school. Mother 11 also stated having Korean-speaking peers at the Korean school made her son become motivated to attend the school.

Excerpt 145.

아들의 친구들이 있어서 저도 보냈거든요. 같은 또래끼리 얘기하고 얘기 나누고 이게 사실은 참 중요한 부분이라고 생각하고 보냈어요. 애도 지루하다는 얘기를

안하더라구요. 그러니까 쉬는 시간에 놀 때는 신나게 놀고 또 공부하고 오고. 또 숙제도 좀 가지고 와서 집에서 하기도 하고 뭐 이런 편이었어요. <I sent my son there because he had some friends to go there with. I believed it is important for children to interact with same aged peers. He never said he got bored. He learned Korean during class hours and played with his friends at breaks in the Korean school. He liked to bring some homework home.> (Mother 11)

A child participant supported Mother 11's story by saying that learning Korean language with Korean-speaking peers enhanced minority language transmission.

Excerpt 146.

I was learning Korean with new friends and we got close really fast because we were learning and talking in Korean at the same time. Since we were talking in Korean we could improve as well. (Child 13)

Findings from this study showed that children who attended the Korean school identified themselves as bilingual speakers and as being literate in Korean. These children reported being able to send text messages in Korean to their parents. Children who did not attend the Korean school identified themselves as not being confident bilingual speakers and not literate in Korean language. These child participants tended to text their parents in English even though they were able to text in Korean with an auto check spelling function on smart phone. Child 5's story was an example of how, when children are motivated to learn, they are likely to acquire literacy skills in Korean after only a year of attending the Korean school.

Excerpt 147.

It was helpful because before that, I didn't know how to read or write. But I guess just going for 1 year I may not read and write as fast as native Koreans, but I can still do it. So I think it was very good for me to go for 1 year. (Child 5)

Child 5 pointed out that New Zealand-born Koreans are usually exposed to a Korean-speaking environment from birth in migrant families. These Korean children tend to maintain their verbal skills, but not literacy skills, in Korean. Children, like Child 5, are supported to learn literacy skills in a year by attending a Korean school.

A parent participant agreed and stated the important role the Korean school played in teaching Korean language and culture.

Excerpt 148.

좀 많이 중요하다고 생각을 해요. 그리고 예의 같은 것도 어른들한테 어떻게 하고 하는 거 좋은데 그거를 제가 애가 좀 배웠으면 했을 당시에 일을 하고 너무 바빠 가지고 그런 걸 신경을 못썼어요. 대신에 생각은 한국말은 좀 했으면 좋겠고 너무 예의가 없고 이런 거는 싫어서 이제 그런 거는 있는데 아이 자체가 너무 예의가 없거나 그런 아이가 아니어서 뭐 영어를 하든 어떤 거를 하든 *manner* 가 괜찮으니까. <I believe it is really important. Learning courtesy and politeness of your culture are crucial, but unfortunately I could not get my head around to teach him that because I was so busy when my son was about to learn that. I wished him to speak the Korean language and to learn about courtesy and politeness of Korean culture. So I sent him to Korean school to learn the Korean language, but I did not intensively teach him Korean courtesy and politeness because he was polite and had appropriate manner no matter what language he spoke.> (Mother 5)

Many child participants emphasised the important role the Korean school plays in minority language transmission and learning about Korean culture. Child 4 had positive experiences at the Korean school so she was encouraged and motivated to learn more. According to Child 4, she had more compliments from teachers at the Korean school when she was five years old than from teachers at formal New Zealand schools. Compliments made her feel part of the group. As a result she was motivated to go to the Korean school. Child 4 explained about how compliments encouraged her to attend the Korean school.

Excerpt 149.

Yeah, that's really important. Like one compliment is very nice to hear if I don't hear anything like "are they ignoring me?" or something. I felt that way when I was little. (Child 4)

Child 4 faced language difficulties that hindered participating in school activities when starting formal education (Excerpt 17), but not at the Korean school. Like findings from J. Kim's study

(2011), Child 4 appeared to feel that she was emotionally supported by getting compliments and developed a feeling of belonging to the Korean school.

Parent participants reported some other advantages, apart from acquiring literacy skills in Korean, from attending the Korean school. Students are able to learn about Korean and global history using Korean language during class hours at the Korean school. Also students can choose additional classes, for example Korean dance and a musical instrument. A parent participant, Mother 11 who also worked as a Korean language teacher for non-native Korean speakers at the Korean school, discussed the syllabus at the school. This interview excerpt clearly shows the role the Korean school plays in transmitting Korean language and culture in both Korean and local communities.

Excerpt 150.

오전 특별 수업도 하고 오후 수업도 하는데, 오후 수업 같은 경우에는 정말 정규 한글 반 해 가지고 한글 위주로 한글 읽기, 쓰기, 말하기 이런 걸 다 포함해서 거기에 초점을 두고 공부를 하되 초등학교부터는 유치원 아니지만 초등학교년부터는 역사에도 조금 이렇게 내용을 넣어서 역사 공부를 조금씩 시키고 있거든요. 특히나 중등 반 같은 경우에는 좀 더 약간 *research* 수준으로 역사를 가르치려고 애를 쓰고 있거든요. 그러니까 한국 역사뿐만 아니라 세계 역사를 같은 시기에 발생한 세계적 역사도 같이 접목시켜 가지고 애들이 재밌게 이해하기 쉽게 가르치려고 지금 노력하고 있고...

<We have classes in the morning and afternoon. For afternoon classes, there are some formal Korean language learning classes for all ages that children could learn reading, writing, speaking Korean. We also have Korean history classes, not for pre-schoolers but from primary students. For the Korean history class at the intermediate students we encourage students to carry out simplified research on Korean and World history at the students' level...> (Mother 11)

Key point summary

Attending a minority language school provided the opportunity for children of migrant families who were born in a majority country to become more immersed in Korean language and culture. New Zealand-born minority language-speaking children were able to acquire their minority language including literacy skills in a systematic setting so children felt confident and proficient in using their minority language. Learning culture through cultural activities was also seen as a positive factor for New Zealand-born Koreans when acquiring Korean language and these were frequently offered by the school. Parent participants believed that their children were positive about and had feelings of belonging to Korean heritage when learning Korean culture through Korean language at a Korean school.

6.2.3. Perceived disadvantages of attendance at a Korean school

Although all mothers and most children emphasised the important role a Korean school plays, there were some negative outcomes of attendance at the Korean school identified in this study. Both parent and child participants highlighted that educational practices at the Korean school differed from formal educational setting practices in New Zealand. At the Korean school, curriculum and policies were based on the Korean educational system. Classroom environments were teacher-centred rather than student-centred. According to a parent participant, this can lead New Zealand-born Korean children to lose interest. A mother of a child who identified primarily as an English speaker had not sent her child to the Korean school because of the classroom practices. This mother accepted her child's decision to not attend a Korean school after the child was exposed to Korean class practices.

Excerpt 151.

한국어 교실을 갔는데 제가 조금 경악을 했어요. 가르치는 분이 한국 스타일로 하시면서 아이들을 완전히 제압하는 정도가 아니라 아주 무시하면서 얘기를 하고 좀 그런 태도가 있더라고요. 저도 맘에 안 들었는데 아이도 몇 번 가더니 너무 싫어하는 거예요. 자기는 한국어 이런 식으로 공부하고 싶지 않다 그러고 한국어 공부 안 하겠다고 아예 딱 선언을 하더라고요.
<When I visited the school I was terrified. The teacher employed the Korean way of teaching. The teacher was so strict with the students, and in fact she looked down on

the children. I was not very impressed with the teacher's attitude; neither was my son. My son refused to attend the Korean class after he had attended the class for a few times.> (Mother 7)

Her son, Child 7 confirmed Mother 7's story.

Excerpt 152.

Well, they [my parents] don't force me to go to any Korean schools or places with the teacher. I was happy not to go to the Korean school. I really hated that. (Child 7)

Interestingly, Child 7 now wished his parents had encouraged him more to learn Korean when he was young (Excerpts 127-128).

Mother 2 also sent her daughter to the Korean school. She hoped her daughter would acquire not only spoken skills, but also literacy skills in Korean. Unfortunately Child 2 did not have a positive experience when attending the Korean school. She faced difficulties in fitting in to the Korean class environment. She did not see the need to learn Korean when attending primary school. She was focused on her New Zealander friends so she spoke English at school (see Excerpt 49). As a result she lost interest in attending the Korean school but her parents continued to send her to it. She described her experience at the Korean school.

Excerpt 153.

I hate Korean school. I'd always be like I don't even need it. I just need to speak English. It's for my education anyway. It was kind of like that. (Child 2)

Despite her negative experiences when attending the Korean school Child 2 was able to maintain her ability to speak the Korean language. In her teens she became interested in watching Korean media programmes and searching Korean online shopping websites. Speaking Korean as a home language and attending a Korean class improved Child 2's Korean language ability.

Another disadvantage reported by some participants was that students at a Korean school tended to speak English during breaks. Although teachers encouraged students to use Korean, the New Zealand-born Korean students felt more comfortable speaking English when

interacting with each other. Mother 11 confirmed the English-speaking situation at the Korean school.

Excerpt 154.

수업 시간에 쓰는 한국어가 어떻게 보면 다라고 할 수 있을 거 같아요./.../ 쉬는 시간에 애들끼리 모여서 영어를 쓰는 경우를 더러 봤거든요. 쉬는 시간에도 한글 쓰는 걸 encourage 해주고 싶어요. 너희들 이런 기회 없다고 한국어를 쓰라고 하는데도 애들끼리 그게 잘 안 되는가 봐요. 그래서 한 애가 영어를 쓰면 당연히 다른 애들도 같이 따라서 영어를 쓰는 그런 경향이 있는 거 같아요
<Speaking Korean at the Korean school might be the only chance to speak Korean. /.../ I occasionally spotted that many students spoke English during breaks. I want to encourage these children to speak Korean. I keep asking students to speak Korean during breaks because it would be their only opportunity to practise, but it seems to be difficult for them to practice. Children tend to speak English once one child starts speaking English.> (Mother 11)

Another mother explained the outcome for her son, Child 3, after attending the Korean school. This interview excerpt supports the perception of the use of English during breaks.

Excerpt 155.

총 합쳐서 한 사-오 년은 다닌 거 같아요. 그런데 아이들이 그렇게 많이 늘지는 않더라구요. <Overall four to five years of attending. But my children had not improved overall Korean language skills.> (Mother 3)

Her son, Child 3, explained the general attitudes of Korean students when learning Korean language at the Korean school.

Excerpt 156.

Over the years students progressively learn Korean and they don't often speak Korean. /.../ It definitely does help but I think to a point that because sometimes you just give up and then you don't really commit to speaking Korean so you don't really learn anything.
(Child 3)

Even though child participants attended the Korean school and learned Korean language, including literacy in Korean, they tended to not use Korean language outside of the classroom. Instead of making an effort to maintain Korean, child participants appeared to feel more at ease speaking English with their peers.

In addition to different teaching practices and students speaking English at the Korean school, some parent participants expressed concerns about sending children to the Korean school when simultaneously starting formal education in New Zealand. Mother 4 regretted sending her daughter, Child 4, to both the Korean school and primary school at the same time. When Child 4 demonstrated a slow progress of English language acquisition, Mother 4 believed that simultaneously learning two languages negatively affected her daughter's English language acquisition (Excerpt 17).

Excerpt 157.

다섯 살 때부터 [한글학교를 보냈어요]. 딸이 힘들었던 게 뭐냐면 학교를 들어감과 동시에 한글학교를 간 거예요. 너무 미안하죠. 그래서 더 헷갈렸던 거 같아요. <She was five years old [when I sent her to a Korean class]. She could have had difficulties learning both Korean language and English in educational settings at the same time. I feel really bad about that. This is why she was more confused.> (Mother 4)

However, despite Mother 4's concerns about the difficulty of simultaneously acquiring two languages in two different educational settings, Child 4 reported having a positive experience of learning two languages at the same time (Excerpt 94). Furthermore, Child 4 expressed her feelings about having emotional support by compliments at the Korean school when she did not feel a sense of belonging to her primary school (Excerpt 149).

Key point summary

Cultural and pedagogical practices at the Korean school that differ from New Zealand educational norms as well as interacting with Korean-speaking peers in English are seen as disadvantages of attending the Korean school. Child participants, who were born in New Zealand, sometimes became uninterested and unmotivated to acquire literacy in Korean after having limited exposure to the Korean school. Also Korean students tended to speak English

during breaks and not take advantage of the opportunity to practise Korean language. When children made a slow progress at a Korean school or faced language difficulties in formal education parents appeared to review their family language choice and practice and consider continuing to send their children to a Korean school.

6.2.4. Section summary

Many parent and child participants valued the role of a Korean school in learning Korean language, culture and cultural activities. Children who had learned Korean, including literacy skills by attending a Korean school, (or, in one case, a preschool in Korea), reported being proficient in Korean. In contrast, other children who did not attend a Korean school reported a lack of Korean language proficiency, even though they were able to converse in Korean (see Table 6.1). Acquiring literacy skills in Korean reinforced children's competence in their minority language proficiency and helped develop a sense of belonging to a Korean school as well as self-confidence for New Zealand-born Korean children. These children are confident to converse in Korean when interacting with native Korean speakers. This ability can be reassuring for child participants when they are using their minority language, in a Korean cultural context, outside of their home environment.

There are, however, some negative aspects of attending a Korean school reported by participants. These include different teaching approaches between Korea and New Zealand as reported by parent and child participants, and the possibility of students, New Zealand-born Korean children, speaking English outside of the classroom. This led some children to become unmotivated to attend a Korean school or not commit to speaking for Korean in peer-to-peer interactions. This would impede Korean language transmission in a Korean school environment.

6.3. Participation in a Korean religious community

In this study many child and parent participants emphasised the important role Korean churches play in Korean language transmission by providing a Korean-speaking environment.

This section looks at the role Korean religious communities play in transmitting and maintaining Korean language and culture. It examines the relationship between attendance at a Korean religious community and Korean language acquisition and transmission across generations. The term ‘Korean church’ will be used to cover a number of different Korean religious groups, mostly various denominations of the Christian and the Buddhist religions, in the study region.

6.3.1. Korean religious affiliations

A previous study, based on the 2006 New Zealand census results, reported about 70% of Koreans were affiliated with various denominations of Korean churches (Magee, 2011). The present study shows that the majority of participants reported an affiliation with Korean religious groups. About 75% of child participants, nine out of twelve, in this study reported attending a Korean religious group on a regular basis. Table 6.2 shows an overview of religious demographic spread for child participants. Eight out of nine of the children reported that they felt encouraged to speak Korean within a Korean religious group. According to the children, both the Korean school and Korean religious groups offer formal settings; a teaching environment at the Korean school and religious observance at Korean churches. In a Korean school environment children interact primarily with peers and during breaks tend to speak English. Korean churches provide the opportunity to interact in Korean with a diverse group of people of all ages, who are mostly native Korean speakers.

Table 6.2. *Overview of Participation on Korean Religious Groups for Child Participants*

	Participation in Korean religious groups ²⁸		Non-participation in Korean religious groups
	Positive experiences	Negative experiences	
Child participants	1,2,4,7,8,10,12,13	3	5,6,9
Sum	8	1	3
Percentage	67%	8%	25%

Despite having some advantages, there were, however, some negative experiences reported by both parent and child participants. These negative experiences led child participants to become less motivated to speak Korean and reluctant to interact with adult Korean speakers. This hindered Korean language transmission across generations within a church environment. Some Korean churches implemented a new strategy to deliver religious messages, providing interpreting services, to accommodate limited- and/or non-proficient Korean speakers. Some parent and child participants reported this as a negative factor in promoting a Korean-speaking environment within churches.

6.3.2. Exposure to Korean linguistic and cultural environments within religious communities

The use of Korean language is the primary medium of communication at most Korean churches in New Zealand. Main services are delivered in Korean and at informal gatherings, such as shared meals within church environments, Korean is the main language spoken so many child participants feel that they need to speak Korean at church.

Attending a Korean church is seen as a positive factor for New Zealand-born Korean children to practise different honorific forms in Korean when interacting with adult Korean speakers. Senior Koreans, those people over 60, often lack English language proficiency so children tend to use Korean when seeing those seniors at church. Korean seniors encourage New Zealand-born children to speak Korean even when children's Korean language proficiency is not

²⁸ Child 10 was affiliated with the Korean Buddhist religion and others were with various denominations of the Christian religion.

sufficient to maintain conversations in Korean. A child explained the importance of speaking Korean at church:

Excerpt 158.

교회에서 어른들을 만나면] 한국말로 해야죠. 영어로 하면 예의가 아니라고 보시니까 영어로 하면은. 못 알아 듣는 거 말하면 좀 예의가 아닐 거라 생각해서. <Of course speaking Korean language at church. It is impolite if you speak English to adults and seniors. I believe that you should not speak English when interacting with seniors who lack English language proficiency.> (Child 1)

Through such interactions children had the opportunity to become familiar with and practise approved Korean cultural behaviour and use various honorific forms in a friendly environment. Most child participants who went to a Korean church on a regular basis reported having positive experiences when talking with adult native Korean speakers.

Excerpt 159.

People at Korean church never really criticised my Korean. They just go along with it even if I get something wrong they just go along with it. (Child 2)

This child felt that New Zealand-born Koreans have more opportunities to use different registers of Korean language at church. Another child participant stopped attending a Korean church for a few years and she realised her Korean language skills declined during that time.

Excerpt 160.

Two years ago, I started going to church again. It's obviously a Korean church. It helped me to learn more Korean because a lot of people speak Korean there. (Child 12)

Other children also felt that attending a Korean church was good for their Korean language acquisition.

Excerpt 161.

I think a big part of my Korean-speaking was that I had so many Korean influences. Like when I went to Korean church people only spoke Korean. I stopped going there for five years. I then realised what a negative impact non-attendance had on my Korean

language. (Child 13)

Excerpt 162.

Going to the church with my parents so like when we are at church, [I] speak Korean but yeah, apart from there just English mainly. (Child 8)

Excerpt 163.

If we don't go to the church then there's nowhere at all to speak Korean I think. (Child 3)

Key point summary

These comments show the important role Korean churches play in fostering a Korean-speaking environment for New Zealand-born child participants. Children learn to choose the culturally appropriate honorific form when communicating with adult Korean speakers within the church environment. Some child participants reflected that their Korean language proficiency declined when they stopped participating in Korean church services and informal gatherings.

6.3.3. Influence of religious communities upon intergenerational transmission of Korean language

Even though the emphasis in the Korean religious communities is on the use of Korean as the communication tool, some New Zealand-born child participants stated that they were likely to speak both English and Korean at church.

Excerpt 164.

In the church it's usually Korean. But when there are people at my age it's a bit of both, you know, English and Korean. (Child 8)

Some child participants reported how miscommunication often occurred between adult Korean speakers and New Zealand-born Korean children at church and the negative impact it could have on children's Korean language proficiency. Some adult Korean speakers, especially middle-aged females, often tried to correct the New Zealand-born Korean children in what they

thought was a friendly way, but the New Zealand-born children interpreted this as being critical and unfriendly. This resulted in the children deciding to not speak Korean at the Korean church.

Excerpt 165.

In the past I used to be quite offended. It's kind of sad. There are kids at our age who can speak English a bit and Korean quite well. /.../ One [adult] came and said "you can't speak Korean" in Korean then laughed. It was quite offensive and quite rude. It was quite damaging as a child. (Child 3)

Child 3, was asked to share his negative experiences of being corrected. He remembered the episode and said,

Excerpt 166.

Once I accidentally said '하/지/마' [hae-ji-ma, Gyeonggi-do dialect form for do not do it] instead of '하지/마' [ha-ji-ma means do not do it]. Then there was a lot of jokes about that [my use of a dialectal form] and I didn't understand what was wrong. (Child 3)

This reaction from adult Koreans made Child 3 avoid speaking Korean at church and Child 3 was labelled, by many of the congregation, as an English speaker. His mother, Mother 3, reported the difficulties her son had when interacting with adults at their Korean church and how he felt isolated even though he attended the church on a regular basis.

Excerpt 167.

교회에서 아이들이 한국말을 쓰고 교회 프로그램도 한국말인데 저희 아이들 같은 경우에는 한국말 쓰지 않는 부류 속에 속하거든요. 남들 입장에서는 한국 사람이면서 한국말을 쓰지 않는 것이 영어하는 우월감이라고 볼 수 있을지 모르겠는데 /.../ 한국말을 잘 읽지 못하고 또 자기 의사를 맘대로 표현하지 못하는 게 열등감이었고 그 안으로 속하지 못했어요 <In the church environment, Korean was a medium and many children spoke the Korean language, but my children belonged to the non-Korean speaker group. Some people would make assumptions that my children intentionally did not speak the Korean language because the children felt superior when they spoke English. /.../ My children felt inferior and

they did not belong to the church group because they were unable to read and express their thoughts in Korean.> (Mother 3)

Older Korean adults, especially women, tend to admire the English language proficiency of the New Zealand-born children. On the one hand, adult Korean migrants emphasise the importance of speaking Korean, but on the other hand they feel envious of English speakers because of their English language proficiency (W. Kang et al., 2015) that is often believed to be a *superior* factor when integrating into mainstream society (Barker, 2015). This attitude also negatively impacts on the children's transmission of Korean language and membership of the Korean church.

During the data collection, the researcher went to a Korean church to attend two Sunday services, an adult service and a children's service. The main service, for adults, on Sunday morning was conducted by a monolingual pastor in Korean, but a second service for children and young adults on Sunday afternoon was delivered by a bilingual pastor in a mixture of English and Korean. This church had appointed a bilingual pastor who delivered bilingual services aimed at New Zealand-born Koreans whose Korean language proficiency was limited to understand religious messages as well as accommodating Koreans with monolingual English-speaking spouses. The church used both Korean and English in both formal and informal settings within the church environment. In doing this, however, it may unintentionally have negatively affected minority language transmission for the New Zealand-born children by promoting an English-speaking environment rather than a Korean-speaking environment. A child participant commented:

Excerpt 168.

The church has kind of changed now. It used to do seminars only in Korean when I was younger. But now it is like a bilingual pastor says a sentence then he translates into English. So it helps some of the English speakers understand what the pastor is saying.
(Child 13)

Some parent participants from this church expressed their concerns about a possible language shift within the church environment.

Excerpt 169.

저희 교회에 영어를 하시는 1.5-세대 전도사님이 오셨어요. 그래서 예배가 영어로 이뤄지잖아요. 그 이후로 [아이들이] 교회에서 영어를 더 많이 쓰는 거 같아요. <My church appointed a 1.5-generation²⁹ bilingual pastor so my church facilitates services in English. I think, since then [children] speak English more at church.> (Mother 4)

A child participant also expressed concerns about the use of English at the church as he felt that there were more English speakers than Korean speakers at his church.

Excerpt 170.

어떤 애들은 한국말을 잘 못하고 부모님들이 별로 신경을 안 쓰시니까. 전도사님도 설교를 영어로 하시고 한국말로 번역해서 둘 다 하시는데 교회에서는 주로 영어를 좀 더 많이 써요. 영어를 하는 사람들이 좀 더 많아요 교회에서. <Some children can't speak Korean well and their parents do not mind their children not speaking Korean. A bilingual pastor speaks both Korean and English during church services, but speaks English more. There are more English speakers than Korean speakers at church.> (Child 1)

Mother 4, Children 1 and 13 attended the same Korean church. They all commented that English had become dominant, especially for the child cohort, at their Korean church.

Another Korean church provided translating services for New Zealand-born Koreans during church services using headsets. After church services children attended group meetings that were organised for their age groups. One child explained the linguistic environment.

Excerpt 171.

Well, sermons are in Korean, but we have translators so they translate it into English for us when we don't understand it. And our group meetings are usually in English, but sometimes in Korean, yeah. (Child 7)

²⁹ 1.5-generation is defined as migrants who were born overseas and moved to a host country at an early age, before 12-years old (Choi, 2015).

Key point summary

Negative factors that hindered Korean language transmission were reported by both child and parent participants. Corrections of language mistakes by adult Korean speakers made a child participant avoid speaking Korean within the church environment. This led to three children being reluctant to continue attending church. Appointing a bilingual pastor and providing interpreting services were intended to encourage church attendance by children, but the unintentional result was an increased use of English within the church community causing fear of a language shift among some members of the congregation, but being seen as helpful by some others.

6.3.4. Section summary

Both parent and child participants valued the role Korean religious affiliations played in minority language transmission. They offered the opportunity to interact with other Korean speakers of all ages, the chance to learn about the way in which the language reflected cultural norms and had the ability to foster a feeling of belonging to a wider Korean community.

There were, however, some negative outcomes. Older Koreans, according to their cultural norms, felt entitled to correct and criticise younger people's language errors and, on occasion, made fun of them. This was resented by some younger New Zealand-born people who responded by stopping trying to speak Korean in the church environment and even stopped attending services.

Efforts were made by two church groups to be more inclusive by appointing a bilingual pastor and translators. But, as several research participants commented, this led to an increasing use of English within the church community. This enabled children to become confused by receiving mixed messages about the emphasis of both Korean language transmission for maintaining Korean heritage, and English language acquisition for integration into mainstream society. This was detrimental to minority language transmission.

6.4. Exposure to the non-church-based wider Korean community through social and cultural activities in New Zealand

The Office of Ethnic Communities (2016) emphasised that minority languages, cultures and communities need to be publically celebrated and recognises that that would help develop and shape a national identity and enhance fostering linguistic diversity in New Zealand. In their publication *Heritage and Community Language Celebration Guidelines* the importance of facilitating cultural activities through the use of minority language is identified as a positive factor and minority language-speaking communities are encouraged to promote minority linguistic and cultural environments in in New Zealand.

This section examines the role organisations play within the wider Korean community in intergenerational Korean language transmission. It discusses how these organisations function either to support or impede a thriving minority linguistic and cultural environment in a majority society, how Korean migrants experience the impact of the wider Korean community in their lives and the influence of the wider community upon minority language transmission.

6.4.1. The role of the wider Korean community in Korean language transmission

The wider Korean community within the study region facilitates several cultural events, such as Korean market days, K-pop competitions, cultural performance festivals and Korean art exhibitions. Within the wider Korean community, there are regional branches of some Korean organisations as well as local organisations (see Chapter 2). All these organisations facilitate various meetings, seminars, cultural and sport activities throughout the year. Korean is the medium of communication for these events (see Section 2.4).

The Korean Society of active in the study region, hereafter referred to as the local Korean Society, is an organisation that represents all Koreans in the area, both migrants and their children and visitors. It plays a key role in promoting both Korea as a country and Korean culture in New Zealand to both Korean and non-Korean communities on an annual basis. This organisation has mostly organised and facilitated Korean cultural events at a local community level. These events include Culture Galore, Korean Day in December, K-pop competitions as well as various other cultural events. Through attending these cultural and sport events, both

Koreans and non-Koreans have exposure to Korean language and Korean culture in a wider context. The organisation also facilitates formal and informal interactions such as seminars and workshops where Korean speakers of all ages meet and speak the language.

In this study, both parent and child participants highlighted how having exposure to the wider Korean community afforded New Zealand-born Korean children more opportunity to speak Korean and to learn about Korean culture through the language. Only one child participant did not attend any cultural activities throughout the year. Attendance at these cultural events was a positive experience for many research participants, both socially and linguistically.

Excerpt 172.

I went to a lot of culture festivals and culture food events. I think I wouldn't have the experience if my both parents were English speakers. I think that was a good experience because my mum made me learn Korean dance and stuff /.../ But I liked having two languages as my own. (Child 4)

Excerpt 173.

I like going to specifically Korean events so speaking to all those people and beginning to know other Korean people from different languages and cultures. It is a good thing. (Child 10)

Both Child 4 and Child 10 valued having exposure to cultural events and interacting with various Korean speakers in a natural environment. Some children believed that this helped the New Zealand-born child participants to become more proficient in Korean language.

Excerpt 174.

Um, I guess it is important just supporting each other. I guess it is a good factor into learning the Korean language. (Child 7)

Excerpt 175.

Having the Korean society³⁰ [community] around you makes you able to naturally increase your skills when you talk in Korean and if you are constantly talking Korean the whole time you will just get better at it. (Child 13)

She continued explaining the role the wider Korean community plays in local communities.

Excerpt 176.

Having those community groups in New Zealand, like the Korean society, it makes other people know about Korea more. (Child 13)

This child had attended the annual Korean cultural festival that was organised and facilitated by the local Korean Society in December with her Korean and non-Korean friends. She felt that promoting Korea to the majority society made her feel a sense of belonging to both Korea and New Zealand rather than being marginalised. She stated that when Korean was spoken in the public domain it made her motivated to maintain the language. The same opinion was reported by another child participant.

Excerpt 177.

Definitely, because getting to know other people of like your peers of the same ethnicity is definitely important and gives you more, I guess, social kind of status in terms of the Korean society and the English society. (Child 6)

As Children 6 and 13 stated, when child participants attended these cultural events they tended to speak Korean rather than English due to the expectations of adult Korean speakers. This general attitude towards transmitting minority language within the wider Korean community was seen as a positive factor in this study. A parent participant regarded these general attitudes as being supportive and illustrated the importance of having support from the wider Korean community in ITML by comparing two different contexts in New Zealand.

³⁰ Many Koreans tend to use a term 'Korean society' rather than the wider Korean community because of a literal translation from Korean to English.

Excerpt 178.

그런 support 가 없이는 아이들이 한국말을 배워 나갈 수가 없는 거 같아요. /.../
Wellington 에 있는 한국 아이들은 여기 있는 아이들보다 한국말 수준은 굉장히
떨어지고 문화적인 부분에서도 한국 문화를 접하기 보다 Kiwi 문화를 접하다 보니까
문화적인 괴리감이 많이 느껴져서 좀 한국사회에서는 어려워하는 경우들이
있더라고요. <Without this support children are unable to learn the Korean language.
/.../ Korean children from Wellington, their Korean language proficiency often is much
lower than that of Korean children here. Korean migrant children from Wellington are
more exposed to Kiwi culture rather than Korean culture. So the children from
Wellington seem to feel that Korean culture is foreign and that it is difficult to interact
with Koreans.> (Mother 3)

Both parent and child participants valued the support from the wider Korean community in intergenerational transmission of Korean language. Through exposure to the wider Korean community, New Zealand-born Korean children were able to come to an understanding about New Zealanders' perception of Korea as a country, meet with diverse Korean speakers and hear Korean spoken in a public environment where English is the dominant language. All these factors enabled New Zealand-born child participants to become motivated to maintain the language and find a place in New Zealand society.

Within the wider Korean community, the perception is that a person who looks Korean should be able to speak the language (Excerpts 72-77). This was seen as a positive factor that encouraged child participants to learn and speak Korean. As a result, a child participants focused on speaking Korean even when some adult Korean speakers used English in conversation.

Excerpt 179.

어떤 한국 분들은 영어를 잘하지 않지만 아이한테 영어로 할 때가 있어요. 저희 아이는
대답은 한국말로 해요. /.../ 한국어로 대답하는 게 되게 어렸을 때부터 그랬던 거
같아요. <Some Korean adults who had limited-English proficiency tried to talk with

my son in English. My son always responded in Korean. /.../ He tended to reply in Korean since he was little.> (Mother 5)

This mother stressed her son's positive attitudes towards the use of Korean within the wider Korean community. The mother believed that the strong community perception about Korean and the value of language proficiency positively affected Korean language transmission for her son. In contrast to this, some child participants reported having confused experiences when interacting with some adult Korean speakers who preferred to speak English. Adult Korean speakers' inconsistent language choices unintentionally encouraged New Zealand-born child participants to speak English in the wider community. Mother 11, whose husband is a non-Korean speaker, and whose son is a balanced bilingual speaker, said,

Excerpt 180.

[영어로 물으면] 영어로 대답을 해요. 그런데 애를 아는 사람이 만일에 한국어로 하잖아요. 그러면 당연히 한국어로 대답을 해요. 그래서 주위에 한국 사람이면 정말 한국어를 해주기를 원하는데 간혹 영어를 쓰시는 분들이 또 있어요. <[Being asked in English] my son responds in English. But if someone who knows him speaks Korean he speaks Korean. I really wish Koreans would speak in Korean to him, but there are some Korean adults who tend to speak English.> (Mother 11)

Such inconsistent language choices by some adult native Korean speakers confused child participants. Korean language transmission within the wider Korean community could be impeded by such choices. In addition to conflicting language practices, some adult Korean speakers in the wider Korean community made fun of children's Korean language proficiency. Some Korean native speakers commented negatively on New Zealand-born Korean children's Korean language proficiency and corrected mistakes in a manner that was offensive to the children and led to a decrease in confidence about using Korean language.

Excerpt 181.

People just throw words at each other and like a common one came out was "you can't speak Korean" in Korean then ha ha [laughing]. (Child 3)

This child reported his experience as a negative factor in minority language transmission. Through this negative experience, he noted that he became less motivated to speak Korean and attend various cultural events in the wider Korean community.

6.4.2. Section summary

Both positive and negative experiences of exposure to the wider Korean community were reported in this study. Participants, both parents and children, generally had positive attitudes about the role of the wider Korean community in intergenerational transmission of Korean language. Various organisations in the wider Korean community focus on activities that enhance intergenerational Korean language transmission, but these activities do not appear to have the wider impact on promoting Korean language and culture in mainstream society. The local Korean Society has played an important role in fostering and facilitating linguistic, cultural and social environment in public settings to support Korean migrants as well as promoting Korean culture and language within non-Korean communities. These efforts have had a positive outcome in promoting Korean culture to a majority society and this has led New Zealand-born Koreans to report being more socially confident and feeling proud of their heritage while living in New Zealand.

Some negative factors were, however, reported. Some Korean adults commented on New Zealand-born children's language mistakes and this made the children less motivated to maintain the language and reluctant to be exposed to the wider community. Also some Korean adults preferred to speak English when interacting with New Zealand-born Koreans both in formal and informal situations. Correcting children's language errors and conflicting language choices by adult Korean speakers hindered intergenerational transmission of Korean language in the study region.

6.5. Influence on Korean language transmission from visiting Korea

Transport and technology developments have enabled migrant families to easily engage with their extended families in their home country. Korean migrant families tend to make regular visits to their home country and children who were born in a majority country have

opportunities to be immersed in an environment where their minority language and culture is now the majority.

Exposure to parents' home country influences majority country-born children in minority language transmission (Cunningham, 2011; De Houwer, 2015). This enables children to meet with various native speakers of their minority language, including extended families and relatives, and have extensive experience of speaking their minority language as a cultural and linguistic norm.

Parent and child participants reported having both positive and negative experiences when visiting their extended family and relatives in Korea. This section examines participants' experiences of the use of Korean language when exposed to Korean in Korea. It discusses how these experiences influence Korean language transmission, and shape and influence participants' language and identity development. It then analyses whether such influences and experiences are supportive or otherwise in maintaining minority language for New Zealand-born child participants when living in a majority society, New Zealand.

6.5.1. Language experiences in Korea

Many child participants became confident about their Korean language proficiency when visiting Korea. Being exposed to a Korean-speaking environment forced the child participants to use Korean. Many child participants who reported being proficient Korean speakers tended to actively participate in communicating with native Korean speakers. Those child participants who reported being limited-proficiency Korean speakers discovered their ability to speak and maintain conversations in Korean. This was revealed in a mother's interview. Before visiting Korea, Child 3's mother reported that he believed himself to be an English speaker and a passive Korean speaker because he had not been to Korea since he was one year old.

Excerpt 182.

왜냐면 아이들이 15 년만에 갔기 때문에 오히려 한국에 간 것이 말이 잘 안 통하는
어색한 곳에 간 것일 수도 있어요. /.../ 근데 한국을 가보더니 말이 통한다 라는 것을
알게 되고 이제 그냥 자연스럽게 적응하는 자기를 볼 수 있다는 게 굉장히 신기했던
거 같아요. <Because it has been 15 years since my child visited Korea, Korea would

be an alien place for him where he could not communicate with native Korean speakers. /.../ When he was in Korea he discovered his ability to communicate with native Korean speakers and saw himself naturally interacting with Koreans. He, himself was very fascinated by experiencing that.> (Mother 3)

Due to having this positive experience in Korea, Child 3 became motivated to acquire more Korean and to speak Korean spontaneously both inside and outside of the home. His mother reported that after this trip he started learning Korean literacy through reading the Korean bible. At the time of the interview he was able to read and write the language.

Some participants explained that New Zealand-born Korean children attracted attention from native Korean speakers when visiting Korea. When Family 4 visited Korea the mother and her daughter, Child 4, went to a church. In the church mother spoke Korean and the daughter spoke fluent English as she was unable to speak fluent Korean at the time. Many people from the church paid attention to Child 4 by asking many questions about her ability to speak English fluently. Child 4 became very popular at the church in Korea because she was an English speaker from New Zealand. This experience led Child 4 to feel special and become more motivated to improve her ability to speak Korean.

Excerpt 183.

Actually I went to a Korean church and I couldn't speak Korean so I spoke English and most of them crowded around me. They were like "oh my Gosh you can speak English so well" just like this. They wanted to take a photo with me because I spoke English and then they gave me their phone to search up where I lived, but I didn't know how to use a Korean phone so I couldn't find my house. (Child 4)

This experience positively influenced Child 4 in her Korean language learning. She came to realise the need to learn Korean language including literacy because she was unable to read and type Korean when using a phone. She also gave other reasons for learning Korean. She liked buying clothes and cosmetics from Korea and needed to read Korean to purchase from Korean online shopping websites.

Excerpt 184.

Yeah it was good. I really want to go back I want to go to Korea. I want to, like they've got really cool clothes and cool shoes and cool stationery and in New Zealand it's kind of expensive cause it's imported. /.../ I realised when I came back that my Korean was so bad when I was in Korea so I started speaking more Korean and I improved. (Child 4)

Like Child 4, other female child participants in this study commented about online shopping to purchase clothes and cosmetics from Korean shopping websites. Some searched Korean online shopping websites on a regular basis. To do that they needed to be able to read and type Korean.

Child 13, had the opportunity to attend a primary school while visiting Korea.

Excerpt 185.

Seven years ago when I was in Korea, I went to a primary school for three days to experience what it was like. That was a time when Korean was my first language but I could still speak English. The kids there treated me really nicely and they were amazed even when I said the simplest English words. They kind of looked at me like I was a celebrity kind of thing. (Child 13)

This child developed a friendship from this experience and maintained it via Facebook and Kakaotalk³¹. Korean was the main language for conversation in their social network interactions.

Another child participant, Child 10, whose father was non-Korean, reported having limited proficiency in Korean, but had good experiences in Korea. She reported that she came to realise her ability to speak Korean when she was exposed to a Korean-speaking environment. She thought implementing an OPOL language policy was insufficient to acquire the language, but she was able to maintain conversations in Korean. This positive feeling and experience led her to become motivated to improve her Korean.

³¹ Kakaotalk is the most popular social network messenger application in Korea.

Excerpt 186.

I love being in Korea. It's more me than here I guess. I love the busy, busyness. I remember when I was about six when going to [visiting] Korea. I walked down the street with my mum and my grandma people were like "oh look there is a Westerner" and all this like and people would be amazed. /.../ I think I love Korea, it just fits me, fashion, shopping even mountains in Korea. I love those. (Child 10)

A mother also stated the value in visiting Korea for minority language transmission.

Excerpt 187.

한국을 어렸을 때 방문한 거랑 커서 방문한 거랑 굉장히 차이가 많더라고요. /.../ 이제는 자기가 판단할 수 있잖아요 어릴 때보다. 그러니까 관심을 갖게 되고 "아, 내가 너무 못하는구나 한국말을. 그렇다면 다음에 내가 올 때는 좀 더 배워서 와야겠구나. 그래야지 한국에서 친인척들을 만날 때 대화하기가 어렵지 않겠구나" 그걸 느끼고 오는 거 같아요. <There is a big difference between visiting Korea as a little child and as a young adult. /.../ Now they are grown up and they can judge and have thoughts on everything through their eyes and ears. This led my children to become interested in learning more about the language. They came to realise that "Wow, my Korean is very poor. I need to learn more Korean language when I come to Korea next time. So I would not have difficulties to meet my relatives in Korea". They came home with these kind of thoughts.> (Mother 2)

Through being exposed to a home country where what had been a minority language in New Zealand became the majority language in Korea, many parent and child participants came to recognise their children's ability to speak Korean. This brought positive outcomes for both the parents and the children. Parents were reassured that their language policy and practice of speaking Korean at home was correct, and children discovered they were able to maintain conversations in Korean in Korea. Consequently after visiting Korea, parents and children were encouraged to speak more Korean at home in New Zealand.

Mother 8 gave the example of her son's language ability when visiting their extended family in Korea. Her son, Child 8, was not comfortable speaking Korean before their visit, but found himself able to carry out his mother's requests to order food at a restaurant and other tasks.

Excerpt 188.

언어적인 어려움은 없었어요. 예를 들어서 음식 시키러 가면 가서 시켜오고 이러니까. 자연스럽게 그런 거는 여기서도 하는 일이니까 또 가서 하더라구요. 그래서 아마 한국에 가서 선생님 해볼까 하는 생각 하지 않았을까요. 지가 한국말을 좀 해봐야 되겠다는 스스로 생각이 있어서. <He did not feel a language difficulty. For example, when I asked him to order food at the restaurant in Korea he was able to do that. He usually orders food here [in New Zealand] so he could naturally order food in Korean there. I think, through these experiences he became motivated to become and work as a teacher in Korea. At the same time he would be able to learn more Korean there.>
(Mother 8)

Speaking Korean at home enabled child participants to converse in Korean when visiting Korea. Their spoken skills in Korean led them to have positive experiences when interacting with various native Korean speakers. After their visit, many child participants became more motivated to improve their Korean including literacy skills. Having positive experiences in a country where their minority language was the majority language enhanced New Zealand-born children's language acquisition.

In contrast to these positive experiences, a lack of Korean language proficiency led some child participants to feel that they did not belong in Korea. Instead they felt they belonged more to New Zealand. Unlike some children who enjoyed themselves in Korea, others reported that language barriers caused problems. Child 8 found it difficult to communicate with people in Korea even though he was able to carry out his mother's requested tasks.

Excerpt 189.

Some words, like [it was] a bit difficult for me to pick up that stuff so I have to just speak English apart from saying to my parents or anything, yeah. (Child 8)

Other children had similar experiences.

Excerpt 190.

It was quite hard to adjust to it. Um, I didn't know Korean that well so it was a kind of hard to talk to my family who were just all Korean and no English. And so it was kind of difficult for me staying in Korea. Yeah, I didn't really enjoy that much. (Child 7)

Excerpt 191.

I thought if I went back I would feel this connection because they're all Asian, but then I felt more disconnected than I was here because if I tried to do something simple like buying something there'd always be that pressure on me cause there's a language you have to speak and sometimes they'll ask you unexpected questions like how big do you want it and there's kind of just like is it different here? Yeah, I didn't have any friends there and it's kind of hard to make friends when you don't speak the language comfortably as well. (Child 2)

Lack of Korean language proficiency was seen as a negative factor when immersed in a Korean-speaking environment. Despite having negative experiences, these children were aware of the need to speak and improve their Korean. Children 7 and 8 had plans to work as English teachers and improve their Korean in Korea in the future.

One child participant, however, reported that he did not enjoy his trip to Korea even though he spoke fluent Korean and was not willing to visit to Korea again.

Excerpt 192.

I could speak completely fine with the natives in Korea but I don't really like when I go to Korea. (Child 5)

Key point summary

Both positive and negative experiences in Korea were reported in this study. Some participants with good Korean language proficiency and an interest in Korean merchandise such as clothing and cosmetics, felt they had a positive experience when visiting Korea. A positive experience led child participants to become more motivated to improve, not only their spoken Korean, but also their literacy skills. This enabled some children to maintain Korean by searching Korean

websites and to make plans to work in Korea in the future. These children felt a sense of belonging to both Korea and New Zealand.

Other child participants had negative experiences in Korea. A lack of Korean language proficiency made it challenging for these children to easily fit into Korean society. Even with a high level of language proficiency one participant did not enjoy his visit to Korea, so it is not always about being able to communicate effectively. They felt a sense of belonging more to New Zealand than Korea. This negatively affected their Korean language acquisition and transmission.

6.5.2. Cultural experiences in Korea

Many parent participants emphasised the importance of maintaining family ties. Some child participants had regular conversations with their grandparents and/or relatives via phone or Skype. However, others had limited ability to talk about a variety of topics online because of their lack of Korean language proficiency. When child participants had face-to-face interactions with grandparents and relatives in Korea they saw the need to speak a good level of Korean language.

Excerpt 193.

한국에 갔을 때도 친척들을 만나고 그런 것도 좋은 경험이었던 거 같아요. “아, 내가 한국말을 해야 되는구나.” 또 제가 다른 사람들하고 얘기를 할 때 “뭐야?” “뭐야?” 이런 질문들을 많이 해요. 그러면 제가 설명을 해줘야 되니까 이제 그런 거에 대해서 “아, 한국말이 필요하구나” 그리고 이제 카톡을 많이 하다 보니까 카톡 오는걸 자기가 읽을 때도 있고 또 저한테 읽어달라고 할 때도 있어요. 그럴 때 이제 자꾸 생활 속에서 한국말이 필요하다는 걸 본인도 느끼게 되고 자기가 한국말을 하기를 잘했다 라고 지금은 그렇게 생각을 하더라고요. <Visiting relatives in Korea was also a good experience. This made him realise that “Oh, this is why I should be able to speak Korean.” Sometimes when I talked with my friends my son asked me “what is that? What does that mean?” many times and I explained him. This also led him to realise that “I need to learn the Korean language”. Kakaotalk played a key role too. When I

contacted other Koreans my son sometimes read messages or asked me to read messages for him. Then he came to realise the need to speak Korean in his life. Now he believes that it is very good for him to be able to speak Korean.> (Mother 4)

Child 12 supported Mother 4's comment.

Excerpt 194.

Meeting with new people definitely. Also just sharing about one another's backgrounds. Being able to do that is interesting and good, and cool experience I think. (Child 12)

Some child participants felt they could not fully integrate into Korean culture when visiting extended families and relatives in Korea. Children explained that they discovered that they felt more comfortable in New Zealand.

Excerpt 195.

For me I feel more comfortable in [the city] because I'm just used to it and it's where I have grown up. Korea, for me it is a more place to have a holiday and to meet my relatives. I don't think I could live there very long, but at the same time it's an interesting and a cool place to go to. I prefer staying here though. (Child 12)

Excerpt 196.

I usually find myself at home all the time because even though I can speak Korean quite fluently I find myself more into the culture of New Zealand rather than Korea because I was just like born and raised here. So everything I do in Korea just seems a little different to me so I don't really find myself going out that much in Korea but in New Zealand I can do it fine and quite frequently as well. (Child 5)

Despite his adequate Korean language proficiency, Child 5 faced difficulties in fitting into a Korean-speaking environment. Even though he was able to communicate effectively in the language he did not feel a sense of belonging to Korea but was very aware of the need for respectful behaviour within cultural norms.

Excerpt 197.

But even though I don't like doing it I still do it just because of the fact that it's their

culture and I don't want to disrespect that. (Child 5)

Key point summary

Cultural differences between Korean and New Zealand were identified by participants in this study. Some child participants had positive cultural experiences in Korean. This led to these children having a sense of belonging to both Korea and New Zealand, and tending to identify themselves as a Korean-New Zealander. Other children had negative cultural experiences or found it difficult to fit themselves into Korea. These children felt more comfortable speaking English and appeared to identify themselves as a New Zealander-Korean. Cultural experiences in Korean are seen as influential factors in enhancing or hindering Korean language acquisition and transmission and identity development among New Zealand-born Koreans.

6.5.3. Section summary

Visiting their parents' home country reported influencing New Zealand-born children regarding minority language acquisition and transmission. In this study when visiting Korea, New Zealand-born child participants felt that they had a positive or negative experience depending on their Korean language proficiency and level of cultural awareness.

Most proficient Korean speakers could integrate fully into a Korean-speaking and cultural environment and became more motivated to improve their Korean after their return to New Zealand. These children developed a sense of belonging to both Korea and New Zealand. Some child participants were interested in Korean merchandise goods and made an effort to learn more about Korean verbal and literacy skills, to be able to watch Korean media contents and search Korean online shopping websites.

Other child participants experienced a lack of Korean language proficiency that made them unable to comfortably fit into Korean culture. These children felt a sense of belonging more to New Zealand than Korea. Consequently, this negatively affected their Korean language transmission.

Some child participants, regardless of their Korean language proficiency, expressed feeling more comfortable in New Zealand than in Korea because they were born and have grown up

in New Zealand. This negatively influenced these New Zealand-born children in regard to Korean language transmission. This impacted both on their sense of identity and where they belonged.

6.6. Conclusion

This chapter has addressed the way in which Korean, as a minority language, is supported or hindered in a range of contexts at a Mesosystem level.

Outside of the immediate and extended family domain, Korean language speakers are exposed to a much broader linguistic environment that has the potential to either enhance or impede the ongoing use of the language.

The wider Korean community also influences minority language transmission across generations. The Korean school was valued by the research participants for enhancing Korean children's literacy skills (Excerpts 145-147, 150), learning about culture and cultural values and activities (Excerpts 143-144, 148, 150), and having emotional and social support (Excerpt 149). Despite such an advantage, Some Korean children tended to speak English outside of the classroom (Excerpt 154) or not commit to speaking Korean when attending the school (Excerpt 156). This may result in children to make a slow progress in Korean language transmission (Excerpt 155). Teaching practices at a Korean school seem to discourage New Zealand-born Korean children from attending the school (Excerpt 151).

Religious organisations offered insight into the language and culture (Excerpts 158-162) that provided more opportunities for young Koreans to interact with diverse group of Korean speakers in a wider Korean-speaking and cultural environment. These advantages were, however, sometimes undermined by the contradictory attitude of older Korean people. On the one hand, older Koreans were valued Korean language acquisition and openly critical of younger Korean's attempts to speak Korean (Excerpts 165-166), but on the other hand, they were envious of younger Korean's English language proficiency (Excerpt 167). The churches themselves also contributed to language loss when the employment of bilingual pastors and translators led to an increasing use of English (Excerpts 168-171). Although advantages of

attending Korean religious communities, a language shift may take place between older Koreans and younger Koreans.

Formal organisations, such as the local Korean Society and others, were very active in promoting Korean language and culture through their facilitation of cultural events at a local community level. All research participants valued the benefit such events gave them by both providing an opportunity to be immersed in the language and culture (Excerpts 172-175, 178) and promoting Korean language and culture to mainstream society (Excerpts 176-177). This enabled majority country-born children to feel proud of their minority language and culture. However, insensitively correcting children's language errors (Excerpt 181) and conflicting language choices by older Koreans (Excerpts 179-180) made younger Koreans reluctant to speak Korean and become less motivated to be exposed to the wider language-speaking community. This may hinder intergenerational transmission of Korean language in the wider Korean community.

Visiting parents' home country gave opportunities for New Zealand-born child participants to be exposed to an environment where their minority language was the majority language. Depending on their Korean language proficiency, child participants had either a positive or negative experience when interacting with people in Korea. Cultural differences were also seen as an influential factor for Korean language transmission across generations. Some child participants were very aware of the cultural differences between Korea and New Zealand. This led these children to both become more motivated to improve their Korean and to feel they belong to both Korea and New Zealand (Excerpts 182-188, 193). Other children had difficulty integrating themselves into Korean culture and were unable to feel they belonged to Korea (Excerpts 189-192, 195-196). Amongst children from latter group, some children indicated their willingness to improve their Korean language proficiency (Children 2, 7, 8 and 10), and others did not become motivated to improve, but maintain it (Children 5 and 12).

Overall, both parents and children expressed a positive attitude to minority language transmission at the wider Korean community as well as at the family level. Within the broader linguistic context there were, however, continued challenges to the use of a minority language both from within and outside of the Korean language community. This can be seen as an evidence of intergenerational language shift amongst New Zealand-born Koreans.

Chapter 7.

THE MACROSYSTEM

7.1. Introduction

This chapter examines how Korean language is transmitted in a country where English language is the norm. The way in which government policy is responding to an increasingly linguistically diverse society is outlined and wider society's attitude towards Korean speakers is examined through the reporting of personal experiences by Korean speakers when exposed to an English language environment. The chapter also discusses the impact living in a majority society has upon Korean migrant families.

The interpretation and application of the bioecology of human development theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1999, 2001) in this research has three components, micro-, meso-, and macrosystems. The scope of microsystem in this study looks at how both the nuclear and extended family units play a primary role in intergenerational transmission of Korean language. The mesosystem examines the role of the wider Korean-speaking community in language transmission. Both these systems focus on contexts in which Korean language and culture are the norm. In the macrosystem, the focus moves to how the wider context of the majority society impacts on minority language transmission. Within this wider context, the majority language is the dominant tool of conversation in all areas; education (school), business (work) and other social and cultural interactions that occur on a daily basis.

New Zealand has become linguistically and ethnically superdiverse with an increased migrant population (Spoonley, 2014). This has led the government to emphasise fostering multilingual speakers as valuable human resources that could bring economic benefits for the majority society from international trade and business. Although superdiversity is seen as advantageous, research suggests there are some concerns about multiculturalism and multilingualism impeding social cohesion and creating anti-immigrant attitudes in a majority society (Spoonley, 2014), where migrants are expected to be assimilated into the host society (Castles, 2000).

In addition to this, there is no national language policy to provide guidelines when working with linguistically diverse people, and government policy about language is contradictory in a bid to accommodate both linguistically diverse and monolingual English-speaking people. The government focuses on both English language acquisition and the importance of linguistic and cultural diversity. This has created dilemmas for both minority and majority language speakers.

Despite not having a national language policy and having minimal resources for teaching Korean language in formal education settings, New Zealand is experiencing the impact of increasing global interest in Korean media content and merchandise primarily through the phenomena known as the Korean Wave (Herald, 2017; Tan, 2017). Its popularity amongst Korean speakers in secondary school environments has led to a resurgence of interest in learning Korean language and gaining more knowledge of the culture (S. Roberts, 2017; Tokalau, 2017).

In response to Research Question 3 (what role does mainstream society play in the intergenerational transmission of the Korean language in New Zealand?), two key themes emerged from thematic data analysis through the macro lens of the bioecological theory. These are:

- 1) influence of formal educational settings; 2) influence of a majority society on Korean language transmission.

The following sub-sections examine how these themes function and influence each other in enhancing or impeding Korean language transmission in mainstream society.

7.2. Influence of formal educational settings on Korean language transmission

In New Zealand most children start formal compulsory education at age five. Prior to this children often attend a non-compulsory preschool for various lengths of time. One parent participant reported that because it was not compulsory, preschool did not appear to immediately influence minority language transmission for migrant families (see Excerpt 216), although children from migrant families might experience a language barrier at this level (Excerpt 17).

Primary school, however, has a more influential role on minority language transmission in a majority society. For the first time in their lives, most children are expected to function effectively in a new language environment for about six hours daily. Minority language-speaking children discover their family language is different from the school language. The children come to realise that speaking the majority language is the only way to fully participate in school activities and so minority language-speaking children start acquiring the majority language at the expense of their home language (Conteh & Brock, 2011; Fillmore, 1991).

Feedback from teachers is seen as a crucial influential factor in minority language transmission at primary school level (Conteh & Brock, 2011). Teachers' and principals' attitudes towards minority language use may influence minority language transmission in families. If teachers empower migrant families by acknowledging their bilingual ability, families become motivated to keep their home language alive (May, 1991). Conversely, if a school emphasises the importance of majority language acquisition, regardless of a pupil having the ability to speak another language, migrant families tend to not pass on their home language to the children (Fillmore, 1991; Fishman, 1991).

At secondary school level, children of migrant parents become more aware of other factors that impact upon their minority language use (Kitchen, 2014b). It is a time when they may start questioning their identity whether they are Korean or New Zealander. They may also question the value of speaking Korean as well as English. Secondary school students are encouraged to learn additional foreign languages to both become global citizens and bring potential social and economic benefits to society (Ministry of Education, 2014), but Korean language is not usually one of the language options available.

7.2.1. Korean peer-to-peer interactions

This section examines the place of Korean peer-to-peer relationships in minority language transmission in formal educational settings where the majority language is the norm. It discusses the way in which a school environment facilitates or hinders minority language transmission.

7.2.1.1. Positive factors

A child's self-identity development within Korean migrant families was discussed in Section 5.3. At primary school, minority language-speaking students tend to not see the need to speak minority languages in the school environment (Excerpts 49-50), and so only speak their minority language at home. At secondary school, minority language-speaking students start reflecting on their identity and their ability or otherwise to speak both majority and minority languages (Excerpts 51-55).

In order for child participants to enhance Korean language proficiency, the choice of schools for children in Korean migrant families is important and parents are very aware of both primary and secondary schools that have a strong Korean student cohort because they believe that these schools offer more opportunity for interaction between Korean speakers.

Korean-speaking students

A school's focus on attracting short term international students offers Korean-speaking New Zealand resident students a valuable opportunity to use their home language in a normal and practical way within the wider school environment.

Excerpt 198.

I wasn't as fluent in having a Korean conversation, but I think I've improved more during the past two years because I've been able to have conversations in Korean with Korean international students. (Child 12)

Newly-arrived Korean international students were usually highly proficient in Korean but lacked English language proficiency so Korean was a major tool of conversation for these interactions.

Excerpt 199.

올해부터 다니는 [학교이름] 고등학교에는 지금 한국에서 온지 한 2-3 년 되는 유학생들이 [있어요], 그래서 거의 다 한국말을 잘해요. 그래서 학교에서 한국말을 배워요. <This year my daughter is at [name of] high school, and there are some Korean

international students who have been here only for two to three years, and they speak the Korean language really well. My daughter learns the Korean language from them.>
(Mother 4)

Excerpts 198 and 199 clearly demonstrated the value of interacting with newly-arrived Korean students in the school environment and the positive affect on minority language transmission for New Zealand-born Korean pupils.

Excerpt 200.

During past two years because I've been able to have conversations in Korean with Korean international students. (Child 12)

The influence of having Korean-speaking peers, irrespective of the wider school environment, was described by one of the child participants.

Excerpt 201.

제가 다니던 초등학교 중학교가 한국인들이 많이 다니던 학교는 아니라서 한국말을 멀리 했었죠, 한국 문화 자체를. 그러다가 9 학년때 [학교이름] 고등학교로 오면서 한국사람을 만나면서 이제 한국문화에 대한 관심을 갖게 된 거예요. 친구들은 한국말을 하는데 저만 못하니까. 쑥스러움도 있고 부러움도 있어서 이 두 가지가 합쳐져서 한국말을 배운 거 같아요. 노력했죠. <My primary and intermediate schools did not have many Korean students so I did not see the need to speak Korean language as well as learning about Korean culture. In year 9, I came to [name of] high school and started interacting with Korean people. Since then I became interested in Korean culture. I was embarrassed at myself not speaking Korean and jealous of other Korean students. These two feelings led me to learn Korean language. I studied hard.> (Child 1)

This participant also emphasised the role of friends as primary motivators to learn the language. Of all child participants, this child was the most proficient in Korean. He reflected that since he started secondary school he had more chance to interact with Korean-speaking peers and he became more willing to learn and use the language.

Excerpt 202.

그런데 저는 가족 때문에 한국말을 배우기 보다는 친구들 때문에 배운 게 더 컸어요.
한국 문화에 관심을 갖기 시작하면서 내가 한국말을 못한다는 그 느낌이 좀 싫어서
나도 배워봐야겠다... <I was more motivated to learn Korean because of my friends'
influence, rather than family. As I became interested in Korean culture, I was not
pleased about not being able to speak Korean, so I decided to learn it...> (Child 1)

Other child participants had a similar experience.

Excerpt 203.

I wasn't too bothered about learning Korean until I had proper Korean friends in year 11, I think. And that's when I started to really think about the Korean language. (Child 7)

Excerpt 204.

I've been meeting and mixing with a lot of Korean students. (Child 9)

Tertiary education offered the opportunity for Child 9, who was non-proficient in Korean, to improve his language ability as Korean was a subject offered at university, but not at secondary school level. In his interview, Child 9 reported that at his primary and secondary schools he seldom had Korean-speaking friends as his parents believed that English language acquisition brought more benefits for him (see Excerpts 20-21). When Child 9 was at university he had more opportunities to interact with Korean speakers and that encouraged him to choose a Korean language study programme.

This use of minority language with Korean-speaking peers built strong friendships among the same minority language-speaking groups. Many child participants reported that the use of a minority language enabled them to keep secrets from non-Korean-speaking pupils. This made Korean children feel they had a special connection with each other and they became more motivated to speak Korean in the school environment. This may be seen as a negative factor in integrating into formal educational systems in New Zealand, but for the child participants it enhanced their Korean language acquisition through the sharing of cultural beliefs and values.

Excerpt 205.

You want to say something in private and your school friends are around you. So you speak Korean and you can share secrets or say how you really feel on a topic and you get each other's opinion. It's like a small group secret thing, you know. (Child 2)

This child explained her feelings about interacting with Korean-speaking peers.

Excerpt 206.

I'm happy. It's not only until I started to get to know more Korean friends that I started becoming happier. (Child 2)

Her mother, Mother 2, supported her daughter's preference to have Korean-speaking friends as this enabled the children to develop strong connections.

Excerpt 207.

자기들끼리 소통하고 싶을 때, 다른 사람들은 몰랐으면 할 때 한국말만 하게 되고 그럴 때 자기들끼리는 이렇게 통한다 라는 게 되게 뿌듯하다는 얘기를 하더라구요. <When my daughter and her friends want to share things just between themselves, not revealing to others, they speak in Korean. My daughter said that this made her feel proud to understand each other without telling others.> (Mother 4)

Child participants who became motivated to improve their Korean language ability at secondary school level used only Korean language during their interactions with Korean friends. This was clearly described by Child 13.

Excerpt 208.

The Korean friends that I have I always talk to them in Korean. I don't talk English with them for some reason. (Child 13)

The children spoke of how speaking Korean fostered a positive feeling of being different from non-Korean speakers. Many child participants stressed that having Korean-speaking peers encouraged them to share their cultural values and beliefs. Through these interactions, New Zealand-born Korean children understood and learned more about Korean culture. This

enabled child participants and their Korean-speaking peers to develop strong friendships by being able to share his personal concerns and issues and having a common cultural awareness. Through these experiences he came to realise that he himself had a Korean identity.

Excerpt 209.

엄마랑 싸웠다, 아빠랑 싸웠다, 집[에서] 쫓겨날 거 같다 이런 얘기를 하면 백인 애들은 별로 신경을 안 써요. 워낙 흔하니까. 자기도 많이 해봤다고 이렇게 얘기 하는데, 한국인들한테 이런 얘기를 하면 잘 들어주고 조언도 해주죠. 왜냐면 그런 일이 흔하지도 않고 걱정되니까. 그래서 그런 면으로서는 애정 감이랑 그런 거랑 호응도랑 그런 게 좀 많이 달라요 백인이랑 한국인이랑. 그래서 한국인한테 좀 더 친근감을 가지게 된 거 같아요. 나는 어쩔 수 없이 한국인이구나 그런 생각도 들고 <If I told my Kiwi friends that I had a big argument with my mum or dad and my parents might kick me out, they did not listen properly to me. Simply because it is quite common in their culture and they keep saying that been there, done that, but if I told my Korean friends that, they listened to me, shared their experiences and gave me some advice. Because in Korean culture it is not very common to have an argument with your parents. So I feel more engaged with Korean friends because I feel that Korean friends are empathetic and responsive and understand my story. That is why I interact more with Koreans. And I feel that I am definitely a Korean person.> (Child 1)

Parents were also aware that children were likely to build stronger relationships with Korean-speaking peers at secondary school.

Excerpt 210.

딸이 영어로 communication 에 전혀 문제가 없지만 학교에서 한국 친구가 훨씬 많아요 Kiwi 친구보다. 그런데 새로운 친구를 만나는데 문제는 없지만 깊이 만나서 한국 애들이 훨씬 더 편한 거 같아요. 키위 친구가 있긴 하지만 좀 더 자기가 공유할 수 있는 게 한국 친구가 훨씬 더 많은 거 같아요 편하고. <My daughter does not have any difficulties communicating in English and she has more Korean friends than Kiwi friends. She does not have any difficulties meeting new friends, but she seems to feel more comfortable hanging around with Korean friends. She has a few Kiwi friends, but

she feels she has more common ground with Korean friends so she feels more comfortable with them.> (Mother 4)

She noted that when children were able to share their minority language as well as cultural values it led to the building of strong connections. She went on to say:

Excerpt 211.

가끔씩 사람들이 "우리"라는 것을 만들면서 안정감이라든가 그런 걸 느끼잖아요. 우리 딸이 한국 친구들을 많이 만나다 보니까 한국말로도 하고 /.../ 자기들끼리는 이렇게 통한다 라는 게 되게 뿌듯하다는 얘기를 하더라고요. <Sometimes I feel comfortable by saying "we as Koreans". My daughter interacts with many Korean friends and speak Korean /.../ My daughter said that speaking Korean made her feel proud that they could communicate with and understand each other.> (Mother 4)

Her daughter supported her mother's opinion:

Excerpt 212.

At school I hang around more with Korean friends. Because their thoughts, like their feelings are more related. They like relate more to me you know. When they hang together they are more comfortable. (Child 4)

Child participants also stated that they could easily build empathetic friendships with Koreans and extend to other Asian ethnic peers as they had similar cultural perspectives.

Excerpt 213.

I am able to get along with other Asians, like other bilingual Asians, a lot better. Because we can have this kind of connection. /.../ Even in terms of family problems and issues we find that we have a lot of similarities. So I seem to connect better with other bilingual Asians so it affects my social circle of friends. A lot of white people do not understand the issues that Asian people go through. (Child 2)

Through both formal interactions and informal networking within the school environment, child participants were encouraged to speak Korean.

Organised activities.

The secondary school many child participants went to was popular amongst migrant families, not only Korean, but also other minority language communities, because the school was well known for fostering a multicultural environment and supporting students both culturally and academically. The school used a variety of strategies to promote multiculturalism within the school environment. Such strategies included various programmes to support, not only minority language-speaking students, but also majority language-speaking students, within and outside of the NZQA curriculum.

An example of a programme, outside of the NZQA curriculum, was an interpreters' and translators' club at the school. Child participants at this school reported that in order to accommodate a multilingual and multicultural student demographic, the school organised the interpreters' and translators' club and minority language-speaking students voluntarily joined the club to both develop the club and help and support bi-/multilingual students.

Excerpt 214.

When we had like ESOL students, so Korean students who couldn't speak much English, I'd go to them and hang out with them. That's pretty cool. (Child 10)

As the school become increasingly popular among migrants, the number of minority language-speaking students at the school grew. The minority language-speaking students from the club were actively involved with welcoming, helping and supporting newly-arrived students, both international and New Zealand resident, by conversing in their minority languages. The school appeared to appreciate the club members' contributions to the school by acknowledging students' involvement. This can be seen as a positive factor in fostering and promoting multilingualism in a school environment where English is the main medium of instruction. A child participant from this club explained some additional activities in the club.

Excerpt 215.

Bilingual students when they are in year 13 they can teach the ESOL people and it gets on their report to look good on the report that. /.../ If you can speak another language

especially like an Asian language there is like translating groups, there is international groups, there is a Korean translating group. (Child 13)

Such exposure as a component of school policy towards minority language transmission contributes to Korean families making a language choice and developing strategies that encourage their children to speak the language. For families the choice of school is very important.

7.2.1.2. Negative factors

Within a formal educational setting there is a lack of exposure to a Korean-speaking environment for Korean children who were born in New Zealand. Apart from those schools that were popular and well-known within Korean communities, other schools do not often have many Korean-speaking students. In contrast to positive outcomes from those multilingual schools as described in the previous section, other schools unintentionally negatively affect minority language transmission because English is the main medium of education in New Zealand.

English dominance.

After starting primary school, the first level of compulsory education, it was reported that a language shift challenge had taken place amongst child participants (Excerpts 49-50). Korean came to be seen by children as a language that was only spoken with family members at home. Motivation to maintain their minority language was diminished. Parents noticed this change in their children.

Excerpt 216.

유지원까지 아주 잘 되다가 초등학교 딱 들어가니까 약간 한국말이 조금 덜하는, 한국어를 덜하는 경향으로 가더라구요. 왜냐하면 갑자기 학교 시간이 늘어나고 애들하고 친구하고 만나는 시간이 생기니까 영어가 갑자기 너무 쉬워진 거예요. 말하는 사람이 더 많아져 가지고. <My son was very good at speaking Korean until

preschool. However, since he started primary he has tended to speak less Korean. This resulted in lower proficiency in his Korean language. Because, all of sudden he spent more time at school and interacted with his school friends. Since then he felt easier to speak English because he had more English speakers around him.> (Mother 11)

Although this language shift challenge at primary school level, many child participants were still able to speak both Korean and English, but felt that Korean was a second language and English was their dominant language. At secondary school level, child participants started both questioning their identity and seeing the close relationship between their identity and Korean language proficiency (Excerpts 51-54). At secondary school although Korean language is identified as a foreign language subject, it is seldom offered in formal educational settings in New Zealand (Educations.govt.nz, 2016a, 2016b). Both child and parent participants reported that Korean was rarely spoken within the school environment, except for Korean peer-to-peer interactions.

Despite child participants speaking about how having Korean-speaking peers at secondary school was important for minority language transmission, the impact of having to function successfully in a school environment dominated by English language was also referred to by many of them. These child participants seem to prefer to speak English when interacting with each other.

Excerpt 217.

Most of my Korean friends would usually speak English at school as well because just of the environment we're in. (Child 5)

Excerpt 218.

I have got one other Korean-born friend, but she doesn't speak Korean at all. She can understand a bit, but she won't speak. She just won't speak it. (Child 10)

According to Child 10, her Korean-born friend was reluctant to speak Korean because the mother of her Korean friend tended to not speak Korean with the daughter at home as the mother hoped her daughter to fully integrate into a school environment, and decided to not go back to Korea. Such language choice showed possible language loss as the family continued to live in an English-speaking country.

Excerpt 219.

My Korean friend doesn't like speaking Korean. She doesn't speak the language with her mum either. /.../ She seems to be embarrassed of not being able to speak Korean.
(Child 10)

Without emphasis on, and support for, speaking minority languages in the school environment Korean-speaking students tend not to make an effort to maintain the language. This led some child participants, who confidently use both Korean and English, depending on context, to choose to speak English with New Zealand-born Koreans when at school but use Korean with Korean speakers from Korea.

Excerpt 220.

I speak both English and Korean. Usually to people like my friends who have been born in New Zealand like me, I talk to them in English because it's much more comfortable. But if they're like international students I have conversations in Korean with Korean international students. (Child 12)

Another strategy employed by child participants to overcome language barriers in the school environment was to use a mixture of English and Korean. Child 6, who was highly proficient in Korean, explained it in the following words.

Excerpt 221.

I'd say 60% English and 40% Korean. If we're trying to get a point across to each other, but like then one person doesn't understand, then we'll try communicating in both languages because maybe one of those languages can get to them something like that. (Child 6)

Other participants described their use of two languages.

Excerpt 222.

Usually speaking Korean, but sometimes I do mix when I don't know the word. /.../ But when I'm with Kiwi-Korean friends we mix it up. We talk in English and Korean at the same time with one another because we kind of understand each other. (Child 12)

The importance of choice of school for minority language transmission was highlighted by a parent who expressed her concern about her son's Korean language ability.

Excerpt 223.

쓸 상대가 없어서 그런 거 아닐까요? 예를 들어서 굉장히 친한 한국 친구가 있다면 자꾸 쓸 텐데. 보통 그러지 않나요? 그런데 처음부터 이상하게 우리 큰애한테는 한국 친구가 없었던 거 같아요 계속적으로. <I guess because he has not had any Korean-speaking peers around him, don't you think? For example, if he had a close Korean-speaking friend he could often speak Korean with the friend. But strangely he has not continuously had a Korean friend at all at school.> (Mother 8)

Her son expressed a similar opinion about the reason for his lack of Korean language ability.

Excerpt 224.

Because I don't have too many Korean friends now since they've all gone back. Which is why I can speak English comfortably. (Child 8)

Child 8, who was the elder of two sons, reported himself as primarily an English speaker. Mother 8 revealed that Child 8 was a fluent bilingual speaker until he began secondary school, but since then he had not had opportunities to interact with Korean-speaking peers at school, and being in a primarily English language environment at school led to a language shift.

Excerpt 225.

중, 고등학교 때 한국말을 잊어버린 것 같아요. 우리 큰애 같은 경우에는 그렇게 동양 친구나 한국 애들하고 접할 기회가 별로 없었어요. /.../ 그때 당시에 환경이 그렇게 중요했던 거 같아요. <At intermediate and high schools he lost Korean. Somehow my older son did not have a chance to interact with Koreans or Asians. /.../ The school environment plays a key role to facilitate the transmission of Korean language or otherwise.> (Mother 8)

This family's story highlighted the important role minority language-speaking peers played in the school environment. Although some New Zealand-born child participants were proficient

in Korean, if they did not get the opportunity to speak their minority language in the school environment, a language shift from Korean to English took place.

Cultural differences

Korean peer-to-peer interactions, however, bring negative outcomes. Older international Korean students were critical of a child participant as being disrespectful.

Excerpt 226.

Towards the culture I know that in Korea you would respect your elders you would use the honorific form like 나 [nae: yes]. You wouldn't call them by their names ever /.../ In New Zealand, to your friends, if they were only one or two years older you would never call them mister or anything like that, but in Korea you would call them 형 [hyung: older male or older brother] or 누나 [nuna: older female or older sister] /.../ It's kind of stupid because we're just friends but you have to call a completely different name just because of the fact of age. (Child 5)

Even though Child 5 was able to maintain conversations in Korean and understand Korean culture to behave within the cultural norm he reported that he felt more comfortable in New Zealand culture because he was “just like born and raised here” (Excerpt 196).

Key point summary

The complexities of a school environment are explored in order to demonstrate how a number of factors contribute to language use decisions.

School plays a key role in minority language transmission. In the school environment, the majority language is the medium of education so the use of minority languages may not be encouraged. The choice of school is crucial for migrant families for ITML.

Findings in this study demonstrate that preschool as non-compulsory education may or may not seem to be an influential factor in minority language transmission (Excerpts 17 and 216). Primary school can be seen as the starting point of a recognisable language shift occurring for minority language-speaking children from migrant families.

Secondary school either reinforces or undermines minority language acquisition at a time when a student may start questioning their identity. Minority language-speaking students at secondary school level came to realise the relationship between their ethnic identity and their minority language proficiency (Section 5.3.2). Depending on a students' ethnic demography and the emphasis on promoting multilingualism within the school environment, minority language-speaking students were influenced on the use of their minority language or otherwise (Excerpts 214-215). Having Korean-speaking peers at school enabled New Zealand-born child participants to learn about Korean culture through the language and interactions with other Korean speakers (Excerpts 198-204). Through these experiences, child participants were able to improve Korean language proficiency, actively participate in school activities, and discover a stronger Korean identity. Some child participants stated that due to cultural similarities they could develop good relationships with other Korean as well as Asian language-speaking peers rather than monolingual English-speaking peers (Excerpt 213), but one child felt reluctant to interact with older Korean international students when he experienced cultural differences (Excerpt 226).

As parent participants considered a choice of school for child participants they hoped they could have more opportunity to meet with the Korean-speaking peers at school because Korean peer-to-peer interactions were a crucial factor in maintaining Korean language outside of the family context, especially for New Zealand-born Korean children (Excerpts 223-225). Positive experiences led to child participants becoming more motivated to learn more about the language and culture, but negative experiences resulted in them becoming reluctant to use their home language. Low Korean language proficiency led to some child participants preferring English in Korean peer-to-peer interactions at secondary school (Excerpts 221-223).

7.2.2. Attitudes towards minority language transmission in formal educational environments

This section examines the context of relationships between Korean speakers and non-Korean speakers in a school environment and discusses how these relationships impact on minority language transmission within a majority language environment. It discusses how relationships are formed during interactions and whether interactions are beneficial or otherwise in encouraging the use of a minority language in the school environment. There are two main groups of non-Korean speakers within the school environment: teachers and students. This section looks at the role of both teachers and non-Korean-speaking peers in formal educational

settings and how they influence the use of minority language through formal and informal interactions in the majority language environment. Formal interactions are interactions between Korean families and school teachers, and informal interactions are between Korean and non-Korean-speaking students in school settings.

7.2.2.1. *Positive experiences*

School support

An emphasis on fostering multilingualism within the school environment encourages migrant families to transmit their minority languages across generations. When a school's emphasis and teachers' positive attitudes support migrant families' in their language strategies at home, minority language transmission is enhanced.

Some children experience a silent period upon starting school. If both teachers and parents are able to recognise it as a valid phase of language development migrant parents are validated in their choice of family language policy with support from the teacher. Sometimes, however, families do choose to make changes to the family language policy as in response to their child's silent period.

Excerpt 227.

선생님이 애가 말을 안 한대요. 그런데 그 아이는 *preschool* 부터 여기서 다녔거든요. 그래서 아마 걔 성격에 본인이 분명한 준비가 안되면 말을 안 하는 성격인 거 같다 그랬더니, 선생님이 그런 거 같다고 동의하셨어요. <The teacher reported that he did not talk at all at school. Obviously prior to primary school, he went through his preschool here. I said to the teacher that it would be likely that he would not start talking unless he felt confident in English. The teacher had the same thought and agreed with me.> (Mother 8)

This interview excerpt revealed that the child, Child 8, did not seem to encounter significant language differences at preschool. When he started primary school he came to realise the difference between speaking a minority and a majority language in the school environment.

Child 8, however, had no clear memory of this experience (see Excerpt 96). In addition to the teacher's feedback the mother had a meeting with the principal. Mother 8 continued explained:

Excerpt 228.

교장 선생님과 인터뷰를 하는데 애가 한국말을 잘하냐고 물어봐요. 그래서 애는 굉장히 말을 빨리 했다고 얘기 했거든요. 그랬더니 됐다 그러면서 다른 건 물어보지도 않으셨어요. /.../ 다른 건 다 떠나서 언어가 된다는 것은 애한테 이미 학습능력이 돼있다는 거라고 그러면서, 애를 집에서 어떤 언어를 쓰라고 강요는 하지 말라는 말씀을 하시더라구요. 나머지는 학교에서 하는 일이라고. <At the meeting, the principal asked me whether my son could speak Korean well or not. I said to him that he started speaking Korean well from an early age. The principal did not ask me more questions after that. /.../ He said that regardless of other factors, if a child was able to acquire a language, it shows the child has already developed learning skills. So he asked me not to force my son to speak [English] at home because school is responsible for [teaching English].> (Mother 8)

A positive attitude towards minority language transmission was demonstrated by a school principal who encouraged the family to focus on speaking Korean at home. With such supportive advice from the principal and the teacher, the mother trusted school support for her child's English language development and decided to keep speaking Korean at home, but also allowed her son to speak English as it was hoped that this would help her son to fully participate in school activities. This positive school attitude enabled Child 8 to be exposed to a Korean-speaking environment at home and to also achieve highly at school. Mother 8's interview excerpts show the important role school and parent collaboration plays in raising children bilingually.

A positive relationship between students and teachers also appears to benefit migrant families striving to transmit their minority language. One mother told how their child felt more confident about using their minority language in the formal school environment when teachers acknowledged their ability to speak both a majority and a minority language:

Excerpt 229.

year 2 인가 year 3 때 선생님이 굉장히 아들을 귀여워해 준 거 같아요 여러 면에서. /.../ 선생님도 그렇고 주위에 다른 선생님들도 “너 한국어도 하니?” 이런 식으로 아주 좋은 반응을 보여주신 거 같아요. <When my son was in year 2 or 3 his teacher appreciated and complimented him in many ways. /.../ The teacher and other teachers at his school made positive comments like, “Wow, are you able to speak Korean as well?”> (Mother 11)

Prior to this experience, her son had gradually been using more English at home after starting school. After having positive experiences at school he was more motivated to speak Korean at home as well as at school. This encouraged him to willingly participate in school activities and focus on his study. At primary, intermediate and high school, up to the time of the interview, he had experienced high academic achievement.

In addition to having bilingual skill and academic success, minority language-speaking children appear to demonstrate *creativity* in many areas, i.e. performing arts. Many child participants were acknowledged by the school as having creative ways of thinking, such as adopting Korean and New Zealand cultural values, in their school work. A mother reported her son's story from his primary school. According to Mother 9, her son, Child 9, gave a speech about living in a spiritual world that was seen in Eastern philosophical literature. He concluded his speech by saying ‘*you may not be aware of living in a virtual [imaginary] world that could be an illusion*’. At that time it was an unusual topic for a primary school student to talk about. His teacher complimented his creative ideas and commented that these unique ideas would come from understanding about two cultures. Mother 9 added her thoughts on this.

Excerpt 230.

너는 엄마 아빠 문화가 양쪽에 다 있으니까 참 lucky 한 애야 라고 선생님들이 가끔 말씀하셨어요. 아마 아이가 집에서 보고 배운 대로 하다 보니 그런 말씀을 했겠죠. <Teachers at school often told my son that ‘You are so lucky to have your parents from two different cultures’. I guess the comments meant that my son showed them he had a cultural awareness at school.> (Mother 9)

A teacher's cultural awareness and the giving of positive feedback and comments on understanding two cultures reassured Korean parents about their family language policy and practice.

Positive formal interactions with both principals and teachers, and their supportive attitudes towards minority language-speaking students as well as a school's overall cultural awareness were reported as positive factors in Korean language transmission. This encouraged Korean families to retain their family language choice and practice at home.

Interested peers

In addition to positive experiences of formal interactions at school, informal networking with school friends is also seen as an influential factor in minority language transmission in the school environment. Positive attitudes by non-Korean-speaking peers towards bi-/multilingual speakers at school encouraged minority language-speaking children to speak their home language in the school environment.

In this research, many parent and child participants mentioned having positive experiences about being bi/multilingual at school. According to child participants, non-Korean-speaking peers often showed an interest in their ability to use two languages as these non-Korean-speaking peers often reported finding it difficult to learn a foreign language.

Excerpt 231.

Yeah, it usually like that they do find interesting that they ask me how I like turn Korean into English in my brain and sort of stuff. But for me it is like natural but for them probably just weird. (Child 8)

When monolingual English-speaking peers were interested in Korean language, culture and entertainment it encouraged child participants to enhance their Korean language proficiency. In doing this, many child participants reflected more about being bilingual. A child participant reported positive feelings about having the advantage of being able to speak two languages.

Excerpt 232.

My friends think it is really cool because I'm half-Korean so they always ask me words in Korean. (Child 10)

Bilingual advantages

Child participants made interesting comments about learning an additional language at secondary school level. Many child participants stated that they naturally learned Korean language from a young age at home whereas monolingual English-speaking peers found it difficult to learn another language at secondary school.

Excerpt 233.

In high school it is compulsory to learn a second language anyway so why not just start earlier /.../ because it would've been a lot easier for us. And I feel the same way too you could just start learning Korean when you were young or another language because it's just so much easier that way. (Child 5)

Excerpt 234.

It is quite difficult for you to pick another language up as an adult. /.../ But I think since I learned it as a childhood as I was learning languages I think that is very good that happened. (Child 10)

Excerpt 235.

Learning another language whilst you know two languages is definitely a lot easier because I learn Japanese at school right now. I've definitely found that a lot of Japanese words are very similar to Korean words, so if you know how to speak Korean already then it's important and easier to know how to speak Japanese in its vocabulary and sometimes its grammar structure as well so yeah, advantages to studying as well, maybe. (Child 6)

These interview excerpts show that being bilingual may bring benefits when learning an additional language at secondary school level. Child participants reported their school friends

saying that they found it difficult to learn an additional language at this age, whereas child participants found it easy to switch from one language to another. When child participants came to realise their ability to speak two languages naturally they appreciated their Korean language acquisition at a young age.

Excerpt 236.

It was a little bit strange but it made me feel special because I can speak both languages well. Others can only speak one. (Child 8)

Child 4 also reported positive feelings about attitudes towards having an ability to speak both Korean and English. She appreciated knowing a culture other than New Zealand culture. She shared positive experiences that she had by attending cultural events and learning cultural activities (see Excerpt 172).

Excerpt 237.

As a Korean-New Zealander I got to experience more Korean cause my parents are Korean /.../ I wouldn't have the experience if my parents were full-English [New Zealanders]. (Child 4)

Some interview excerpts show that many child participants appeared to be proud of their ability to speak Korean and how it enabled them to build positive friendships with school friends through popular Korean media content. As a result, child participants, especially female child participants, became more motivated to learn about Korean language and culture in order to teach their non-Korean school friends.

Expectations

Such interest in popular Korean media content and positive attitudes towards being bilingual by non-Korean-speaking peers encouraged child participants to learn more about their minority language. If a school also facilitated extra programmes, such as an interpreters' and translators' club, to accommodate newly-arrived international students as well as to foster multilingualism at schools (Excerpts 214-215), more students tended to become motivated to learn a foreign language. This led some child participants who lacked Korean language proficiency to become

motivated to learn Korean in order to join an interpreters' club (see Excerpt 215). Fluent bilingual Korean speakers could work for the interpreters' club within a supportive school environment so some Koreans who had limited Korean language proficiency regretted not being fluent in Korean.

Excerpt 238.

It is like everyone expects you to know Korean. So yeah, I regret not learning it more.
(Child 7)

This increased interest in speaking Korean language, as well as other foreign languages, promoted acceptance of multilingualism at school and led non-Korean-speaking peers to expect child participants to have an ability to speak Korean as well as English. This peer-pressure resulted in Child 7 avoiding switching languages, English to Korean, a few times due to his lack of Korean language proficiency when he was at secondary school. This led him, however, to become more motivated to learn Korean. Conversely, some child participants reported that monolingual English speakers expected them to have the ability to speak a minority language because of their ethnic appearance.

Excerpt 239.

I guess English-speaking peers just accept it because of my skin colour. So whenever I was suddenly speaking Korean and then suddenly switched back they didn't really think of it as much I guess because of my culture /.../ They don't seem to mind at all. I guess they just accept it because I am of a different culture. And whenever I talk with my friends sometimes my mum would come to me and talk in Korean. They don't really mind at all. (Child 5)

Many child participants' ability to speak Korean was acknowledged by school teachers and peers through informal interactions. A positive atmosphere at school enabled some Korean children to teach Korean language to monolingual English-speaking peers. Mother 1 had interesting experiences at Child 1's primary school.

Excerpt 240.

첫째 아들은 다른 아이들에게 영향력을 많이 미치는 아이라 학교 갔을 때 아이들에게 한국말을 많이 가르쳤어요. 그래서 아이들이 새우깡도 알고 꿀파배기도 알고. 그래서 제가 가면은 놀랐어요 애들이 제게 한국말로 인사를 하고 그래서. <My first child was an influential student at primary school and he taught Kiwi children the Korean language. So his Kiwi peers knew about some names of Korean snacks like SAE-WOO-KANG³² and KUL-KWA-BAE-KI³³. I was quite impressed because when I met them at school they greeted me in Korean.> (Mother 1)

This interview excerpt shows that within a friendly school environment child participants felt comfortable speaking their minority language in informal interactions with non-Korean-speaking peers. Through such interactions between child participants and non-Korean-speaking friends Korean language was spoken at a basic level in a school environment.

Korean popular culture (the Korean Wave)

The recent global phenomenon of the Korean Wave (see Section 2.5) is seen as a positive factor for Korean language transmission in a formal educational setting (Cho, 2015). Additionally the Korean Wave has recently become more popular among some secondary school students in New Zealand (S. Roberts, 2017; Tokalau, 2017) since a K-pop called *Gangnam Style*, sung by Psy (see Section 2.5), became very popular internationally in 2012. Due to this increased interest in Korean media content and K-pops that required Korean linguistic knowledge, some non-Korean-speaking peers were more willing to interact with Korean-speaking peers at school. This trend encouraged child participants to watch more Korean TV dramas and sing K-pops and resulted in them becoming more motivated to learn Korean language and culture (Excerpt 61). Also some non-Korean-speaking peers who were interested in Korean merchandise, including cosmetic products and clothes, showed an interest in acquiring Korean language in order to watch Korean TV shows and to shop on Korean online shopping websites. Child participants were often asked to translate some Korean words that came from Korean songs

³² This is very popular ready salted prawn cracker in Korea.

³³ This is another popular sweet snack in Korea.

and shopping websites to English.

Excerpt 241.

우리 애가 Band 를 하는데 Psy 가 이렇게 뜨니까 친구들이 전부 한국에 관심을 갖는 거예요. 그래서 한국 글씨를 보고 애한테 물어 보기도 하고. 그러니 애가 자연스럽게 더 배우려고 하는 거 같아요. <My son is a member of a rock band. Since Psy became a world popular singer all his friends became so interested in Psy and Korea and they asked him about Korean characters. This naturally led him to learn more about Korean language.> (Mother 8)

Excerpt 242.

작년에 [딸] 친구가 K-pop 현아를 좋아한다고 그래서 같이 한국 노래를 듣고, /.../ 우리 딸은 Big Bang 을 좋아해서 [한국] TV 프로 그램이나 You Tube 들어가서 보고 이런 거죠. <Last year a friend [of my daughter's] was really interested in Hyuna³⁴ so they listened to Hyuna's song together, /.../ My daughter liked Big Bang³⁵ so she watched [Korean] TV shows or YouTube videos about Big Bang.> (Mother 10)

The Korean Wave appeared to bring positive outcomes for both Korean-speaking students and non-Korean-speaking peers at schools. It was not only child participants who became more motivated in learn Korean, but also non-Korean speakers. A child participant told how her English-speaking friends attended a New Zealand-based Korean school to learn Korean language.

Excerpt 243.

Cause it's really efficient. People really think it's cool to speak two languages even my friends they're English and they try and learn. My English friends even go to Korean school because they want to learn two languages. They're pretty good actually. I think she wants to be Asian or something. She really likes Korea. There are probably like two or three more. One of my close friends is really good at Korean even though they're

³⁴ Hyuna is a South Korean singer, dancer and a member of a girl band called '4Minute'. From Wikipedia <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hyuna>

³⁵ Big Bang is a South Korean boy band. From [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Big_Bang_\(South_Korean_band\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Big_Bang_(South_Korean_band))

English, full English, and she asked me some Korean words that she doesn't know and it's really helpful if you know two languages cause you can communicate with English people Asian style. It's really cool actually. (Child 4)

Child 4's example was supported by Mother 11 who was involved with a New Zealand-based Korean school at the time of the interview and shared her experiences of teaching non-Korean speakers.

Excerpt 244.

한국적인 게 굉장히 세계적인 걸로 조금 되는 부분도 있어요. 더러 예를 들어서 한국어가 조금 한국적인 거 특히 K-pop, K-문화 뭐 K-drama 이런 게 세계적으로 유명하다 보니까 저 같은 경우에는 외국인 반에 수업을 하고 있는데 고등학생들이, Kiwi 고등학생들이 한국어를 배우러 올 정도로 한국어를 너무 좋아하고 그런 문화를 배우고자 해요. 그래서 한국어, 한국에 꼭 가고 싶어 하는 그런 학생들이 많거든요. . 그래서 한국어 능력 시험도 치고 이런 경우가 있는데... <Recently the Korean wave including K-pop, K-drama and K-culture are very popular globally. There are some Kiwi secondary school students attend my Korean class to learn Korean because they love Korean language and culture, and they really want to visit Korea. They even apply for the Korean language proficiency test...> (Mother 11)

Due to the increasing Korean Wave phenomenon, female child participants, in particular, in this study tended to be significantly engaged with non-Korean school friends through sharing Korean media content. This gave female child participants the opportunity to teach Korean language and culture to their peers. Child 13's story gives a good example.

Excerpt 245.

Last year I made so many Kiwi friends, through my ability to speak Korean because those friends were really interested in the Korean culture. They loved K-pop and the Korean fashion. And they always talked to me about it. /.../ Especially one group of Kiwi girls they're really into K-dramas and stuff so they sometimes ask me how to say like some stuff in Korean. (Child 13)

Key point summary

Both formal and informal interactions between participants and non-Korean speakers in a formal educational setting are seen as influential factors in Korean language transmission. Positive feedback and support from schools appears to bring benefits for participants, non-Korean speakers and schools. In this research, Korean families were confident in implementing their family language choice and practice when schools demonstrated support for, and positive attitudes towards, being bilingual. This supported child participants to maintain Korean language to a level that enabled them to help newly-arrived international students integrate into a new school environment. These children were also able to interact with other Korean-speaking peers at school. When a school fostered a multilingual environment, New Zealand-born minority language speakers had the opportunity to become actively engaged with newly-arrived minority language-speaking peers, and migrant families were supported to focus on minority language transmission at home. Being bilingual was also acknowledged as a strength by monolingual English-speaking peers.

The recent trend of the Korean Wave is seen as another positive factor in Korean language transmission. The increased interest by non-Korean speakers encourages Korean speakers to become motivated to learn more about Korean language and culture. Findings show that having positive experiences in a school environment encourages child participants, who were born in New Zealand, to continue to develop their proficiency in Korean.

7.2.2.2. Negative experiences

The previous section presented participants' positive experiences in formal educational settings that reinforced the use of Korean language in a formal educational setting. Negative experiences, however, could weaken migrant families desire to implement a family language policy and practice.

Negative feedback towards minority language transmission in schools was seen as a damaging factor that impeded ITML. Children from migrant families can experience a silent period (see Excerpts 16 and 227) or have language difficulties when starting formal education (see Excerpts 17 and 91). Exposure to different linguistic environments, for example speaking

Korean at home but English at (pre-)school, made minority language-speaking children reluctant to participate in class activities (Conteh & Brock, 2011). A mother reported that one of her children revealed having faced language barriers at a young age and in his 20s reflected about his experience.

Excerpt 246.

한국말을 쓰다가 유치원을 가고 초등학교를 가면서 본인이 굉장히 스트레스를 받았다고 하더라고요 못 알아듣는 말이 많아서. 그걸 얼마 전에 얘기를 하더라고요.

<My son recently mentioned that he was really stressed when attending his pre- and the primary school because he faced difficulties in communications with monolingual English speakers as he spoke only Korean at home.> (Mother 3)

This family's experience was also common in other migrant families. When a minority language-speaking child starts formal education they often make slow progress and/or do not fully integrate in to school. A school's negative attitude towards minority language transmission and a lack of cultural awareness did not support minority language-speaking students. Prior research showed that a teacher gave negative feedback, labelling minority language-speaking students as having learning difficulties, and undervaluing their linguistic development (J. Kim, 2011). This was evident in the present study. A teacher suggested that migrant parents should reconsider their family language choice and practices. If parents reviewing their family language strategy as a result of such comments they may stop speaking their minority language at home.

With neither a national language policy in New Zealand (Royal Society of New Zealand, 2013), nor information about a child's linguistic development in minority and majority language acquisition, some teachers provided unhelpful feedback on children's lack of English language proficiency. A teacher encouraged migrant parents to speak English with their children at home in order to enhance English language acquisition. Mother 5 reported receiving negative feedback from Child 5's teacher at primary school.

Excerpt 247.

5 살에 유치원 끝나고 학교 갔는데 기본적인 단어 같은 걸 잘 모르니까 그때 "베게, pillow 를 너의 아들이 모른다"고 집에서 "왜 영어를 쓰지 않냐"며 선생님이 얘기를

했을 때 저는 제가 "영어는 학교에서 너희가 가르치고 우리는 집에서 내 아이한테 그렇게 영어를 쓰고 싶지 않다" 라고 얘기를 했었어요. /.../ 지금 한국말이 대화가 안돼서 문제인 거지 영어를 못해서 문제가 되는 건 없으니까요. <When my son went to primary at the age of 5, after finishing his preschool, his teacher discovered his lack of English language proficiency. She pointed out that "your son did not even know a simple word like pillow". The teacher asked "why don't you speak English at home?" I said to her that "the school is responsible to teach English. I do not want to speak English with my son at home" /.../ Now I reflected that I am concerned about his lack of Korean language proficiency, not English. He has never faced difficulties in English so far.> (Mother 5)

A negative and anglocentric attitude by a school teacher could influence a migrant family to shift their home language from speaking Korean to English. Some parents adapted their home language practice from speaking Korean to the use of dual-lingual conversations when children showed late linguistic development. Although Mothers 4, 7 and 8 emphasised the important role Korean language played in child development, they allowed their children to speak English in family communications after having negative experience and/or feedback from teachers (see Section 5.2.3).

Mother 5, however, did not change her family language practice of speaking Korean. Because she had worked as a Dean of international students in the tertiary educational sector she had discovered the importance of migrant students having the ability to speak the minority language. Mother 5 believed that in the long term Korean children should maintain Korean language proficiency at the same level as English language proficiency. Her son, Child 5, did not recall facing language difficulties in primary school.

Excerpt 248.

I don't think it's that big of a deal because I've just been speaking Korean my whole life same with English. It's not that big of a deal to switch from time to time. I mean I'm already using English for half the day because I'm going to school so I don't think it's really a problem that I should keep continuing to speak English at home as well. (Child 5)

These interview excerpts show that a lack of information about dealing with linguistically diverse students in formal educational settings led some school teachers to provide negative feedback on a child's perceived lack of English language proficiency. Consequently, some migrant families allowed their children to speak English at home, hindering minority language transmission. Despite teachers' and parents' concerns, child participants did not remember facing language difficulties (Excerpts 92, and 96-97). Child 5 commented, it was natural for children to speak two languages simultaneously. When child participants of migrant parents started school they tended to lack English language proficiency. The children felt that, however, English became their dominant language as they spent more time in school settings.

In addition to negative feedback and negative attitudes from teachers towards linguistically diverse children, some child participants reported having experiences that negatively affected Korean language transmission when interacting with non-Korean-speaking peers. These experiences identified child participants as lacking English language proficiency as well as being ethnically different. Some examples were reported during child participants' interviews.

Excerpt 249.

초등학교 때 왕따를 당했었죠 형들한테. 아무래도 선배 형들이 제가 생긴 것도 다르고 그때는 영어도 잘 못했으니까. 좀 힘들었죠 문화적으로. <I was bullied by non-Korean male senior students at my primary school. Because my appearance was different from others and I was not able to speak English well at that time. I faced significant cultural differences that made me feel so frustrated.> (Child 1)

Excerpt 250.

I had a lot of encounters with white people I hate calling them that but I'll keep calling them that because they are white. Anyway I had a lot of encounters when I was in primary school with white people from different schools who dissed me from the fact I was Asian. I felt a lot of hatred for them because I grew up thinking that I belonged to this country and yet a lot of people who belonged to this country treated me differently because of the way I looked. So sometimes even going home I'd get like little kids on scooters scoot beside me and they'll be like your school sucks you're an Asian. It'd be that kind of thing which really hurt me back then and I kind of felt like I hate this country I want to go to Korea. Yeah I felt quite disconnected. (Child 2)

School plays an important role in fostering an environment that can accommodate linguistically diverse students. A lack of cultural awareness in a school environment led to many child participants having difficulty integrating into school settings. Negative experiences at an early age meant child participants made more effort to acquire English in order for them to have a sense of belonging to school peer groups.

Excerpt 251.

Maybe it was influence from school because obviously how I'm living is quite different from how an average Kiwi child's living so maybe I felt like I didn't fit as much with other people, so that caused me to be a bit ignorant [of Korean]. (Child 12)

Although both Children 1 and 12 were highly fluent speakers of both Korean and English, they remembered having the negative experience of not fitting into school settings. Both child participants reported not making the effort to maintain Korean when they were at primary school, but came to realise the importance of understanding their heritage culture and language at secondary school (see Excerpts 50-52, and 61). Some parent and child participants felt that a different ethnic appearance created dilemmas for migrant children. They believed their appearance was more responsible for their children feeling that they did not fit into school settings than their English language proficiency.

Excerpt 252.

현지에 애들하고 잘 못 섞이는 거는 말을 못해서 생기는 게 아니고 생긴 거 땀에 생기는 거죠. 왜냐면 아무리 영어를 잘해도 모르는 사람 눈에는 Asian 이거든요. /.../ 그거는 애가 영어를 못해서가 아니고 생긴 게 Asian 이기 때문에 받는 그런 거 같아요. 그런데 그건 어쩔 수 없는 건 거 같아요. <The reason for not fitting into a school environment was because of his appearance, not because of his low English proficiency. No matter how his English is highly proficient people see him as Asian. /.../ I guess his looking Asian caused that [not being fully integrated in school] not his English. Unfortunately I cannot do anything about that.> (Mother 6)

A child participant supported these thoughts and explained her feelings about a sense of belonging when she went through an identity crisis (Excerpts 57 and 59).

Excerpt 253.

Because at the time I didn't feel like I belonged around my white friends. I didn't feel any connection with people at home or these Asian friends. (Child 2)

Ethnic identity hindered some child participants' integration into school. Some children mentioned non-Korean-speaking peers' expectation that they would be able to speak Korean as positive (Excerpts 233-237). Other child participants felt peer-pressure about this (Excerpt 238). Child participants who had positive or negative experiences that was related to their appearance said that it was common to experience such opposite views on ethnic identity in both a school environment and the wider English-speaking community.

Excerpt 254.

I think mainly because of my appearance, people expect me to speak Korean. (Child 5)

A female child participant also commented on:

Excerpt 255.

A lot of people tell me that I'm really lucky that I'm Korean, but if they were actually Korean I don't think they'd be saying that. (Child 13)

In addition to appearance, negative stereotyping was also seen as a negative factor in Korean language transmission. High academic achievement by Korean pupils appeared to engender negative attitudes from non-Korean-speaking peers. Many child participants in this research reported that they generally got above average marks in their NCEA results: 10 out of 12 child participants achieved Merit or Excellent in English. Child 2 expressed her frustration in being ignored at school.

Excerpt 256.

Studying is a huge stereotype. If I try hard, white friends seem to take it as "oh it's because she's Asian". It's just as hard for me to keep up with my study as for them. If I get a good mark they kind of brush past it. In actual fact, I'm struggling like them but I just try a little bit harder. /.../ I feel very discouraged. I feel like my effort and what I do isn't being given the reward it deserves. I feel like it's being ignored. (Child 2)

Another child reported his feelings about peer-pressure when speaking Korean in the school environment.

Excerpt 257.

Because not all of the students but some of the students would think of it weirdly because they can't understand me so they wouldn't know what I'm talking about. I guess they'd just feel insecure about that fact. So yeah I would much rather speak English than Korean at school. (Child 5)

The negative experiences and peer pressure perceived by some child participants resulted in them being reluctant to speak Korean at school. Also Korean was not usually offered as one of the foreign language options that students could choose at secondary school level in New Zealand. Korean is one of the foreign language options in the NCEA curriculum at secondary schools (New Zealand Qualifications Authority, n.d.a), but only a few secondary schools in the North Island offer a Korean language class (Educations.govt.nz, 2016a, 2016b). Parent and child participants were unable to see any advantage in speaking Korean language at school. One child clearly stated this.

Excerpt 258.

For school life? Probably not. Because all of them are speaking English anyway. Korean wasn't necessary for school I guess /.../ At schools it was all English. (Child 7)

Another child participant clearly confirmed this aspect.

Excerpt 259.

It was pretty much only spoke English at high school. (Child 8)

As these children stated, Korean was not seen as useful purpose in the school environment.

Excerpt 260.

한국말을 하기 때문에 학교 생활을 하는데 도움이 된다 이거는 별로 없을 거 같아요. 왜냐면 학교에서는 [아이가] 영어를 쓰니까요. <Having an ability to speak Korean

would not be helpful for her [my daughter's] schooling because English is the medium of education at school.> (Mother 10)

When parent participants were asked about the advantages of speaking Korean for their children's education, many of them were unable to identify any.

Excerpt 261.

이중언어를 하면서 뉴질랜드 학교에서 무슨 이익이 있었는지는 잘 모르겠어요. <I do not really think about advantages of speaking two languages at schools in New Zealand.> (Mother 3)

Key point summary

Schools may play both a positive and a negative role in minority language transmission and acquisition. Negative experiences when interacting with non-Korean speakers, including both teachers and peers, led child participants to become less keen to speak Korean in school settings. Also negative feedback from teachers undermined Korean parents' decision to transmit Korean language at home. These factors led to Korean migrant families not focusing on the advantages of having the ability to speak a language other than English.

Stereotyping and ethnic identification were also reported as being negative factors in Korean language transmission. When child participants had such experiences they became reluctant to speak Korean in the school environment because English is the language of education, not Korean, and appeared to experience power relationships based on language and ethnicity within school peer groups.

The children did not see the value of speaking Korean in the school environment and this attitude and linguistic prioritising at school caused dilemmas for migrant parents. Some parent participants changed their language strategies when their children showed a lack of English language proficiency, let their children speak English at home (Families 4, 7, and 8), encouraged them to socialise with monolingual English speakers (Excerpt 92) and avoided children having exposure to Korean-speaking environments (Mother 4 in Excerpts 93 and 95). These parents were more likely to focus on English acquisition for their children rather than Korean language transmission.

7.2.3. Section summary

For the families and young people who participated in the research the formal education system had the biggest impact on their use, or otherwise, of Korean language in all aspects of their lives. Findings from this research demonstrate that school plays a crucial role, both positive and negative, in minority language transmission. Within the school environment, participants, as minority language speakers, have continued exposure to majority language-speaking environments through both formal and informal interactions.

Korean-to-Korean peer interaction was seen as both a positive and a negative factor in Korean language acquisition. Child participants felt comfortable about, and were strongly connected by, speaking their minority language and the sharing of cultural values with Korean-speaking peers. Through language, special bonds were built as New Zealand-born Koreans had continued exposure to Korean-speaking environments outside the home. Child participants in this research felt that they were encouraged and motivated to learn Korean language and culture through friendship with same language peers. Some child participants, however, reported a preference for speaking English when interacting with Korean-speaking peers. Poor Korean language proficiency and lengthy exposure to school environments resulted in English becoming a tool of conversation within Korean-to-Korean peer interactions in the school environment for some children. When older Korean peers, however, criticised younger Korean peers for not practising Korean culture in an appropriate way younger Korean who were born in New Zealand became less motivated to interact with older Korean peers.

As school's attitude towards bi-/multilingual speakers significantly influenced minority language transmission. When some child participants experienced a silent period when starting formal education, positive feedback and supportive attitudes towards bilingual pupils encouraged Korean families to continue speaking Korean at home. In contrast to this, negative feedback and attitudes from an English monolingual-centred school impeded Korean language transmission as they led some Korean families to review their family language strategy and encourage their children to speak English at home.

Both positive and negative outcomes through informal interactions with Korean and non-Korean speakers in the school environment were reported. Some non-Korean-speaking peers acknowledged child participants as bilingual and showed an interest in learning about Korean

language and culture. This encouraged child participants to become motivated to learn more about Korean language and culture. Through such positive interactions child participants developed a sense of belonging at school. Negative interactions with non-Korean-speaking peers hindered Korean language transmission and caused a language shift. When non-Korean-speaking peers made comments about stereotype and ethnic identity, child participants became less motivated to maintain Korean language and began to focus more on English. This led child participants to not only shift their choice of primary language but also challenged their sense of belonging.

7.3. Influence of a majority society on Korean language transmission

This section examines the role of mainstream society in minority language transmission in New Zealand. It discusses the majority society's general attitudes towards migrants and their linguistic and cultural integration into mainstream society, and how this influences Korean language transmission across generations, within Korean migrant families as well as within the wider Korean community.

7.3.1. Positive experiences arising from interacting with monolingual English speakers in local communities

As New Zealand's population has increased so has its ethnic diversity (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Compared with the 2001 census, there are now more people of Asian descent in New Zealand, increased from 6.4% to 11.8% (Asia New Zealand Foundation, 2017). Many parent participants remembered their positive experiences when they first came to New Zealand. At that time, the Asian migrant population was low and New Zealanders were friendly and interested in migrants. Migrants who were able to speak a language other than English were commented favourably upon by monolingual English speakers. Some parents shared what they experienced.

Excerpt 262.

처음에 내가 영어를 못해서 라고 얘기를 하면 사람들이 “나는 영어만 할 줄 알지 다른 나라말은 못하는데 너는 두 가지 말을 하니까”. 이렇게 *cheer up* 해주는 사람들이 좀 있었어요. <When I first came I said to people that I could not speak English well. Then people replied that “I can’t speak another language except English, but you are able to speak 2 languages”. Those people cheered me up.> (Mother 5)

Excerpt 263.

내가 *Korean* 이라고 하면 사람들이 *hello*, “안녕” 이렇게 자기가 알고 있는 한국말을 다 하잖아요. 그러면 내가 잘한다 하면 아니야 너가 영어 하는 거에 비하면 택도 없어 뭐 이런 얘기는 했던 거 같아요. <When I introduced myself as Korean then people started saying the Korean words, that they knew like “anyeong” [hello in Korean] and so on. I always complimented their knowledge of Korean vocabulary and they would often say that my English proficiency was much higher than their [Korean] language proficiency. I’ve often heard these comments.> (Mother 10)

Excerpt 264.

현지인들은 *bilingual* 을 굉장히 선호한다고 생각을 해요. /.../ 그래서 그런 부분에서 여기에서도 *second language* 를 배우게 하지 않는가 하는 생각이 들어요. <I think monolingual English speakers prefer bilingual speakers. /.../ I believe this is why the government encourages children to learn a second language. > (Mother 3)

Positive social attitudes towards migrants encouraged active participation in local communities. A child, whose father was a New Zealander and mother was Korean, felt rewarded by helping Korean people who were not proficient in English in a public setting. Such experiences enabled the child to maintain her ability to speak Korean language.

Excerpt 265.

I work at a supermarket so I had Korean people come in before. They can't speak to the other staff so I have to like listen and they can speak Korean so I go over and help them. (Child 10)

Before her interview, Child 10 reported herself as limited-proficient in Korean. During her interview, however, an ability to maintain conversations in Korean language was seen. Having positive experiences of speaking Korean language in wider communities led limited-proficiency Korean speakers to maintain and learn more of their minority language. As well as the children's experiences, parents' positive experiences (Excerpts 262-264) encouraged them to continue speaking Korean at home.

The use of Korean was reinforced by positive recognition from English-speaking friends. Family 6 had close family friends whom they met regularly, who were monolingual English speakers. The children from this family became motivated to learn Korean language at home and teach the language to each other. Mother 6 described the recognition that led to the motivation.

Excerpt 266.

제가 여기에 유학 왔을 때부터 같이 지냈던 homestay family 가 있어요. 아직도 연락을 하면서 지내는데 아이들이 어렸을 때부터 그분들이 해주신 말이에요. 애네는 굉장히 lucky 다. 왜냐면 우리 애들은 one language 밖에 못하지만 너희 애들은 태어나면서부터 두 가지 languages 를 배우는 거기 때문에 얼마나 lucky 나 라고. <I still keep in contact with my homestay family when I first came here as an international student for a language course. I often get together with them and this is what they often say. They comment that my children are very lucky because their children can only speak one language, but my children have been exposed to a bilingual environment from their birth.> (Mother 6)

Her son, Child 6, also commented about experiencing different reactions from New Zealanders. He also indicated he had had some negative reactions, but emphasised positive feedback from monolingual English speakers.

Excerpt 267.

There are those kind of people that are going to say kind of racially discriminate against you just because we're Asians but majority of the time that's not the case like if you can speak two languages. (Child 6)

Experiencing positive attitudes towards being a bilingual family unit appears to enhance the use of minority language at home. The children of Mother 6 focused on Korean language transmission at home and Family 6 never challenged their family language policy and practices.

Findings from this study also indicate that cultural differences are seen as an influential factor for minority language transmission. Due to an increased migrant population in New Zealand, some parent participants experienced changes in New Zealanders' attitudes towards interacting with migrants from positive to negative. Mother 3's story explained how she, as a Korean migrant, felt when she moved to the study region in the early 1990s.

Excerpt 268.

1990년대 이민 온 초반에는, 굉장히 친절하게 해줬었고 그래서 언어에 대한 불편함은 있었어도 [문화에 대한] 어떤 불편한 부분들은 없었던 거 같아요. <In the early 1990s when I moved to New Zealand, Kiwis were very kind, so I didn't feel any [cultural] difficulties at that time even though I faced language barriers.> (Mother 3)

According to this mother, her family were the only non-English speakers in her residential area including at her children's school when her family moved to New Zealand. Her neighbours, teachers at the school and the family doctor were friendly and willing to help and support the family. At that time, monolingual English speakers tended to tolerate migrants' lack of English language proficiency and made efforts to communicate with migrants.

Such positive social attitudes towards migrants led Korean migrant families to become motivated to socialise with New Zealanders in order to learn the language and culture as well as to integrate into local communities. Parent participants began to understand cultural differences between Korea and New Zealand when raising children in New Zealand. Mother 2 pointed out that she experienced cultural differences between herself and her children. She explained that as her children grew they felt more comfortable with English and New Zealand

culture rather than Korean. In order to overcome these gaps, she sought advice from monolingual English speakers.

Excerpt 269.

아이들과 부딪치는 게 문화적인 면이었거든요. /.../ 그래서 사람들하고 대화를 하다 보니까 그 사람들이 [자기네] 문화에 대해서 얘기하고 자기의 삶에 대해, 그리고 자기네 아이들에 대해서 얘기를 해줘요. 그래서 차이가 뭐가 있구나 그것을 알게 되고 내가 왜 아이들하고 왜 gap 이 생기는가를 이해를 하게 된 거예요. <The cultural differences caused us to have arguments. /.../ So I tried to talk to [Kiwis] to get advice and they were willing to share their culture, life and children's stories. This was how I understood and identified gaps between my children and myself.> (Mother 2)

Key point summary

Through having a positive experience of interacting with monolingual English speakers migrant parents were encouraged maintain Korean language transmission across generations. Many parent participants expressed how New Zealanders were friendly, welcomed them to the country, and acknowledged their ability to speak Korean, minority language. Conversely, through this interactions migrant parents also felt the need to learn cultural aspects of the majority society in order to avoid cultural misunderstandings in parent-child interactions at home. Getting advice from local communities helped migrant parents to effectively support their children in integrating into school settings and to raise them as bilingual speakers.

Most Korean migrant parents were concerned about not understanding the New Zealand culture when living in and raising children in the host country, so they made an effort to learn about New Zealand culture and seek advice through their connections in local communities. Through such positive experiences, both parent and child participants' ability to speak an additional language other than English was acknowledged by monolingual English speakers and they were able to gain more insight into cultural differences between Korea and New Zealand.

7.3.2. Negative experiences resulting from interacting with monolingual English speakers in local communities

Minority language transmission can be influenced by external factors. A monolingual English speaker's comment on a parent having an ability to speak English unintentionally resulted in a language shift. Mother 3 gave an example of how language shift took place in her children at home.

Excerpt 270.

재밌는 얘기는, 저희 아이들이 밖에 나가서는 영어를 쓰지만 집에 오기만 하면 꼭 한국말을 썼었어요. 그런데 유치원 때 제 친구가 어느 날 “너는 왜 엄마한테는 한국말 해? 너네 엄마도 영어를 알아들을 수 있는데” 라고 얘기를 했더니 아이들이 그때부터 저를 보면서 영어를 쓰기 시작한 거예요. 그래서 그게 영어를 쓰는 시작이 됐었어요. <I have an interesting story that my children used to speak English outside of the house and to always speak Korean at home. When my children were at kindergarten, a friend of mine came over and said to my children “why do you speak Korean to your mother? She understands English”. Since then my children started speaking English to me. That was the point of time of starting speaking English at home.> (Mother 3)

In Family 3, the use of Korean in the home environment was disrupted by a casual comment. Despite overall, friendly attitudes towards migrants, some negative experiences were reported by some participants in the research. Some monolingual English speakers undervalued migrants' English language proficiency and made negative comments about it.

Excerpt 271.

키위 엄마가 그 한국 엄마 한 분을 욕하면서 그 엄마는 여기 온지가 10 여년이 넘는데 왜 여태까지 영어를 못하냐고. /.../ 이제 여기 키위들은 외국 언어를 별로 많이 안 배운, 일반적으로, 많이 안 배운 사람들이예요. 그러니까 한국 사람들이 영어 배우기가 얼마나 힘든가를 이해를 전혀 못해요. <A Kiwi mum blamed a Korean mum for not acquiring English language over 10 years. /.../ Overall many Kiwis did not learn

foreign languages, or were not generally tertiary educated so they never understood the difficulties Koreans faced.> (Mother 9)

Another parent participant reported having a negative experience when her car needed to be towed away.

Excerpt 272.

근데 저희가 늘 가던 정비소에 갑자기 제가 말을 하는데 못 알아 듣겠다는 얘기를 하는 거예요. 그런데 여태까지도 의사소통을 하면서 물론 영어를 못하지만 그렇게 못 알아 듣겠다는 식은 아니었거든요. 멀쩡히 얘기를 알아 듣다가 갑자기 못 알아 듣겠다는 식으로 얘기를 하는데 사실은 너무너무 화가 나더라구요. 그게 제가 처음으로 차별적인 경험을 당했던 거 같아요. 그런데 그 tow 회사에서 제가 늘 가던 정비회사, Kiwi 정비회사 였는데, 한 10 년 넘게 다니던 텐데 그 사람들이 오히려 제 말 보다는 오히려 tow 회사 사람들의 말을 듣는 걸 듣고 아 정말 여기가 외국이구나 하는 생각이 들면서 너무 화가 나기도 하고 차별적인 부분들이 생각이 나더라구요. 그때는 영어로 화를 못 내고 너무 화가 나서 한국말이 나오더라구요. <All of sudden, the mechanic that we had pretended not to understand my English. I cannot speak English like a native speaker, but I have never had any difficulty in communication with monolingual English speakers so far. We were perfectly able to communicate with each other until that happened, but all of sudden they pretended not to understand what I was saying. I was very angry at them. That was the very first time I faced discrimination. I had been to the mechanic for more than 10 years, but [the mechanic] trusted the tow company rather than what I explained. That made me come to realise that I live overseas. I was very upset. I realised that it was discrimination. At that time I was so angry and I did not know how to express my anger in English. So I yelled at them in Korean.> (Mother 3)

Some parent participants also reported having experienced racism. Many mothers said that people in New Zealand were usually friendly and had more positive attitudes towards migrants in the 1990s than at the time of the interviews. They believed that a low migrant population, especially of Asian migrants, led to New Zealanders being kind to Asian migrants, even though

they were not fluent in English. However, the proportion of Asian migrants has increased, from 540,000 in 2013 and will increase to 1.2-1.4 million by 2038, in New Zealand (Asia New Zealand Foundation, 2017). Such a significant increase in the Asian population raised some concerns about language barriers between monolingual English speakers and minority language speakers. A mother clearly described this in her interview.

Excerpt 273.

처음에 90 년도에는 너무 다 친절했어요. 그랬는데 이제 점점 점점 여기도 이제 각박해 지는 거죠. 그러니까는 이 특히 다른 도시는 워낙 한국 사람들이 많으니까 괜찮은데 여기 처음 왔을 때 한 십 몇 년 전이죠. 여기는 좀 더 심하더라구요. <In the 1990s Kiwis were very kind to foreigners. But now it has become a heartless society. [Another city], particularly, is better than here because it is diverse with a large Korean population. I came here about 10 years ago and had quite a lot of challenges to live here as Asian.> (Mother 10)

This mother, Mother 10, continued talking about one negative experience when working as a teacher in a preschool.

Excerpt 274.

그 교사 할 때, 아마 그때 미국에 911 사태 났을 때예요. 애가 하루는 학교 오더니 째려보는 행동을 하면서 이려고 나를 쳐다보는 거야. /.../ 그러더니 자기는 크면은 Asian 을 다 죽일 거라고 이러는 거야. 그러니까 그거는 부모가 하는 소리를 들은 거잖아. <I was working in a preschool, it would be right after 9/11 occurred. A little boy stared at me all day. /.../ suddenly the little boy approached to me and said that he will kill all Asians when he grows up. Obviously he passed on what his parents said.> (Mother 10)

Many parent participants related similar experiences when attempting to understand New Zealand culture, and their difficulty in integrating into mainstream society. Mother 1 clearly described her effort.

Excerpt 275.

아이 친구들 엄마도 자주 초대하고 또 그 집에도 놀러 가고 그러면서 아기를 낳으니까 Plunket 에 아기 엄마들끼리 coffee club 이라 그래서 커피 한잔 마시면서 엄마들하고 친해보려고 노력을 무지하게 많이 했는데 저는 잘못 섞이겠더라구요. 아까 말씀드렸듯이 그런 문화? 그 다음에 사고방식 차이 때문에. <I often invited other mothers from school communities and came over to their places too. I also joined a coffee club at Plunket for infant mothers to catch up over coffee. I put huge effort into maintaining memberships but I did not fully integrate with them. As I told you before I felt differences because of different culture as well as the way of thinking.> (Mother 1)

This mother explained why it was difficult to assimilate into New Zealand culture. She could not talk about the weather or personal issues for half an hour and she was not comfortable at various social functions as Koreans do not often talk about weather and/or personal issues.

Excerpt 276.

여기 사람들을 만나면 참 말을 많이 해요. 날씨와 그거에 대한 장황한 표현들을 하는데 저는 말이 그리 많지 않은 편이고 그거에 대한 시간이 좀, 다른 말을 하고 싶은데 그런 것들이 저는 잘 적응이 안되더라구요. 날씨에 대해 30 분동안 얘기를 하고 근황에 대해서 계속 묻는 그런 것들이 저는 적응이 잘 안 되는 거 같아요. <Personally I cannot continue talking about the weather or personal issues for half an hour. I want to talk about other things but people keep talking about those things for 30 minutes. I can't see myself in that situation.> (Mother 1)

Cultural differences appeared to be hindering Korean migrants' integration into mainstream society. Despite making an effort to assimilate into local communities, Korean migrants were unable to overcome such differences. As a result, migrants tended to accept the differences and to develop social connections within Korean rather than English-speaking communities. Mother 1 identified as Korean and stated that significant cultural differences rather than language barriers hindered assimilation.

Excerpt 277.

사람들하고 친해져 보려고 그랬는데 언어를 못해서라기 보다는 문화에 흡수가 안되니까 친해지지 않더라구요. 그래서 지금은 포기한 상태, 포기라기 보다 인정했어요. <Somehow we could not assimilate into the local community not because of the language barriers, but because of cultural differences. So then we gave up, or not gave up but accepted the differences.> (Mother 1)

Mother 1 identified cultural rather than language differences as a barrier, and she referred to her inability to understand verbal humour in English. She explained that she could understand each English word but was unable to understand the reason for laughing.

Excerpt 278.

코미디 프로그램이나 이 나라 programme 을 봤을 때 단어는 다 알겠는데 '왜 저런 말을 하지?' /.../ 단어나 문장을 들었을 때 그것을 이해 못하는 건 아니지만 유머데 왜 이 유머를 지금 이때 사용했을까 그런 것들. <If I watched comedy or TV programmes I understood meaning of words but I could not understand the contexts. I keep asking to myself about 'why did they say this in that way?' /.../ I can clearly understand meaning of words and sentences, but cannot see why that is funny.> (Mother 1)

Her experiences and thoughts about cultural differences led her family to practise Korean culture at home.

A general perception that migrants did not make an effort to learn English while living in New Zealand was reported by her son in his interview. Child 9, who was primarily an English speaker with a Korean mother (Mother 9), highlighted the importance of English language to integrate in to mainstream society. He stated:

Excerpt 279.

I don't think you should ask your children to speak Korean [when living in an English-speaking country] if it means your English level is going to reduce. I think it is more important to be able to integrate into society and communicate well and have the confidence to talk to other people. /.../ I think the best outcome is being fully integrated

into New Zealand while keeping your Korean identity and heritage. But I don't think you should try to cling to the culture if it is going to be at the expense of your English proficiency. I think that is the top priority. (Child 9)

Child 9 prioritised English as a dominant language rather than Korean and emphasised the important role English proficiency played in integration into mainstream society. He tended to not consider his mother's (Mother 9) heritage language and culture, which made his mother, Mother 9, feel isolated (Excerpt 40), and both Mother 9 and Child 9 regretted not transmitting Korean language (Excerpts 121, 130).

Monolingual English speakers from the majority society may need to develop more cultural awareness to support migrant families' integration into local communities. This may reduce migrant families' feelings of frustration while helping to make connections with New Zealanders. A child participant, Child 6, mentioned the importance of understanding two different cultures.

Excerpt 280.

If you know a lot of characteristics of the two ethnicities then it provides more social awareness towards yourself and towards other people, when you're mingling with other friends. And I guess it's just better to know two languages and to know two different cultures so you become more accepting and aware of different cultures. (Child 6)

Cultural awareness from New Zealanders as well as Korean migrants may promote integration and help migrant families to develop a sense of belonging to a majority society. However, New Zealanders' general attitudes towards migrants was felt by some participants to be more negative than previously experienced and many Korean migrant parents reported having some challenges in recent years. Mother 3 described monolingual English speakers' changes of attitude over time.

Excerpt 281.

그게 그 Asian 에 대한 건지 아니면 사람이 많아지다 보니까 사람들이 살아가는 게 좀 각박해진 건지 그건 잘 모르겠어요. 그런데 제가 느끼기에는 예전보다는 조금 더 사람들이 서로를 배려하는 마음들이 조금 더 줄어들지 않았나 하는 그런 생각이 좀

들거든요. <Well, I am not sure whether people in general have become hard-hearted now or because of an increased Asian population. But I feel that people do not show their solicitude for migrants as much as they used to.> (Mother 3)

Mother 1, who explained the cultural differences that hindered integration into local communities, said:

Excerpt 282.

그전에는 내가 여기 섞여야만 한다는 그런 부담감을 갖고 있었어요. 그런데 지금은 여기 저희 말고도 다른 많은 나라에서 [온] 사람들이 New Zealand 에 살고 있는데 그 사람들이 그냥 다같이 사는 나라, New Zealand 는. 그렇게 생각하니까 편하더라고요.

<In the past I felt pressure to assimilate. But now people are from different countries, not only us but also them, living together here, in New Zealand. This made me feel at ease.> (Mother 1)

Negative experiences of integration into mainstream society and negative attitudes towards migrants may lead some Korean families to focus on English language acquisition rather than Korean language transmission when living in New Zealand.

Key point summary

Findings show that many Korean migrants face challenges due to their lack of English language proficiency, their ethnic identity and difficulty adjusting to New Zealand cultural norms. Parent participants felt that as the migrant population has increased, New Zealanders general attitudes towards migrants have become more negative. Such negative experiences led to parent participants becoming reluctant to socialise with monolingual English speakers, preferring to be connected with other Korean speakers. This has resulted in them speaking more Korean, and limiting their integration into mainstream society. Conversely, child participants saw the need to acquire English in order for them to assimilate and integrate into mainstream society, and in some cases this was perceived as hindering their acquisition of and continued development of Korean.

7.3.3. Section summary

This section identifies both positive and negative experiences of Korean migrants when interacting with monolingual English speakers in local communities. Due to having such mixed experiences many Korean migrant families have faced linguistic and cultural challenges and led some Korean migrant families to review their family language policy and practice.

Some majority language speakers valued having the ability to speak another language other than the majority language, English. Majority language speakers' positive attitude towards promoting multilingualism in the majority society supported parent participants to raise their children as bilingual speakers as well as interact with the majority language speakers in an English-centred country. These positive outcomes brought more opportunities for parent participants to come to recognise cultural gaps between Korea and New Zealand that would affect family relationship and integration into mainstream society.

In contrast to these positive outcomes, some parent participants reported that monolingual English speakers appeared to expect sufficient English proficiency to enable migrants to assimilate into a majority society and do not make an effort to interact with migrant families. These negative experiences led Korean migrants to become reluctant to socialise with monolingual English speakers. This shows a lack of having cultural awareness by both some monolingual English speakers about minority language and culture, and some Koreans about New Zealand society norms. Without having a national language policy and guidance in New Zealand appears to create dilemmas for both majority and minority language speakers when interacting with each other.

7.4. Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the way in which Korean language transmission is promoted or impeded at a macro level where English language is the norm. Outside of the wider Korean-speaking community where Korean is still a main tool of conversation, Korean language speakers are exposed to an English-speaking culture, and integrate into mainstream society through speaking English.

Formal educational settings enhance or hinder minority language transmission. A school's positive attitude towards promoting multilingualism in the school environment supports research participants to speak their minority language (for example, Excerpt 215). A school's attitudes are valued by migrant families so migrant parents wish to send their children to a school that seems to be positive about minority language use. As a school facilitates more interactions between the same minority language-speaking pupils in the school environment its reputation amongst minority language groups is enhanced (Excerpts 198-200).

Peer-to-peer relationships are crucial in minority language transmission. If they have school friends who speak Korean, participants are encouraged to continue to improve their Korean fluency and knowledge (Excerpts 198-204). Korean-speaking pupils are able to develop stronger friendships and learn more about Korean culture through the language (Excerpts 205-212). Conversely if peers do not speak the same language, Korean usage and fluency decline in favour of the majority language, English (Excerpts 217-219, 223-225).

Interactions between pupils, parents and teachers influence minority language transmission. Positive feedback from a teacher supports migrant parents in their family linguistic choices and strategies (Excerpts 228-230). This results in continuing to speak their minority language at home. Negative feedback from a teacher creates a dilemma for migrant parents, especially if children experience a silent period (Excerpts 16-17 and 227). In such circumstances migrant parents sometimes revise their family linguistic choices and strategies in order for their children to focus on majority language acquisition, rather than passing on, and maintaining their minority language (Families 4 and 8).

Schools offer an insight into multilingualism, but often lack cultural awareness. Without having clear guidance about working with minority language-speaking pupils, and their families, formal educational settings contribute to language shift as the majority language, English, is the medium of education in New Zealand (Excerpts 257-261).

Mainstream society plays an important role in ITML. New Zealanders' general attitudes towards accommodating migrant families reinforces or undermines minority language retention in a majority language-speaking country. If general attitudes support pluralism minority language transmission is reinforced, but a focus on assimilation undermines minority language transmission in a host society (Castles, 2000). Contradictory guidance from government creates dilemmas for both wider society and migrant families. With a focus on

assimilation and integration, government policy emphasises mastery of English language, but policy also focuses on fostering multilingualism and its economic benefits for society, government policy also recommends transmitting and celebrating minority languages and cultures. With no national language policy and guidance, and inconsistent advice from government both majority and minority language speakers face difficulties in developing social cohesion. Minority language speakers often stop speaking their home language and focus more on speaking the majority language.

Participants in this study expressed both positive and negative attitudes towards minority language transmission at the level of society where the majority language is the norm. Within the broader linguistic context there were continued challenges to the use of a minority language from within both formal educational settings and local majority language-speaking communities. This has encouraged participants to acquire and speak the majority language. There is evidence of an intergenerational language shift amongst New Zealand-born Koreans.

Chapter 8.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

8.1. Chapter introduction

This chapter brings together findings from the three previous chapters and discusses them from the theoretical perspective and compares them to findings from previous research in order to present answers to Research Questions:

1. What role do family language policy, beliefs and practice play in the intergenerational transmission of the Korean language amongst Korean migrant families in New Zealand? (microsystem)
2. What is the role of the wider Korean community in New Zealand in intergenerational language transmission in Korean migrant families? (mesosystem)
3. What is the role of mainstream society in the intergenerational transmission of Korean in New Zealand? (macrosystem)

In the following sections, each Research Question and its answers are presented and discussed. Figure 8.1 shows the list of findings from each system in the present study.

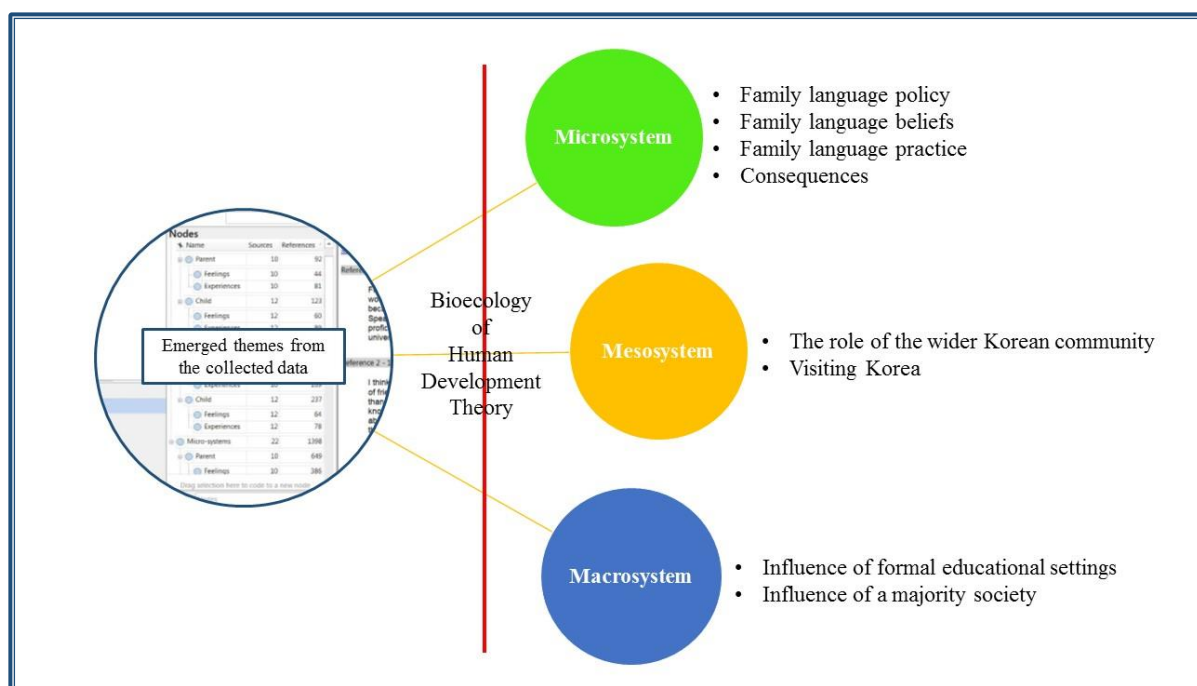


Figure 8.1. Summary of findings from the theoretical framework.

8.2. Discussions and answer to Research Question 1

1. What role do family language policy, beliefs and practice play in the intergenerational transmission of the Korean language amongst Korean migrant families in New Zealand? (microsystem)

This section examines the role of the Korean family in Korean language transmission. It presents the key themes from the microsystem; the role of family language policy, beliefs and practice and consequences of implementing family language policy within Korean migrant families in minority language transmission. These provide answers to Research Question 1. The list of the key themes from the microsystem is presented in Figure 8.2.

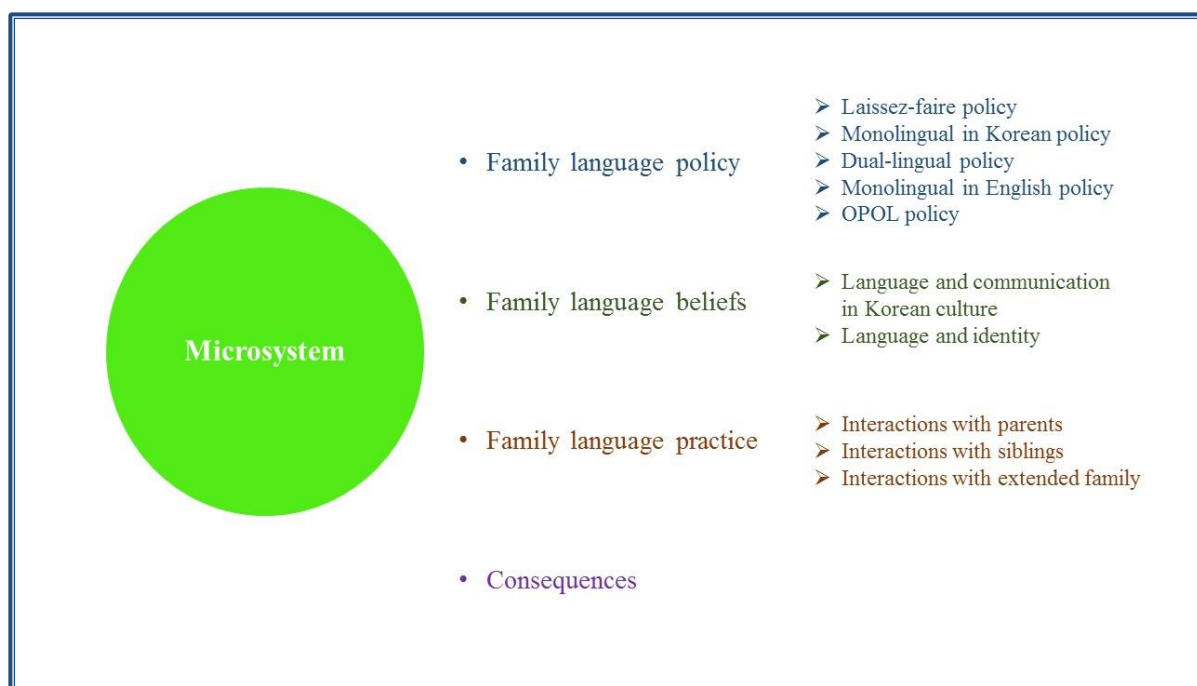


Figure 8.2. Summary of findings from the microsystem.

8.2.1. Family language policy

Reviewing family language policy aspects (Spolsky, 2012), child-parent interactions (person-process) at home (context) are seen as the primary domain of language interactions within Korean migrant families (proximal zone). This is identified as an influential factor that enhances ITML within a family context.

Findings from Chapter 5 showed that family language policy plays an important role in shaping and guiding family members in their language choice and practice (K. King & Fogle, 2013; Macalister & Mirvahedi, 2017; Spolsky, 2012). K. King et al. (2008) emphasised how a family language policy functions in child language development through child-parent interactions within the family dynamic. From birth, children are exposed to a home language environment where the parents' mother tongue is spoken. Within this environment, parents implement a language strategy based on their beliefs about their own cultural values and experiences with the aim of raising their children within a specific sociolinguistic context (K. King et al., 2008; Spolsky, 2004). Once a family language policy is adopted, intentionally or otherwise, it is practised within a home linguistic environment (Spolsky, 2004).

There are five types of family language policy implemented within Korean migrant families in this research: *laissez-faire*, monolingual conversation in Korean, dual-lingual conversation, monolingual conversation in English, and OPOL policy. Except for the use of a monolingual conversation in English policy, the other four family language policies promote the raising of New Zealand-born Korean children bilingually. Exposure to a Korean-speaking environment at home, provided by either one or both parents, is seen as a positive factor for Korean language transmission.

Among the five types of family language policies it appears to result in favourable outcomes of the use of monolingual conversation in Korean in minority language transmission. Parents in this group demonstrated their strong beliefs about the relationship between Korean language and culture and they endeavoured to foster a Korean-speaking environment at home. As a result, all child participants in this policy group demonstrated the most use of Korean language as a tool for conversations in family interactions at the micro-level and reported being comfortable conversing in Korean. This led them to become more motivated to learn more about Korean language and culture as they matured.

One family, Family 1, implemented a *laissez-faire* language policy. The parents spoke Korean for family conversations but gave their children the freedom to choose either Korean or English for family interactions. This resulted in the children using English as their main tool for family conversation so that the family unintentionally implemented a dual-lingual conversation policy, hindering ITML within the family (De Houwer, 2015). Although both mother and child participants from this family had a common philosophy about minority language transmission, and made an effort to practice Korean at home, the children had different Korean language proficiencies depending on their language preference. Despite the parents' stated language focus, implementing a *laissez-faire* policy resulted in younger siblings having limited minority language proficiency (Excerpt 105), and Mother 1 reported her concerns about having difficulties maintaining family conversations between her younger children and their grandparents (Excerpts 109-110). Under such circumstances children may perceive a link with Korean and authority and with English and solidarity in family conversations (Smith-Christmas, 2016) so they may use English more in sibling interactions. Communication failure in extended family interactions ruptures family ties (De Houwer, 2015; Fillmore, 1991).

Most families where parents speak different mother tongues have implemented OPOL. Three families (Families 9-11), with Korean-speaking mothers and New Zealand English-speaking

fathers, belonged to this group. In two cases, where the fathers were either able to speak Korean (in Family 11), or unable to speak Korean (in Family 10), but supportive of the mother's efforts to continue speaking Korean to the child or children, children were able to develop proficiency in Korean. In the third family in this position (Family 9), the father was non-proficient in Korean, and his wife, Mother 9, did not speak Korean at home, so their son, Child 9, did not learn the Korean language and consequently could not communicate with his maternal relatives in Korea. This led the mother to feel isolated from her family in Korea (Excerpt 40), and her son to regret not learning Korean language and culture (Excerpts 82-83, 130-131). Other children in this group (Children 10 and 11) whose fathers had different levels of Korean language proficiency had varying levels of Korean language proficiency depending on the amount of exposure to a Korean-speaking environment. Mother 10 was the only Korean speaker at home. This led her child to feel less accomplished in Korean (Excerpts 31, 84). Conversely, the child from Family 11 felt fully competent in the Korean language as both their father and mother naturally spoke Korean at home (Excerpt 87).

Previous studies emphasised the important role that fathers play in Korean language transmission and maintenance in the New Zealand context (S. Kim & Starks, 2010; J. King & Cunningham, 2016; S. Park, 2000). Findings from the OPOL policy group (Families 10 and 11) are in line with S. Kim and Starks's research that the fathers' role is seen as an important factor, whereas J. King and Cunningham's research suggests mothers are more influential on a child's minority language acquisition. In the present study, non-Korean fathers' Korean language proficiency and/or their willingness to support Korean as a family language affected the amount of Korean used at home, and therefore had an effect on the amount of Korean learned by the children, findings that reflect previous research outcomes.

Family language policy, therefore, plays a key role in minority language acquisition (K. King & Fogle, 2013; K. King et al., 2008; Macalister & Mirvahedi, 2017; Spolsky, 2004, 2012). Although parents believe minority language transmission is important, they change or adapt language strategy and choice when children face language difficulties at school. As a result, children feel that the majority language becomes a dominant language as K. King et al. (2008) suggested. Although family language policy enhances minority language transmission when family language policy shifts from speaking only Korean to allowing children to speak English. As a result, children of these families were not raised as effective as confident bilingual speakers.

8.2.2. Family language beliefs

Migrant parents often believe that language is related to culture and cultural values (Berardi-Wiltshire, 2018; He, 2006), and prefer to maintain them when living in a host country (Barker, 2015). Such beliefs about the value of a minority language play an important role in forming a family language policy that anticipates outcomes for raising multilingual children (K. King et al., 2008). Parent participants' own experiences of exposure to various cultures as well as their perception of their children's language proficiency influence their language choices and strategies.

Research has shown that parental linguistic beliefs influences children's language beliefs (MacLeod et al., 2013). Some of the parents in the current study strongly believe that due to living in a Korean-speaking and cultural environment at home, their children will have a Korean identity. This belief is also seen in previous studies that focus on the relationship between Korean language proficiency and child identity (Choi, 2015; H. Kim, 2011). These studies suggested that as children grow up they constantly reflect a sense of who they are in relation to different social contexts that influence their identity development in their ecological system (Paat, 2013). Johri (1998) reported that Korean migrant parents focus on mastery of the English language to become successful in New Zealand. In contrast to Johri's study, findings from the present research demonstrate that Korean migrant parents emphasise the importance of Korean language transmission across generations, at least to the extent that it is related to understanding Korean culture and children's identity development. The parents in the current study, with the notable exception of Family 9, have raised their children according to conscious or unconscious family language policies that have had varying levels of success in intergenerational Korean language transmission.

Research suggested that children of migrant parents live in two linguistic and cultural environments (Fillmore, 1991). Migrant parents often intentionally choose to use a minority language at home even before their children start formal education, but children perceive that a majority language is key to the New Zealand school system and identifying as a New Zealander in the majority speaking school environment. This psychological awareness encourages children to speak the majority language in every interaction, rather than the minority language. Such changes in both preferences of a language choice and self-identity unconsciously take place during child development. This results in children changing the use

of a language for family conversations and having different language proficiencies in Korean and English (J. Kim & Starks, 2005). The opposite process happens when these children are at high school, when children start thinking about who they are (Kitchen, 2014b). Children become more motivated to learn the language as they mature in order for them to maintain their ethnic identity (Berardi-Wiltshire, 2018). This was evident in the present study. Some of the children of migrant parents reported that they focus more on learning English and desire to be English speakers at a young age (Excerpts 49-50), but at secondary school level, they appear to comfortably identify themselves in relation to their ethnic identity (Excerpts 55-56). Prior research found a positive relationship between minority language proficiency and ethnic identity (Cho, 2000; Jee, 2016; J. Lee, 2002). Teenagers start thinking about the relationship between Korean language proficiency and Korean identity (Excerpts 51-54) as well as English language proficiency and living in an English-speaking country (Excerpt 78). When developing language proficiency and identity, Korean peer-to-peer interactions, especially with newly-arrived Korean international students, is reported as being an influential factor in a secondary school environment (macrosystem) (Excerpts 198-203). As the children reflect more on language beliefs and self-identity development they become more motivated to learn Korean language and culture (Excerpts 52, 203).

For children belonging to visible minority groups, identity is ascribed by others from the majority society (Choi, 2015; H. Kim, 2011). This may lead to children of migrant families, such as those in the current study (Children 3, 4, 6, 12 and 13), developing two identities with Korean as their ethnic identity, and New Zealander as national and locational identity, thus developing a hyphenated identity (Excerpts 65-71). Consequently the children come to realise their ability to speak two languages and feel comfortable in both majority and minority societies (Castles, 2000) while developing a hyphenated identity (Somerville, 2008). Findings from the present study are in line with Somerville's research. Many child participants reported their identity as Korean-New Zealander and New Zealander-Korean depending on their language proficiency, preference of language and culture, and reflections on connections with extended family. The popularity of Korean merchandise is also seen as a positive factor in Korean identity development and language transmission for some younger female participants.

A recent study examined child self-identity development within Korean migrant families. Zhu and Li (2016) claimed that Koreans in China maintain a strong sense of Korean identity across generations. Similarly, all parent participants in the current study identified as Koreans, but

their children identified variously as Korean, New Zealander and Korean-New Zealander. This self-identification by the child participants matches their self-evaluated Korean language proficiencies and preferences. Many child participants reported a hyphenated identity. Some children who feel English is their dominant language and Korean is their second language identified themselves as New Zealander-Korean, whereas a Korean-New Zealander identity is reported by other children who felt it was important to use Korean language and understand Korean culture, but their Korean language proficiency seemed to be the same as other child participants in this study. Previous studies demonstrated that having a dual-identity (Choi, 2015) enhances children's feelings about a sense of belonging to both majority and minority societies (Somerville, 2008) and enables children to achieve highly at school (Kwon, 2017). Findings from the present study support previous research outcomes (Excerpts 62-65).

Several parent participants (Mothers 2-4, and 6-11) told about the negotiation of their linguistic and cultural beliefs, attitudes and practices that had shaped their family language policy. Participants' linguistic choices reflect their heritage culture and self-identity (Seals, 2017). As New Zealand-born Koreans grew up, they appeared to develop a stronger Korean identity when entering secondary school and thinking about their ethnic identity. Considering the environmental linguistic context, speaking Korean at home and English outside of the home, children develop a hyphenated identity as Korean-New Zealander or vice versa. This hyphenated identity helps them to have a sense of belonging to both majority and minority societies (Castles, 2016; Somerville, 2008).

8.2.3. Family language practice

In addition to implementing a family language policy that is drawn from, and shaped by parental language beliefs, parental input is also a crucial factor in minority language transmission and maintenance (Brown, 2011; De Houwer, 2015; De Houwer & Bornstein, 2016; H. Kang, 2013; J. Kim & Starks, 2005; S. Kim & Starks, 2010). In order to effectively pass on minority language to majority-country born children, parents employ different strategies.

The majority of child participants acknowledged the importance of their parents' input in Korean language transmission and learning Korean culture to maintain family ties. Previous work (H. Kim, 2011) suggested that participants believe that being proficient in the Korean language enables them to build strong family relationships. Parent participants also identified

the importance of parental input using various strategies. A mother (Mother 4) reflected that a lack of information about linguistic choices and child language development in migrant families hinders minority language transmission (Excerpts 17-18).

Maintaining family ties with extended family is noted as being a positive factor in intergenerational Korean language transmission and maintenance (H. Kim, 2011). Many participants in the current study highlighted the important role Korean language plays in family communication including with extended families in Korea as well as recognising relationships between language, culture and identity. Some child participants whose Korean-speaking grandparents live in their neighbourhood appear to have strong beliefs about Korean language transmission and good language mastery. Due to a lack of Korean language proficiency, some child participants, however, expressed concern about inadequate Korean language proficiency (Excerpts 89, 112) and at times preferred to speak English (Excerpt 90). This lack of confidence and the readiness to switch to English may lead children to stop speaking Korean, (De Houwer, 2015; Fillmore, 1991) which would eventually lead them to “lose access to the cultural and social resources” that come from speaking a minority language (H. Kim, 2011, p. 17).

Within a family unit, findings show that the oldest child in the families participating in the current study often appear to have higher proficiency in Korean than their younger siblings. This was reported by Families 1, 3, 4, 6, 7 and 10. The oldest child acquires Korean and they become more motivated to learn Korean language and culture, whereas the younger siblings are passive speakers of Korean language and not motivated to learn more. A child from this group, Child 1 who had lived and attended preschool for a year in Korea, expressed concern about, and feeling responsible for their younger siblings having a lack of Korean language proficiency (Excerpts 105-107). However, prior research showed that once the older siblings have had exposure to formal education settings, they foster a majority language-speaking environment at home through speaking the majority language with the mother and younger siblings (Bridges & Hoff, 2014; Caldas, 2006), and younger siblings tend to perceive a majority language as a *cool* language that is not often spoken by the authorities; adult speakers, at the micro-level (Smith-Christmas, 2016). This results in siblings choosing a majority language as their conversation tool. In line with this previous research, a New Zealand-based study (S. Kim & Starks, 2010) emphasised the relationship between sibling language choice and minority language maintenance or shift among siblings. When siblings tend to use English as the main tool for conversation, a language shift may take place between second generation Koreans. Due

to a lack of Korean language proficiency among second generations, Korean is not passed on to the third generation of Korean migrants within the microsystem.

Conversely, the youngest sibling sometimes demonstrates higher proficiency in the minority language than older siblings (Kopeliovich, 2013; Smith-Christmas, 2016). For Child 2 who is the youngest child in her family, receiving increasing language input from parents and older siblings enhances the youngest sibling's minority language acquisition. In three families (Families 10, 12 and 13), when an older sibling left home, younger siblings had more opportunities to speak Korean at home (Excerpts 101, 108). For these families, the balance changed when the oldest sibling left home and the younger sibling then had to use more Korean to communicate with family. Similarly, Child 5 demonstrates high levels of Korean language proficiency which they attribute to being an only child and having more exposure to interactions with extended family. Child 5's exposure was because he was an only child with no siblings to speak English with.

The present study explores and reviews family language policy and practice based on language beliefs amongst Korean migrant families. New Zealand-born Korean children in this study who are able to speak Korean believe that this ability is due to Korean having been spoken by their parents at home during their childhood. Despite family language policy and practice that emphasises the importance of minority language and culture, most of these New Zealand-born Korean children feel that the majority language is their dominant language (see also Fillmore, 1991).

Most of the parents in the current study make an effort to speak Korean with their children because they believe speaking Korean with children at home leads to intergenerational language transmission, and this is valued by them. Similarly to what was seen in previous research, family language policy and practice do not always align despite participants' belief (Gharibi, 2016; Johri, 1998). Although most of the Korean parents in the current study emphasise the importance of transmitting the Korean language across generations, their language beliefs change when children start school, and parents negotiate and revise family language policy and practice during raising children (Families 4, 6, 7 and 8). Children's language beliefs also change over time. Children may face language difficulties on first exposure to formal educational settings, and some parents (Mothers 4, 6, 7, and 8) reported switching to English for either a long or a short period of time. Family 6 encouraged their son to speak English to prepare the child before starting school so the child could communicate

with teachers and peers (Mother 6 in Excerpt 9), and after the child was able to fit himself into the school environment, parents asked the children to speak Korean. Some parents (Mothers 4, 7 and 8, Excerpts 16-17), however, allowed their children to speak English even after children overcome language difficulty. While this is intended as a temporary measure until children overcome language difficulties, parents (Mothers 7 and 8) reported that this leads to English becoming a main tool for family conversation (Excerpt 14). Parents (Mothers 7 and 8) reported that their children felt more at ease speaking English and that their own English language proficiency improved (Excerpt 12). Similarly, in previous research, parents reported that their children's English acquisition and beliefs about the importance of the majority language influence the parents' linguistic beliefs and practices (Fogle & King, 2013; K. King et al., 2008). De Houwer (2015) suggested that while minority language-speaking parents may strongly believe that their use of the minority language plays a crucial role in minority language transmission, it becomes natural to implement a dual-linguistic conversation policy for family conversations that actually hinders minority language transmission. In the current study, the language practices of the parent participants appear to contradict their stated language beliefs. Such discrepancies indicate that a language shift may occur between Korean migrant parents and their New Zealand-born children.

8.2.4. Consequences - reported outcomes

In this study, despite families modifying their family language policies in response to changing pressures and expectations on the child, most child participants were able to learn Korean language and culture through family interactions. This enables many child participants to retain minority language skills even though they experience the challenge of a language shift (Excerpt 99) and identify (Excerpts 57-60) with the majority language as their dominant language. Determining a family language policy and then consistently implementing that policy in practice plays a key role in promoting minority language transmission across generations within minority language-speaking families (K. King et al., 2008).

Family language policy and practice appears to play an important role in transmitting the language across generations. Parents who often facilitate child-parent interactions in the proximal processes (Paat, 2013) are seen as a good resource for minority language transmission in a majority society (H. Kim, 2011; S. Kim & Starks, 2010). As Fishman (1991) suggested, speaking a minority language at home (proximal processes of child-parent interactions) is

enough for children to develop their verbal skills so the language will survive in that context. An example of this is the situation where child participants in this study are able to maintain family ties through conversations in Korean when talking with native Korean speakers, including Korean-based grandparents and extended family.

Except for Mother 9, all parents in this study intentionally speak Korean language in a Korean cultural environment at home to support their New Zealand-born children's Korean language acquisition and identity development. Parents reported being unprepared for some challenges and difficulties that their children might face when they start formal education. When this happens, parents (Mothers 4 and 8) encourage their children to focus on English language acquisition and let their children speak English at home in order for their children to fully participate in school activities. These parents believe that allowing their children to speak English at home supports their English language development. They justify this decision as being because they perceive English as a vital means of becoming successful in New Zealand (Johri, 1998; S. Kim & Starks, 2010) and prioritise it over their children's acquisition of Korean. The family responses to this language shift in varied ways. Among Families 4, 6, 7 and 8, Family 6 reverted to using Korean and Family 4 sent Child 4 to a Korean school to learn Korean literacy so Children 4 and 6 were highly proficient in Korean, but others continued with English as the main tool for family conversations, especially in sibling interactions. This results in the children reporting various level of Korean language proficiency. Even though they speak Korean with their parents, Children 7 and 8 became more confident in English, and less confident about using Korean.

In the present study, the child's English language acquisition difficulties are often reported by the parents, not by the children (Excerpts 92 and 96-97). Children showed a positive attitude towards being bilingual, simultaneously learning two languages (Excerpt 94) and regretted not acquiring Korean at a young age (Excerpts 124-131). Although there is some previous research suggesting a positive correlation between having an ability to speak a minority language and school achievement (Krashen, 1998a; Kwon, 2017), parents in the present study did not seem to see the benefits of raising children bilingually.

Korean migrant families in this study reported continually reflecting about family language choices, policy and practices over time. Some families appear to inconsistently implement family language policy and practice when receiving negative feedback about a child's English language proficiency through social interactions (distal processes). Many parent participants

appear to initially implement a monolingual Korean language policy, but tend to let children respond in English over time, and continue to practise this dual-lingual policy, even though it is identified as a risk factor in ITML (De Houwer, 2009). This was the situation for child participants (Children 4, 7, and 8) from the dual-linguistic conversation policy group. The child participants who reported as limited or non-speakers of Korean, were able to speak Korean during their interviews, despite being given a language choice. They had clearly underreported their Korean language proficiency, and possibly felt that Korean was the appropriate language due to the interviewer being a senior member of the Korean community. Modesty in reporting one's own achievements is also an important part of Korean (Eastern) culture and of Korean upbringing in diasporic contexts (Chen, Bond, Chan, Tang, & Buchtel, 2009). If these children had not been asked about their ability to speak Korean during their interviews they may not have chosen to speak Korean, and the researcher would not have been aware of their Korean language proficiency. The researcher's understanding about the target language and culture is crucial (Cullen, 2005; Tuhiwai, 2008).

8.2.5. Section summary

In the microsystem, Korean migrant families reported making efforts to various extents to pass on Korean to their New Zealand-born children. Both child and parent participants believed in a positive relationship between Korean language proficiency and child identity development. Korean migrant families shaped family language policy based on their language beliefs. Depending on the type of family language policy and practice, children identified with various types of self-identity; Korean and Korean-New Zealander. Speaking Korean as a home language reported being an influential factor in maintaining family ties. Through the language, children were able to communicate with Korean-based extended family, and extended family played a supportive role in Korean language transmission. Korean families, sometimes needed to change and negotiate family language policy and practice when influence from the macrosystem challenged their decisions. Children of migrant parents often had linguistic difficulty when starting formal education systems and parents were likely to encourage children to speak the majority language. This unintentionally encouraged to speak a majority language at home, especially in sibling interactions.

8.2.6. Answer to Research Question 1

Korean migrant families may need to deliberately foster a Korean language-speaking and cultural environment at home. Findings from the present study demonstrate that family language policy and practice plays a crucial role in Korean language transmission at the microsystem level. Speaking Korean as the main medium of conversation at home gives New Zealand-born Korean children the ability to converse in Korean with native Korean speakers inside and outside the home, and to maintain family ties with extended family.

Having the ability to speak Korean influences child identity development as being a Korean (microsystem) when living in New Zealand (macrosystem), and interacting in the local Korean community (mesosystem). This results in children developing a hyphenated identity, Korean-New Zealander or vice versa, that enhances a sense of belonging to both minority and majority society.

However, aspects of the macrosystem affect the implementation of a family language policy and sibling interactions. Negative attitudes from the majority society towards minority language speakers influences Korean migrant families to consider adapting/changing family language policy from speaking only Korean to speaking both Korean and English. In addition to this, English appears to be the medium of conversation among siblings in the microsystem, least once the child begins school.

8.3. Discussions and answer to Research Question 2

2. What is the role of the wider Korean community in New Zealand in intergenerational language transmission in Korean migrant families? (mesosystem)

This section discusses the role of the wider Korean community in minority language transmission. The section begins with discussing the key themes from the mesosystem; the role of the wider Korean community and influence on Korean language transmission from visiting Korea, and presents answers to Research Question 2. Figure 8.3 presents the list of key themes from the mesosystem.

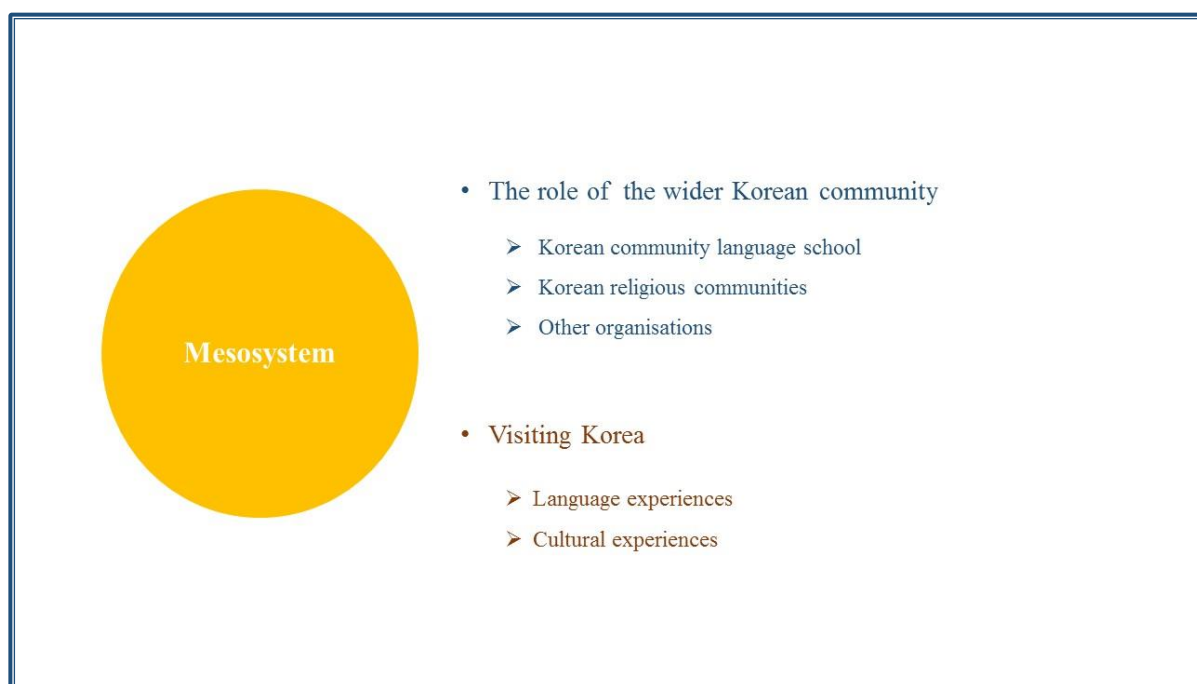


Figure 8.3. Summary of findings from the mesosystem.

8.3.1. The role of the wider Korean community on Korean language transmission

Korean community organisations in the current study are well established and function effectively (see Chapter 2). These provide a wider Korean-speaking environment for Korean migrants in their daily interactions. Participants reported that by having exposure to the wider Korean community, children are able to learn Korean language and culture through having exposure to various events (Excerpts 172-175), including learning Korean literacy skills and etiquette by attending a Korean school (Excerpts 146-150, 178), and have more opportunity to interact with native Korean speakers in Korean religious communities (Excerpts 158-163). Through participation in various activities within the wider Korean community participants, child participants especially, become confident about their Korean identity in a social context and develop a sense of pride about belonging to Korea (Excerpts 176-177). This is seen as the most influential factor in successful Korean language transmission amongst child participants in the present study.

Although the wider Korean community is believed to have a positive influence on language transmission in the current study, some negative factors are reported by participants. As Dorian

(1994) argued that greater emphasis on language purism makes the younger generation avoid speaking their minority language. Smith-Christmas (2016) supported this by stating that such language purism can be seen as a language authority by children. Cho (2000) pointed out careless language error correction and criticism hinders minority language transmission and maintenance across generations in the wider ethnic community. This is seen in the current study. A child participant (Child 3) had negative experiences of interacting with adult native Korean speakers in the wider Korean community (Excerpts 165-166, 181) and reported becoming reluctant to interact with Korean adults and unmotivated to speak Korean even in other situations (Excerpt 181). According to this child, some Korean adults try to correct his language mistakes and encourage the child to learn the Korean language, but this ends up resulting in damaging the child's identity as Korean, and avoiding interacting with Korean adults. Insensitive attitudes by Korean adults towards New Zealand-born Koreans are reported as negative factor in minority language transmission within the wider minority language-speaking community.

Frequent exposure to a minority language-speaking environment promotes minority language transmission and maintenance (K. King, 2000; Kloss, 1966; Oriyama, 2016). Previous studies suggested that children of migrant parents tend not to continue speaking their home language after starting school (Fillmore, 1991). In the current study, prior to starting formal education, Korean is the *primary language*, but once children start school, Korean is likely to be the *secondary language*, spoken mostly at home, not at school (Montrul, 2013). A language shift may occur during this transitional time (Fishman, 1991) and migrant children, especially those who were born in a country where their mother tongue is not the majority language, may become less confident about speaking their minority language (De Houwer, 2015; Fillmore, 1991; Montrul, 2011). The wider ethnic community, the mesosystem, is seen as an important factor in supporting minority language-speaking parents and children by providing a minority language-speaking and cultural environment outside of the home (Berardi-Wiltshire, 2018; Oriyama, 2016; Paat, 2013). This enables children to meet with people from a similar linguistic and cultural background and share feelings and experiences about living in a majority society, and to maintain their minority language proficiency in the long term (Oriyama, 2016).

One aspect of the ethnic community in the current study is the availability of Korean Saturday school. Previous research described attending a Korean school in the US as being a positive factor encouraging children to learn Korean language and literacy, and to be exposed to Korean

culture, cultural values and activities outside of the home (J. Kim, 2011). J. Kim stated a minority language school as a “buffer for reducing detachment from family” (p. 137) where intergenerational language and culture transmission for migrant parents and children in a school environment is a comfort zone when living in a majority society. In line with this regard, Child 4 had a positive experience of receiving an emotional reward by attending a Korean school (Excerpt 149). Mother 4 sent Child 4 to both primary school and a Korean Saturday school at the same time in order for Child 4 to learn two languages simultaneously. Child 4 faced language difficulties at primary school (Excerpt 17), but had compliments from a Korean school teacher. Through such positive experiences Child 4 felt being engaged with, and became motivated to attend a Korean school.

J. Kim’s study, however, identified disadvantages of attending a Korean school and this was reported in the current study. Teaching practices differ from majority society norms in educational settings (Excerpt 151). Cho (2000) also highlighted that grammar-translation teaching practice at Korean schools in the US makes students unmotivated to learn Korean. This results in students often speaking English among themselves outside of the classroom at Korean schools. Speaking English in peer-to-peer interaction may enhance feeling of solidarity (Smith-Christmas, 2016). This is reported in the current study (Excerpt 154) and some participants (Families 2 and 3) noted that their children make slow progress in learning Korean literacy skills (Excerpts 155-156). An excerpt of Child 3 captures the overall atmosphere at a Korean school. He said “[students] don’t really commit to speaking for Korean so you don’t really learn anything” (Excerpt 156).

In the present study, when child participants stressed their unwillingness to attend a Korean school, parents let their children discontinue attending the Korean school (Excerpts 151-152) because both parents and children did not see the need to speak Korean in an English-speaking country (Excerpt 153) where English is the main medium of instruction. Parents desire the children to be successful through being highly proficient in English (Cho, 2015; Fillmore, 1991; J. Kim, 2011; K. King, 2000). Some Korean parents have concerns that learning both majority and minority languages simultaneously hinders majority language acquisition (Excerpt 157). However, when children of migrant parents mature they often regret not learning Korean language at a young age (Excerpts 127 and 152), and reported this as an advantage of learning two languages at a young age (Excerpt 94).

Professional development regarding educational practice when working with migrant families' needs to be available for teachers at minority language schools (Cho, 2000; J. Kim, 2011). This supports teachers to encourage students to attend school and collaborate with migrant families to accommodate their needs. Through this, children of migrant parents gain explicit knowledge of minority language and are supported to become confident minority language speakers (Montrul, 2009, 2011, 2013). This is seen in Families 2 and 7. Both Children 2 and 7 did not like attending a Korean school (Excerpts 152-153), but Mother 2 encouraged Child 2 to attend, and Mother 7 did not. Consequently, Child 2 reported as a proficient speaker, whereas Child 7 was not (see Table 4.4).

Participation in religious activities within the wider minority language-speaking community, is seen as another positive factor (Kuncha & Bathula, 2004; Wang, 2016) for minority language development. Both parent and child participants in the current study stated that religious communities provide them with opportunities to acquire Korean language including culturally appropriate honorific forms (Excerpts 158-163), and learn about Korean culture and cultural values (Excerpts 158 and 161). Interacting with various native Korean speakers may enable New Zealand-born Koreans to practise the Korean language in a natural environment, which agrees with what Paat (2013) has discussed.

Some parent and child participants in the current study, however, reported aspects of the church environment which impede Korean language transmission. Miscommunication between adult native Korean speakers and New Zealand-born children may negatively impact on intergenerational Korean language transmission (Excerpts 165-166). Older native speakers sometimes expect younger speakers to use a correct form of a minority language, without using, borrowing or loaning words from a majority language (Dorian, 1994). Younger speakers can see this as the authority of older speakers in the minority cultural norm (Smith-Christmas, 2016). If children feel embarrassed or offended when using a minority language with adults, the children start to avoid using the minority language (De Houwer, 2009) and this creates *language shyness* among minority language speakers (Krashen, 1998b). Young Korean speakers may, in this way, become unwilling to interact with adult Korean speakers in Korean within a church environment or even stop attending church. In the present study Child 3 reported becoming unmotivated to speak Korean when adult native Korean speakers corrected or criticised their language mistakes (Excerpts 165-166), but later on he decided to learn Korean literacy through reading the Korean bible (Excerpt 63). Children 12 and 13 stopped

attending church for a while. In the current study, Children 12 and 13 came to realise a Korean church was a place to improve Korean language so they re-attended their Korean church (Excerpts 160-161). These children re-engaged with Korean speakers in a religious community. These children's stories need to be taken into account in language transmission in the wider Korean community, otherwise, this can be a potential factor in language shift.

As English becomes the dominant language of the children of Korean migrants in New Zealand, one church in the community in the current study appointed a bilingual pastor (Excerpts 168-170), and another church provides translating services (Excerpt 171) to meet the needs of these young people. This has led some New Zealand-born Koreans to be encouraged to speak both English and Korean, in church environments, but English becomes the dominant language. This may, in fact, prove to be a disadvantage for the intergenerational transmission of Korean in New Zealand, as other New Zealand-born Korean speakers (Children 1 and 13; Mother 4) mentioned the Korean church as an important place to speak Korean and to learn the correct way of addressing senior community members (cf. Paat, 2013). Korean religious communities may unintentionally encourage New Zealand-born Koreans to speak English rather than Korean.

In contrast to emphasising the importance of maintaining the Korean language, a parent participant (Mother 3) in the current study mentioned that English language proficiency appeared to create new power relationships among Koreans in New Zealand, with those with the highest English language proficiency being the most powerful, as identified in previous work (W. Kang et al., 2015). According to Mother 3, instead of encouraging young Korean speakers to speak more Korean within the church environment, some adult Korean speakers make negative comments about the young people's English language proficiency labelling it as "behaving superior" (Excerpt 167) because they expressed a belief that someone who is highly proficient in English can change power dynamics among members of their community to benefit those who are proficient in English. Such contradictory attitudes by adult Korean speakers may make younger Korean speakers increasingly reluctant to engage with older native speakers with negative outcomes for language transmission.

Some mothers in the current study (Mothers 5 and 11) reported that Korean adults in the wider Korean community who are highly proficient in English want to speak English with Korean children and these bilingual children would then respond in English. This is a missed

opportunity for the children to use their Korean outside the home, which Fishman (1991) pointed out is one of the criteria for language maintenance (GIDS level 6).

Within the wider Korean community older Koreans appear to sometimes underestimate the intelligence of the children of Korean migrants when they lack Korean language proficiency (Excerpt 74), and react to language errors by making the speaker feel foolish (Excerpt 181). Adult Korean speakers appear to underappreciate the effort required to grow up proficient in a minority language when living in a majority society. This may lead young Korean speakers, especially those with limited or no proficiency, to avoid interaction with adult native Korean speakers within the wider Korean community, further limiting their exposure to the language.

The wider Korean community is shown to have an important role in facilitating and fostering a linguistic, cultural and social environment that supports Korean migrants as well as promoting Korea, Korean language and culture to local communities. Through exposure to cultural festivals and events that have been facilitated mostly by the local Korean Society, New Zealand-born children of Korean migrants are able to gain more insight into Korean language, culture and cultural values in an environment dominated by Korean language. This is a positive factor that leads these young people to become more motivated to speak the language and be increasingly immersed in Korean culture (Oriyama, 2016). General perceptions about the strong relationship between having a Korean identity and Korean language proficiency (Cho, 2000; Cunningham & King, 2018; J. Lee, 2002; Zhu & Li, 2016) are seen as other positive factors (Excerpts 72-77) (see also Johri, 1998) that are supported by cultural events (Excerpts 172-178).

8.3.2. Influence on Korean language transmission from visiting Korea

Visiting a parent's home country has been identified in previous research as a positive factor in intergenerational minority language transmission and maintenance (Cunningham, 2011; De Houwer, 2015; Johri, 1998). Many participants (Children 4, 7, 8, 10, and 13; Mothers 2, 3, and 8) in the current study stressed that they become more motivated to communicate with their Korea-based extended families when visiting Korea. They have more opportunities to interact with various native Korean speakers and come to realise their lack of Korean language skills (Excerpts 182 and 187). Upon returning to New Zealand, many child participants wanted to learn more about the Korean language (Children 4, 7, 8, 10 and 13; Excerpt 187). Some parents

were reassured about their home language choices and strategies through visiting Korea (Mothers 2 and 8 in Excerpts 187-188) and children discovered having an ability to speak Korean through such experiences. Some child participants were, however, confronted with language and cultural differences when visiting extended families in Korea (Children 2, 5 and 12 in Excerpts 195-196). These children felt alienated from Korean speakers in Korea even though they were able to communicate with native Korean speakers (Excerpts 195-196). The lack of both Korean language proficiency and cultural differences between Korea and New Zealand meant some child participants did not feel a sense of belonging to Korea. This led them to be reluctant to learn the Korean language and culture as well as to visit Korea.

8.3.3. Section summary

The wider Korean community plays an important role in intergenerational transmission of Korean language in New Zealand. Examining the wider Korean community through GIDS level 6 (Fishman, 1991), a home-family-neighbour-community dynamic appears to effectively work in language transmission and maintenance within the language-speaking community. This leads 83% of Korean teens in New Zealand to report being able to speak Korean (J. King & Cunningham, 2016). Some potential aspects that would impede Korean language transmission are identified. A lack of professional development for teachers at a Korean school creates gaps between New Zealand and Korean teaching practice in a classroom environment. Unintentionally encouraging children to speak English in the wider community environment leads children to have less exposure to Korean-speaking environments. Inappropriate ways of interacting with young Korean speakers makes young Koreans reluctant to speak Korean and avoid participating in the wider community. These factors may promote a language shift in the wider minority language-speaking community.

8.3.4. Answer to Research Question 2

In the present study, the wider Korean community is seen to play a powerful role in intergenerational Korean language transmission. Well-established Korean organisations facilitate and foster a Korean linguistic and cultural environment in a wider social context, outside of the home, and promote Korean language and culture to the majority society. Through

these activities, the wider Korean community makes connections with Korean migrants as individuals and families (microsystem) and with mainstream society (macrosystem).

Regardless of the effective role of the wider Korean community, some concerns about the possibility of a language shift are raised. Inconsistent use of Korean language and insensitive puristic approaches to correcting children's Korean language mistakes make some New Zealand-born Korean children reluctant to participate in activities in the wider Korean community. The introduction of young bilingual community leaders fosters a bilingual environment within the community which may be the start of a language shift in the mesosystem.

8.4. Discussions and answer to Research Question 3

3. What role does mainstream society play in the intergenerational transmission of the Korean language in New Zealand? (macrosystem)

This section examines the role of the majority society in minority language transmission. It presents the key themes from the macrosystem; influence of a majority society and influence of formal educational settings, on the Korean language transmission to provide answers to Research Question 3. The list of the key themes from the macrosystem is presented in Figure 8.4.

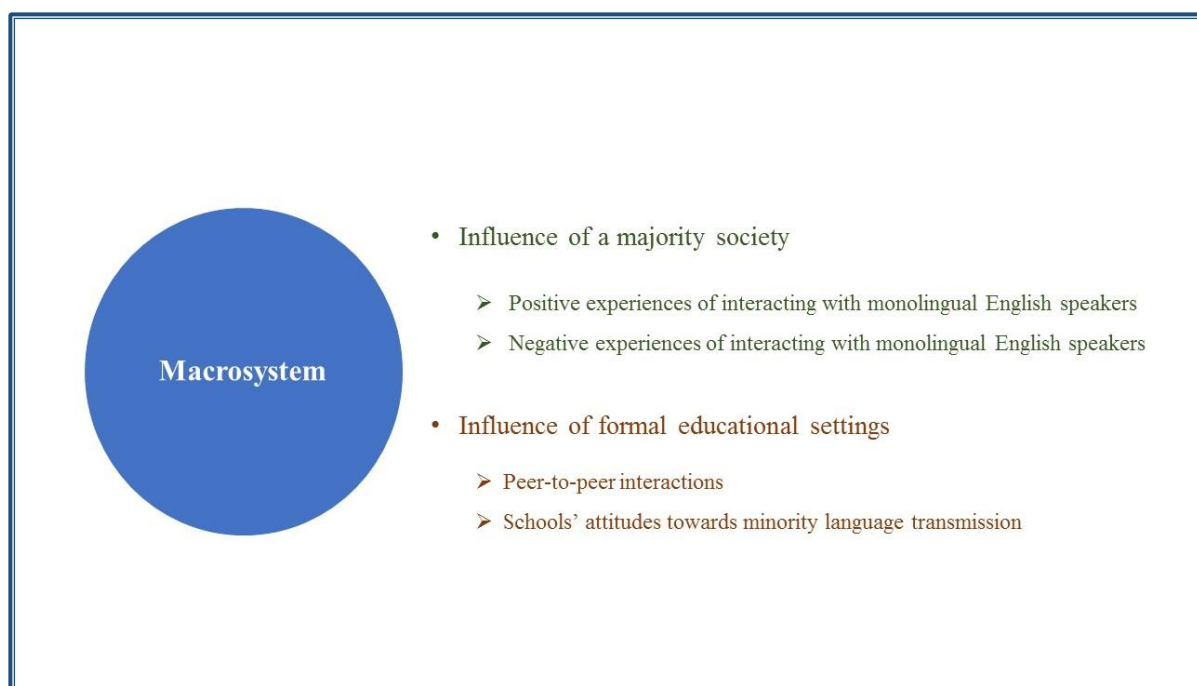


Figure 8.4. Summary of findings from the macrosystem.

8.4.1. Influence of a majority society on minority language transmission

Previous research suggested that New Zealand is a monolingual-focused country (Berardi-Wiltshire, 2018; Cunningham & King, 2018; J. King & Cunningham, 2016; Kitchen, 2014b; May, 2012; Starks et al., 2005). Despite both linguistic superdiversity and New Zealanders' positive view of multilingualism, and the New Zealand Government promoting *Biculturalism*; facilitating the use of both English and Te Reo Māori in workplaces, education and general public spaces, the general emphasis is on English language acquisition. English is still the dominant "main language of communication in Aotearoa New Zealand" (Royal Society of New Zealand, 2013, p. 3). Also in New Zealand there is, as yet, no national language policy to support families, communities and educators when interacting with linguistically and culturally diverse people (Berardi-Wiltshire, 2018; Royal Society of New Zealand, 2013). With such emphasis on English, migrants are expected to acquire English to achieve assimilation (Castles, 2000) and better integration into mainstream society even if this comes at the expense of their mother tongue (Office of Ethnic Affairs, 2013). To this end, the children of migrant parents are expected to fully participate in English-medium formal education settings (Kitchen, 2014b). Minority languages are seen as distractions from the main task of becoming proficient in English (Office of Ethnic Affairs, 2013). Such messages may encourage migrant families to

perceive home-cultural aspects as *inferior*, unnecessary, and host-cultural aspects as *superior*, complementary (Barker, 2015), and result in only focusing on English language acquisition. Spoonley (2014) explained that this focus enables the general public to emphasise integration and social cohesion and that, in turn, this emphasis may create feelings of anxiety and hostility towards migrants in the wider society.

This may be what is behind the experience reported by several parent participants in the current study (Mothers 1, 3, 9 and 10), where some monolingual-focused New Zealanders had difficulties in interacting with them as minority language speakers. These parents also reported difficulties in interacting with monolingual English speakers in public places (Excerpts 271-278). Mother 9 reported New Zealanders' general expectation about migrants and English language proficiency (Excerpt 271), instead of valuing being bilingual that may bring benefits for society. Child 9 was influenced by his mother, Mother 9. He emphasised English language acquisition as the "top priority" (Excerpt 41) and stated that if migrants were not proficient in English they "will suffer" (Excerpt 103). Mother 3 experienced being excluded when she discovered the mechanic, where she had been for more than 10 years as a regular customer, stood by the other New Zealanders, rather than her (Excerpt 272). Mother 10 reported an experience of racism when working as a preschool teacher (Excerpt 273). A New Zealand child who appeared to be influenced by his parents expressed his feelings of hostility towards migrants at preschool. After having negative experiences, the parent participants focused more on English language acquisition for their New Zealand-born children, but they themselves tended to socialise with other Korean speakers (see Mother 1 in Excerpts 277, 282). Mother 1 reported making an effort to build good relationships with New Zealanders, but came to realise cultural differences, rather than language barriers as hindering integration into mainstream society (Excerpts 275-278). Spoonley (2014) called for government policy focussed on multilingualism and multiculturalism to accommodate superdiverse trends in New Zealand, as well as help monolingual-focused people to understand about multilingualism and multiculturalism.

Researchers have, however, emphasised the importance of multilingualism that brings benefits for New Zealand. Harvey (2015b) stressed the fact that New Zealanders being predominantly monolingual inhibits economic opportunities including; trade, enterprise, education, immigration and social development in a global context. Draper (2018) supported this and explains that being *polyglot* means having more employment opportunities in the competitive

global jobs market. Such emphasis in the global context led some monolingual English speakers in the current study to value multilingual speakers and acknowledge their ability to speak more than one language (Excerpts 262-266). Through positive experiences of interacting with monolingual English speakers, some child participants came to realise the value of being bilingual (Excerpt 266). This encouraged the children to learn more about Korean language and culture. Parents also had the opportunity to learn about New Zealand culture when they sought advice on raising children in New Zealand (Excerpt 269). Unexpected external factors from the majority society, however, may negatively affect minority language transmission. A monolingual English speaker pointed out Mother 3's English language proficiency to the children of Mother 3. This led the children to initiate using English for family conversations at home (Excerpt 270).

Contradictory advice from the government and research creates dilemmas for migrant families and New Zealanders. The Office of Ethnic Affairs (2013) suggested that migrant parents consider speaking English with their children to help them to effectively integrate into the school environment and to achieve highly. Conversely, and perhaps as a reaction to opposition reported in media to the 2013 report, Berardi-Wiltshire (2018) emphasised the importance of the relationship between motivation of heritage language learning and identity development through micro-perspectives, and how such micro-perspectives are influenced by macro-perspectives. A document from the renamed Office of Ethnic Communities (2016) also encouraged migrant families to speak their heritage languages with their children in order to transmit heritage languages across generations, so migrant children learn their heritage language, culture and cultural values, to benefit both heritage communities and mainstream society. Such conflicting messages from government and the prevailing social environment impact on migrant families' language strategies and management.

8.4.2. Influence of formal educational settings on minority language transmission

The lack of a national language policy and minimal information about raising multilingual children (Cunningham & King, 2018) creates some dilemmas for educators when minority language-speaking pupils attend schools. May (2012) suggested that general attitudes towards minority language transmission from mainstream society influences minority language-speaking families and communities in their language choices and practices. Conflicting guidance from government and lack of information about dealing with minority language-

speaking families creates dilemmas for both minority and majority language speakers in New Zealand (Office of Ethnic Affairs, 2013; Office of Ethnic Communities, 2016) where a national language policy has not yet been launched (Royal Society of New Zealand, 2013). This lack of research-informed information (Cunningham & King, 2018) leads some minority language-speaking families in the current study to revise their family language policy and practice in the belief that focusing on the majority language at home helps their children to better integrate into mainstream society (Family 4 in Excerpt 17, 92-93, 95). Not speaking the minority language at home is likely to lead to a language shift in the community (Fillmore, 1991; Fishman, 1991).

A school's attitude towards minority language transmission and having a cultural awareness are seen as an important factor (Kitchen, 2014b; Podmore et al., 2003). Contradictory feedback from teachers may confuse migrant parents about the best language choices for their children. Some mothers (Mothers 4, 7 and 8) in the current study reported conflicting practices in speaking both Korean and English with their children when the children faced a language difficulty at school. In one case, a teacher's cultural awareness supported students' integration into the educational setting (Excerpts 229-230) bringing a positive effect on academic achievement, which is similar to findings in previous research such as Podmore et al. (2003). Positive feedback and attitudes from schools towards raising bilingual children provided reassurance for some migrant parents (Excerpts 227-230). This led the parents to continue implementing their family language choice and practice at home (Mothers 8 and 11). Negative feedback and attitudes may persuade parents to change their family language choice and practice. Children's education is highly prioritised in Korean culture (Chang et al., 2006; Choi, 2015). If parents had negative feedback from a teacher that "your child did not even know a simple word like a pillow /.../ why don't you speak English at home?" (Excerpt 247) Korean parents would immediately choose English as their home language. Educators and stakeholders may not always be aware of the impact of their words for migrant families.

In response to current trends of globalisation, the Ministry of Education (2014) has encouraged secondary school pupils to learn a foreign language, and Korean is offered as an option of foreign language subjects. Some monolingual English-speaking pupils expressed having a difficulty to learn a foreign language at their adolescent (Excerpt 233), but child participants acknowledged simultaneously acquiring two languages at a young age (Excerpt 234), and

realised to have advantages of learning other foreign languages (Excerpt 235). These positive experiences led child participants to feel self-esteem (Excerpts 236-237).

Despite Korean being an NCEA curriculum subject in mainstream schooling, a lack of available resources and teachers led some Korean-speaking pupils to see no need to maintain the language in the school environment (Families 3 and 10 in Excerpts 260-261). This discouraged parent participants (Mothers 3, 7, 8, and 10) from focusing on intergenerational Korean language transmission (Excerpts 258-261). Migrant parents often believe that high English language proficiency is required to create more opportunities for their children to achieve academic success and good employment prospects (Cho, 2015; Kuncha & Bathula, 2004; Nesteruk, 2010). As a result, parents focus more on encouraging their children to master English while, at the same time, stressing the importance of having Korean-speaking friends.

When migrant families send their children to a school that they believe will support minority language transmission they also, perhaps unintentionally, create the conditions that allow for the development of informal networks of minority language speakers within the schools. In line with findings from Kitchen's study (2014b), many of the children in the current study referred to the building of friendships with other Korean-speaking children (Excerpts 205-212) and how that led to an increasing awareness of, and pride in, their Korean identity at a time when they were starting to question where they belonged ethnically and linguistically (Excerpts 50-56). Primary schools neglect of their home language (Excerpts 49-50) is replaced at secondary school by an increased desire to become more proficient in the language and to develop a much deeper appreciation of the culture (Excerpts 50-52 and 61).

Having the same minority language-speaking peers enhances child participants' minority language maintenance outside the home (Willoughby, 2009). Both parent and child participants emphasised that speaking Korean with peers, outside of the home, is an effective influential factor in Korean language transmission. Through these peer interactions, New Zealand-born Koreans become more motivated to learn Korean language and culture (Excerpts 201-204), understand and learn their minority language and cultural values (Excerpts 209-212) and become more proficient in Korean (Excerpts 198-202). This supports findings from previous studies in various contexts (Kuncha & Bathula, 2004; Willoughby, 2009). Kitchen (2014b) found that newly-arrived international students play a key role for the children of Korean migrants in secondary schools to speak current Korean language at school. This supports findings from the current research as participants reported having more opportunities to speak

Korean and share cultural values at secondary schools that attract international students (Excerpts 198-200). Subsequently, New Zealand-born Koreans may be able to build and maintain strong relationships with Korean-speaking peers in formal educational settings (Excerpts 205-212). For this reason, parents often give a lot of consideration to the choice of school for their children, and for migrant parents, one consideration may be access to other speakers of the minority language at school. In the current study, Mother 4 and Children 1, 7 and 12 commented on the advantage of their children having Korean-speaking peers at school (Excerpts 198-203). In contrast to positive outcomes of Korean peer-to-peer interactions at school, some negative outcomes are reported. Older Korean students criticised Child 5's behaviour of using inappropriate honorific forms for conversations (Excerpt 226). This resulted in Child 5 avoiding interacting with Korean peers at school.

The recent popularity of the Korean Wave among secondary school pupils (S. Roberts, 2017; Tokalau, 2017) is seen as a positive factor for child participants in Korean language learning including literacy skills (Section 2.5). Tan (2015) reiterates Poutu's claims (2015) that the use of an indigenous and/or minority language in all social contexts leads youth to have feelings about the *cool* language. Such a positive perception influences youth to become motivated to learn the language in school settings and creates a desire to learn the language through activities (Stewart-Strobelt & Chen, 2003). The increased interest in K-pop and K-dramas led non-Korean peers to ask questions of Korean peers about Korean language (Excerpts 241-242, and 245), and Korean peers saw the need to learn Korean language including literacy to answer the questions (Excerpt 241). Some non-Korean peers desire to learn Korean to understand Korean media content and they attend a Korean school to learn the language (Excerpts 243-244). In this regard, the Korean language has been seen as a 'cool language' in formal educational settings. This leads Koreans to experience general expectations from non-Korean peers about "everyone expects you to know Korean" (Excerpt 238). This made Child 7 regretted not learning Korean at a young age (Excerpts 52, 127-128). Some child participants, (Children 1, 4, 8, 10 and 13) taught Korean language and cultural activities to non-Koreans (Excerpts 240-245) through interactions with non-Korean peers in a school environment. This can be seen as the most powerful factor for child participants in Korean language transmission. Such positive attitudes towards Korean language and culture in a school environment effectively encourage children to learn more about the language and culture when they start developing their linguistic and ethnic identity. This may provide reasons for why Korean teens are the most successful in ITML. Previous research suggested that children of migrant parents reach

complete acquisition of a majority language in their teens and the majority language tends to become a primary language (Montrul, 2013). The recent interest in the Korean Wave has encouraged Korean teens to spontaneously become motivated to learn the language.

In contrast to this positive experience, some child participants (Children 1, 2, 5, 12 and 13) reported having negative experiences when interacting with non-Korean pupils. According to these child participants, due to their ethnic identity, they were rejected within the school community and not acknowledged in their school activities (Excerpts 249-256). In such a school environment, Child 5 took non-Korean peers' expectations about having the ability to speak Korean in a negative way, "mainly because of my appearance, people expect me to speak Korean" (Excerpt 254). This peer-pressure made him feel reluctant to speak Korean in a school environment (Excerpt 257).

8.4.3. Section summary

In the macrosystem, both positive and negative factors are reported. With a top-down approach, due to the lack of having a national language policy in society, New Zealand appears to remain monolingual-focused even though the country has become superdiverse. This still creates confusion for educators, migrant families and minority language-speaking communities in their language choices and practices. Korean language transmission in New Zealand, however, appears to have a positive position in the macrosystem. The current popularity of the Korean Wave at secondary school encourages Korean-speaking students to have positive feelings about the Korean language as a *cool* language and become motivated to learn more about Korean language and culture in addition to feelings of regret from not learning the language earlier.

8.4.4. Answer to Research Question 3

The macrosystem plays both positive and negative roles in minority language transmission. For those who wish to see migrants assimilated, the Korean language is still seen as a negative factor that impedes social cohesion, whereas from a pluralistic approach, minority language transmission is encouraged in the wider social context. The lack of a national language policy and contradictory government messages still create dilemmas for people in New Zealand.

As for the Korean language, it appears to have a good position in mainstream society, as the Korean Wave has influenced media contents and merchandise in New Zealand, especially at secondary schools. In addition, newly-arrived international students enable Korean-speaking students to keep up-to-date with Korean language and culture through interactions in the school environment. This macrosystem factor encouraged New Zealand-born Koreans to become more motivated to learn Korean language and culture.

8.5. Conclusion

The present study started from findings in J. King and Cunningham's study (2016) that Korean teenagers in New Zealand report being successful in speaking their minority language and findings demonstrated the important role in micro-, meso- and macrosystems and inter-relationships between the systems played in Korean language transmission amongst Korean migrant families.

Conflicting messages from parents (microsystem) and school (macrosystem) about Korean language transmission and English language acquisition can be problematic. Despite some parental emphasis that having Korean-speaking peers builds strong relationships through sharing their minority language and culture, other parents prioritise English language acquisition to facilitate academic and career success for their children. This, along with the expected dominance of the majority language (Cunningham, 2011; Fishman, 1991), leads some children to feel more at ease speaking English rather than Korean with each other, and encourages them to have strong relationships with English-speaking peers, a fact that is expected and normal. Fishman's language shift (1991) is normally seen to occur within three generations of migrant families, as English becomes a dominant language for children of migrant parents when attending formal educational settings (Fillmore, 1991). Without the positive influence of Korean-speaking peers at school there are indications that minority language transmission weakens over time. Findings from this study show that New Zealand-born Korean children tend to become majority language speakers as they have more exposure to formal educational systems. Government, mainstream society, and formal educational systems all play a crucial role in minority language transmission. Peer-relationships may promote multilingualism and support language development in the minority language.

Overall, Korean families in the present study demonstrated positive attitudes towards, and strong beliefs about ITML, but this is often affected by macro-level influences. Migrant families tend to change family language policy from monolingual conversation in Korean to dual-linguistic conversations when children find it difficult to learn English at school. The macrosystem significantly impacts on parental decisions (Paat, 2013) about family language policy and practice. Parents in these family groups allowed children to speak English even after overcoming language difficulties. As a result, children from this group reported having limited proficiency in Korean even though they were able to maintain conversation in Korean. In a migrant family's home environment, parents are usually the main source of minority language, but they tend to increase the use of the majority language for family conversations with children (S. Kim & Starks, 2010). Siblings from these families have different Korean language proficiencies, with older children having a higher proficiency than younger children. This results in younger children using English as their dominant language.

The mesosystem plays a very important role in intergenerational Korean language transmission in New Zealand, and is also influenced by the macrosystem. The mesosystem, the wider Korean community, makes connections between the micro- and macrosystems. Several children in the current study value having more opportunities to use Korean in the wider Korean community as well as at home, as this is reported to be the only chance they have to use specific honorific forms. The role of Korean school plays an important role in teaching Korean literacy to both Korean and non-Korean students. This enhances Korean students to develop explicit knowledge (Montrul, 2012, 2013) to make them feel confident in speaking Korean. As for non-Korean students, attending a Korean school helps them to learn the Korean language and culture in order for them to understand popular Korean media content. Attending this Korean school promotes the Korean Wave to non-Korean speakers in mainstream society. In response to the increased Korean Wave, the wider Korean community facilitates Korean cultural festivals including K-pop competitions. With such promotion of Korean language and culture to the majority society, Korean-speaking children become motivated to learn Korean and proud of Korea as a country, rather than being a marginalised country. This results in children developing a sense of belonging to both Korea and New Zealand. This may be an important reason for why Korean teens reported having a high rate of ability to speak Korean in New Zealand. The wider Korean community, however, seems to be in a transitional period of language shift or maintenance within the wider community, and needs to be concerned about their role in Korean language transmission across generations. Korean school needs to facilitate

professional development for teachers to implement current teaching practice in both Korea and New Zealand. Although the wider community effectively promotes Korean language-speaking environments and facilitates cultural events, insensitive criticism on language mistakes and facilitating bilingual support services may result in a language shift.

Findings from this study suggest that although facing some challenges, Korean language transmission in the micro- and mesosystems appears to be sustainable, but not in the macrosystem. Influences from the macrosystem directly affect ITML for individuals, families and the wider Korean language-speaking community.

Schools emphasise the importance of English language acquisition for academic and career success. This results in some parents prioritising high English proficiency for their children to have better career pathways and so they allow their children to speak English at home. As a result, some child participants felt English was their dominant language. In time, the dominance of English may lead to Korean becoming less useful to the community members and eventually ceasing to be spoken and a language shift may take place.

The Korean Wave phenomenon, however, is seen as a powerful factor for New Zealand-born Korean children in formal educational settings. Korean language and media content appear to be seen as a *cool language and culture* at secondary schools. This increased interest has encouraged Korean-speaking children to speak Korean more at home (microsystem) and learn the Korean language (mesosystem). At this stage, newly-arrived international Korean students become good resources for Korean children of migrant parents to learn current Korean language and culture. Since prior New Zealand studies, New Zealand society has become superdiverse, the Asian population has increased and the Korean Wave has become popular internationally. These factors may lead Korean migrant parents in New Zealand to see bilingual benefits that were not previously recognised and encourage children to learn Korean.

To summarise and explore the child participants' ITML in New Zealand, Figure 8.5 provides various indicators in the micro-, meso- and macrosystems and shows the inter-relationships that enhance, or otherwise, have a language shift or require maintaining. It suggests that family language policy is seen as a critical factor in the microsystem as children appear to use English in sibling interactions. In the mesosystem, learning literacy skills at a Korean school is seen as a determinant factor that makes children feel confident about speaking Korean. Having Korean-peers in the macrosystem is crucial in ITML in the wider social context.

Child participants		Phase 1								Phase 2				indicators
Themes		C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	C6	C12	C13	C7	C8	C9	C10	
Micro-level	Policy	K	K	K	K/E	K	K	K	K	K/E	K/E	E	K/E	Exposure to a Korean-speaking environment
	Beliefs													Maintaining family ties & developing Korean identity
	Practice	Parents												Enhancing Korean language proficiency in verbal skills
		Siblings	K/E	K/E	K/E	K/E	No sib	K/E	No sib	No sib	K/E	K/E	No sib	
		Extended family												
Meso-level	Korean school/home													Korean literacy skills
	Korean church													Learning Korean language and cultural values
	Wider Korean community													Enhancing sense of belonging to a minority society
	Visiting Korea													Exposure to a Korean-speaking environment
Macro-level	Korean peers													Sharing Korean language and culture outside of the home
	Positive attitudes by non-Koreans													Enhancing sense of belonging to a majority society
Consequences		C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	N/C	N/C	N/C	N/C	Self-reported confidence
		A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	UA	A	Researcher's observation of the child participants' ability to converse in Korean




(K–Korean, E–English, K/E–Korean and English, No sib–no siblings, C–confident, N/C–not confident, A–able, UA–unable, –present, –not present, –partially present)

Figure 8.5. Overview of presence of various language indicators amongst child participants.

Figure 8.6 is a graphic representation of how the child participants' minority and majority language proficiencies (for their age) vary during their life span.

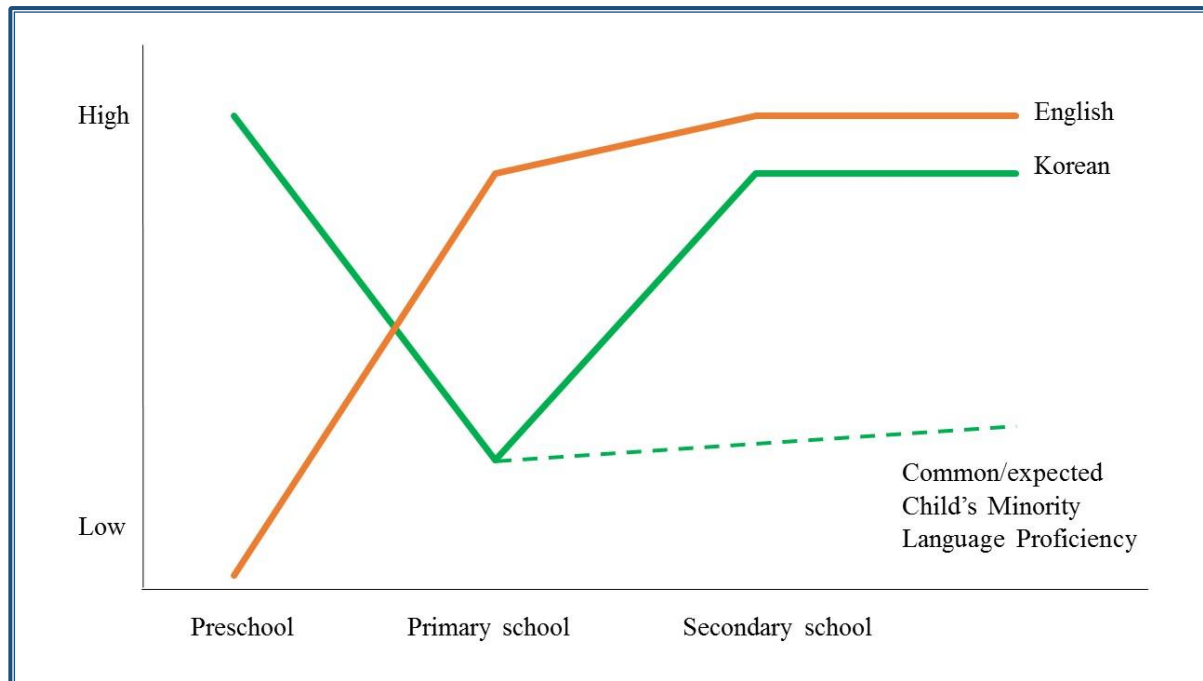


Figure 8.6. Reported longitudinal language proficiencies of child participants.

Findings from the present study suggest that children's Korean and English language proficiency during preschool as well as primary school supports findings from previous research (De Houwer, 2015; Fillmore, 1991). Prior to pre- and/or primary school, because of the microsystem, children are exposed to a Korean-speaking environment at home and their Korean language proficiency appears to be the same as their peer-group in Korea. Once children start pre- and/or primary schools, because of the macrosystem, they focus more on English language acquisition and their Korean language proficiency tends to significantly decrease. This is typical child language development in migrant families. Children's minority language proficiency would decline, be impeded or level off. Therefore, children would become limited- or non-proficient minority language speakers.

The present study, however, discovered that at secondary school at present, there is an unusual reported high level of Korean language proficiency. At secondary school, children of migrant

families often start thinking about who they are and come to realise their ethnic identity and minority language proficiency. Due to the mesosystem, the Saturday Korean community language school and Korean religious communities, Korean children are able to be exposed to Korean-speaking environments outside of the home on a regular basis. In addition, from the macrosystem, the recent popularity of K-pop among young people in New Zealand, Korean being perceived in this group as a cool language and culture and an influx of Korean international students, Korean children are encouraged to speak Korean language in school settings. Such extra circumstances (meso- and macrosystems) outside of the familial environment (microsystem) create a positive input that goes some way to account for the 83% of Korean teens reporting proficiency in Korean in the 2013 census (J. King & Cunningham, 2016)..

Through the application of Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model to this data, findings from this study show a more complex situation for Korean language transmission within Korean migrant communities across generations. Findings from the present study indicate that positive factors in success of intergenerational transmission of Korean language in New Zealand are:

1. At the micro-level, speaking Korean at home as well as continuous input from parents and extended family. This enhances children's verbal skills.
2. At the meso-level, acquiring literacy skills at a minority language school and having exposure to the wider minority language community. This also allows minority language speakers to develop a strong community cohesion and promotes the minority language and culture to a majority society.
3. At the macro-level, perception of the Korean language as a *cool* language, and unusual, but strong reinforcement, at teenage level from *cool* K-pop.

Overall, findings from the present study suggest that the wider Korean community plays a crucial role in transmitting Korean language in New Zealand up to date where it facilitates extensive Korean-speaking environments for Korean migrants, and promotes Korean language and culture to mainstream society.

Although the micro-, meso- and macrosystems bring positive factors, negative factors are also identified which cause a three-generation language shift. The identified negative factors are:

1. At the micro-level, using English as the main tool for conversation in sibling interactions

2. At the meso-level, having intensive prescriptive approaches by adult Koreans and facilitating bilingual support in various circumstances in the wider Korean community
3. At the macro-level, the lack of a national language policy, ill-informed and/or uninformed teaching and advice from educational and health professionals

English appears to be used as a main tool for sibling conversations. Without a national language policy or research-informed advice in what has been called an information desert (Cunningham & King, 2019), if children of migrant parents, the second generation of migrants, feel more at ease speaking English rather than Korean, they may not be able to pass on the Korean language to their children, the third generation. A three-generation language shift may be taking place amongst Korean migrant families and the wider Korean community as there seem to be gaps in beliefs about the language and the conflicting language choices by Korean adults, as well as inappropriate ways of interacting with New Zealand-born Korean children.

It is difficult to totally separate the three systems focussed on in this research, as each of them has implications for the others. But, from listening to the participants' stories, a picture emerges of a connection to both micro- and macro-levels occurring at the meso-level. The micro-level, with its focus on the family unit is the starting point for ITML, but the role of a wider Korean community that has a positive and encouraging attitude towards Korean language transmission is crucial in supporting family endeavours. The wider Korean community, with its formal and informal organisations, is also pivotal in teaching out to society at a macro-level. It is the platform through which to promote Korean language and culture as having potential benefits and advantages for both Korean and non-Korean New Zealanders, and making Korean language and culture more visible in wider New Zealand society. From this, it is hoped that both the participants in this study and others are encouraged to continue with their efforts to maintain the language and culture across generations, defying the three-generation language shift theory.

8.6. Implications

8.6.1. Theoretical implications

From a sociolinguistic perspective intergenerational Korean language transmission in individuals, families, the wider Korean community, and majority society was discussed and examined through the bioecology of human development theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1999).

The data collected has been examined from the perspective of the three systems described by Bronfenbrenner, the micro-, meso-, and macrosystems. In this study the micro system is represented by interactions in family contexts, the mesosystem is represented by interactions in the wider minority language-speaking community, and the macrosystem is represented by interactions in mainstream society. Through the theory, individuals, families and community interactions on a daily basis are examined within the system as well as inter-systems that involve the interplay of individual characteristics, environmental factors and proximal process in the lifespan (Tudge et al., 2009).

Tudge et al. (2016) claimed that when undertaking research on human development, Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory (2001) was useful to employ because of its four basic elements, *Process-Person-Context-Time* (PPCT), that provide a holistic theoretical approach. Paat (2013) in his research on working with migrant family and children agrees with this approach. With this regard, the chosen theoretical framework in this study was an effective tool to holistically view migrant parents and children and their language situations through interactions, and explore and investigate Korean migrant families' language choices, practices and the consequences of these choices and practices in various contexts.

The application of Bronfenbrenner's PPCT model (see Section 3.1.3) in this research enables a focus on the functions of each system as well as inter-system functions in order to analyse the data. To look at a *Process* element, interactions in the three systems, child-parent interaction (microsystem), local Korean community (mesosystem), interactions with mainstream New Zealand society (macrosystem), were compared and contrasted. Child-parent interactions were defined as "the engine of development" (Tudge et al., 2016, p. 428) and that was the proximal *Process* of Korean migrant families in the microsystem in the present study. Participants' beliefs about, practice in, and attitudes towards Korean language and culture are referred to as a *Person* element. Each family shows similar degrees of linguistic beliefs in adopting choices

and practices that result in their children having various levels of Korean language proficiency. Regarding the *Context* element, the present study recruited two groups of participants based on participants' self-reported Korean language proficiency, proficient and non-/limited proficient in Korean. Participants' ethnicity is also a contextual element as this is categorised into two groups: families with two Korean-born Korean-speaking parents and families with one Korean-born Korean-speaking parent and one non-Korean-speaking parent. Examining two or more contextual elements enabled the researcher to gain more insight into the research context (Tudge et al., 2016). In terms of a *Time* element, the collected data looks at child linguistic development from birth to adolescence (the time of the interview), even though it is reported retrospective data, rather than being a longitudinal observational study. This can be seen as a limitation of this research, and will be discussed as such in Section 8.7.

The PPCT model from the Bronfenbrenner's bioecological human development theory (1999) is an appropriate and useful theoretical model to analyse ITML in a majority social context. The present study supports findings from previous research (Anderson et al., 2006; Brooker, 2006; Conteh & Brock, 2011; Creese & Martin, 2003; Fillmore, 1991; Podmore et al., 2003) that the bioecological model is effective to 1) evaluate various social, political and cultural contexts where two different linguistic and cultural settings are the norm, 2) review the role of micro-, meso- and macrosystems and their inter-relationships that influence child learning and development and how they affect Korean migrants in their language choices and practices at home when living in an English-speaking country. Like Smith-Christmas (2016) highlighted, findings from the present study show that the proximal language transmission processes of child-parent interactions are influenced by individual and family dynamics in the microsystem and contextual factors from the meso-, and macrosystem over time. Even though many families in the present study had similar beliefs about Korean language and culture they shaped and implemented different types of family language policy. The familial contexts were also influenced by interactions in both the wider Korean community and a majority society. Depending on a home linguistic environment (the microsystem) and their exposure to a varied range and quality of social interactions outside the home (in the meso- and macrosystems), individuals demonstrated different levels of language proficiency in their minority language (Smith-Christmas, 2016). These factors may not immediately impact on the implementation of family language policy and practices, but migrant families keep negotiating and reviewing their policy and practices based on contextual changes in the lifespan. The bioecological model is

useful to examine functions in both each system and inter-systems and their relationships in ITML.

As is reported in Chapter 5, activities and interactions on a daily basis in a familial context (child-parent, and child-child interactions in the microsystem) directly affect child language development (Macalister & Mirvahedi, 2017). Child-parent interactions play a key role in child language development (De Houwer, 2009; Lightbown & Spada, 2013). In this study, the relationship between the consequences of child-parent interactions and the outcome in terms of the ability of the children to speak Korean is similar to what has been reported in previous studies. The majority of child participants, eleven out of twelve children, were exposed to a Korean-speaking environment from birth. This enabled them as adolescents to verbally communicate in Korean when interacting with other Korean speakers. Although some child participants reported themselves as being limited-proficient Korean speakers, they were actually able to converse in Korean and to maintain family ties with their extended families in Korea through the use of the language. Child-parent interactions in the microsystem appear to strongly influence child language development (Macalister & Mirvahedi, 2017) so family language practices can be seen as a crucial factor (Spolsky, 2012) in minority language transmission in the microsystem.

In the present study the wider Korean community is referred to as the mesosystem where participants are able to interact with co-ethnic peers on a daily basis and encouraged to participate in cultural activities that “promote strong bonds with co-ethnic friends” (Paat, 2013, p. 959). Interactions in the mesosystem reported in Chapter 7 play a crucial role that directly affects intergenerational Korean language transmission of the language in the community environment. Paat argued that the mesosystem plays a bridging role in order for migrants to integrate into mainstream society, and Berardi-Wiltshire (2018) claimed the mesosystem plays a crucial role in minority language education when a lack of support from the macrosystem. In the current study, the wider Korean community supports Korean migrants in settlement issues, shares updated information about socioeconomic matters and promotes Korean language and culture to the majority society. This contributes to fostering multiculturalism in New Zealand and helps Korean migrants and their New Zealand-born children to recognise the value of Korean language and culture in New Zealand society.

The macrosystem is concerned with distal processes, but significantly influences other inner systems on parenting in a social context (Paat, 2013). The role of a host country is seen as an

important factor in research on immigrants as it impacts on their decisions about assimilation, acculturation or the maintenance of heritage culture (Barker, 2015). In this regard, migrant parents seem to negotiate and make changes of strategies and choices of language and culture as they negotiate their position raising children in a host society. Regarding the current study, these interactions were reported in Chapter 7.

Previous studies (Paat, 2013; Tudge, 2017; Tudge et al., 2009; Tudge et al., 2016) and findings from the present study demonstrate the use of Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory as a useful tool to explore and understand Korean migrant families and their ITML in New Zealand. In the following sections, the findings from the present study which were reported in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 will be considered through the inter-relationship perspectives of the micro-, meso-, and macrosystems introduced in Bronfenbrenner's bioecological framework.

8.6.2. Practical implications

Participating in the present study enabled many Korean migrants, not only participants in this study, but also their family, friends and relatives, to reflect on transmitting Korean language across generations. Many participants expressed that it was a thought-provoking experience (see Appendix 18). The researcher had the opportunity to meet with some of the participants and their acquaintances in various contexts after data collection. It appeared that on joining this study, many participants had reflected on language beliefs, policy and practices and begun to talk more about language transmission in family interactions across generations.

Positive familial and societal attitudes towards minority language transmission that enhance harmonious bilingual development can be fostered by collaboration with migrant parents, educators and all other relevant stakeholders (De Houwer, 2009). This contributes to minority language-speaking children's language development and well-being, minority language-speaking communities' well-being and majority society's well-being.

Previous research on the Korean language situation in New Zealand indicated a possible sign of a language shift occurring within Korean communities (Johri, 1998; J. Kim & Starks, 2005; S. Kim & Starks, 2010; S. Park, 2000; Yun, 2015). J. Kim and Starks (2005) identified a lack of research on language shift and/or maintenance of migrant families, and still, more than a decade later, a lack of research with a focus on migrant families and their minority language transmission and maintenance across generations in New Zealand, was identified (J. King &

Cunningham, 2016). Language ideologies and experiences of majority country-born children of migrant parents have also largely been ignored (Smith-Christmas, 2017). The present study investigated and explored these gaps in New Zealand-born child participants and their parents' language ideologies and experiences in intergenerational transmission of the Korean language in New Zealand.

The present study has implications for providing empirical, rich and more nuanced data than interviewing either parents or teenagers of migrant families independently. There have been few studies which have used this approach. Bernard Spolsky (personal conversation at the Sociolinguistic Symposium 22, 28 June 2018, Auckland) emphasised the importance of exploring the experiences and stories of the teenage children of migrants rather than collecting data from migrant parents. Spolsky earlier argued that “language practice, beliefs and management are not necessarily congruent” (2004, p. 217) and asked the researcher about gaps or differences between parent and child participants' interviews. The present study was able to cross-examine family language policy and practice within and between Korean migrant families, and contribute to understanding the second generation of Korean migrants about their experience and feelings about ITML. With Korean teenagers being the most successful group in ITML, it is imperative to map their journey.

K. King (2016) highlighted the importance of documenting how minority language-speaking families shape and revise family language policy, and how this impacts on child language development, as well as language shift and maintenance. She called for research in a natural environment that would entail more “cross- and multi-context work” in the linguistic environment of the family (p. 732). The current study is a contribution to this effort. As the present study is part of a larger umbrella research project of ITML, findings from this study along with findings from different contexts within the umbrella research have been documented and published in various academic fields including the *Growing up with two languages* website³⁶. The research team also facilitated workshops and seminars for migrant families, educators and ethnic communities to disseminate findings from the research (Cunningham & King, 2019). The present study also has implications at the macro-level relating to the need for a national language policy and consequential research-informed interventions to green the information desert.

³⁶ Growing up with two language website is <http://twolanguages.canterbury.ac.nz/>

8.7. Limitations

Like any study, the present study has limitations. First, as a researcher, I am an insider in the community under investigation. This is discussed in some detail in Chapter 4, but it should be noted that this fact simultaneously facilitated data collection and affected the data that could be obtained. One main factor is the influence of Korean cultural roles between myself as researcher and the participants, in terms of modesty when talking about one's achievements, the wish to behave within the cultural norm, being polite and saving face, (one's own or one's interlocutor's) and the genuine desire to talk about a matter close to all parties.

This qualitative interview study is based on participants' reported data that may not accurately reflect their actual practices and beliefs about language and culture or accuracy in estimating language proficiency. When considering child participants' Korean language proficiency, for example, child participants who reported as being limited or non-speakers of Korean, but conversation revealed that they were able to communicate in Korean. Obtaining accurate language proficiency data for both majority and minority languages on a timeline would be beneficial for supporting the present study.

Child and parent participants were asked to reflect on the past, recalling the history of the child's language development in English and Korean. Undertaking a longitudinal study would provide data on the child language development of migrant families at each stage (K. King, 2016; Smith-Christmas, 2017). The present study recruited adolescents and their parents. It would be beneficial to collect data respectively from children and parents at early childhood education, primary, secondary and adult (post-adolescence) so research questions could be outlined along a timeline (Tudge et al., 2009) in order to accurately review the process-person-context-time model (Bronfenbrenner, 1999; Tudge et al., 2009; Tudge et al., 2016). Doing this may effectively and critically examine intergenerational language maintenance or shift in migrant communities in a wider life spectrum using the bioecology of human development theory (see Oriyama, 2016). Unfortunately, the current study needed to be completed in a shorter timeframe. Due to the high rates of ITML in Korean, recruitment for the limited or non-proficient Korean-speaking group proved difficult. The present study recruited three families in an OPOL group where both parents spoke different mother tongues. Among the three families, their familial linguistic contexts were different from each other. Further research with

greater number of participants would contribute to finding effective factors in implementing an OPOL policy.

A previous study suggested that research needs to take into account not only “developing child and evolving nature of family dynamics but also language learning and academic outcomes among children” (K. King, 2016, p. 732). Participants in the present study were asked about their language proficiency in both minority and majority languages and children were asked in general terms about their school achievement, particularly in English. Child participants appeared to under-report their Korean language proficiency, and accurately report their school achievement. In this regard, and taking in mind K. King’s suggestion, it would be valuable to have obtained accurate data about participants’ language proficiency and school achievement which would in a much larger study have made possible an analysis of the relationships between minority language proficiency and school achievement.

As Talmy (2011) and Mann (2011) suggested, interviews need to be regarded as social practice rather than an instrument of collecting data in research. In the present study many participants reflected on how this experience of participating in the research led them to think more about their language situations and environments. It would have been beneficial to carry out interviews with all family members including those who did not take part. By doing this, the present study would be able to look at the wider family dynamics (K. King, 2016) in Korean migrant families in New Zealand. The reluctance of the children’s fathers to participate in the study is a reflection of gendered parenting roles in Korean culture, and research is, naturally, constrained by the need to obtain the informed consent of participants.

8.8. [Directions for future research](#)

Previous studies identify that there is lack of longitudinal research with a focus on family language policy and practices in heritage language maintenance (K. King, 2016; Smith-Christmas, 2017). Many participants in this study report that participating in this research was a thought-provoking experience. It would be interesting to follow up this research in order to review how the present study may have affected Korean migrant families in their language choices and practices in the micro-, meso- and macrosystems.

Future research can then follow up the suggestion that language shift is beginning in the community within Korean migrant families in New Zealand on the basis of Fishman's three-generation theory (1991), to see to what extent New Zealand-born Koreans maintain their minority language and transmit or otherwise Korean to their children.

The present study identifies the important role the wider Korean community, the mesosystem, plays in ITML. Future research needs to focus more on the wider Korean community, with interviews with various community leaders and observations at different organisations. Doing this it is hoped will encourage and support other minority language communities in fostering minority language-speaking environments that could contribute to multiculturalism, pluralism (Castles, 2000), and multilingualism in New Zealand.

8.9. Epilogue

Continuing from the prologue, although he was able to read and write in Korean, my older son who disagreed with our family language policy and practice, tried not to speak Korean at home (at micro-level), was unwilling to interact with other Koreans outside of the home (at meso-level). He refused a Korean identity, and always identified as a New Zealander until he was at secondary school. In his late teens, when he was away from home, he experienced an identity crisis. Despite his self-identity as a New Zealander, others identified him as Korean, or Asian, when he started university. He came to realise that his identity could be ascribed and formed by others (at macro-level). This led him to feel that he did not belong to either New Zealand or Korea. Eventually he decided to go to Korea to understand who he was and where he was from, and to learn about the Korean language and culture. He met with his extended family and visited a village in Korea where the majority of his paternal relatives lived. Through this visit to Korea and linguistic and cultural interactions with Korea-based relatives he reflected on his identity, culture and language (at meso-level). He came to realise that his ability to speak Korean enabled him to understand conversations with relatives and learn about the culture that enabled him to maintain family ties. When he came back home from visiting to Korea he said:

“Mum, I came to realise that I had an ability to understand Korean language when I was in Korea.”

Since then he tried to speak more Korean and use some Korean words when texting. He appeared to develop a sense of belonging to both Korea and New Zealand.

My experience of home language choices, practices and experience with my children led me to undertake the present study. The lack of information about the value of raising children bilingually or otherwise and how to go about it, and conflicting messages from the government (macro-level) create confusion for migrant families (micro-level) and migrant communities (meso-level), including my family, in New Zealand. Now I feel confident that I did the right thing in raising my children as bilingual speakers of Korean and English in an English-speaking country. Now I reflected that my older son was able to maintain his Korean language proficiency because I did not give up speaking Korean at home. I would like to encourage all minority language-speaking parents to speak their language with their children as early and much as possible. Children may not appreciate this effort when they are young, but will be very grateful to have been raised as a bi-/multilingual speaker.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1. Ethics application approval for proficient Korean-speaking family



HUMAN ETHICS COMMITTEE

Secretary, Lynda Griffioen
Email: human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz

Ref: HEC 2015/15

26 February 2015

Una Cunningham
School of Teacher Education
UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY

Dear Una

The Human Ethics Committee advises that your research proposal "Intergenerational language transmission in New Zealand" has been considered and approved.

Please note that this approval is subject to the incorporation of the amendments you have provided in your email of 25 February 2015.

Best wishes for your project.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'L. MacDonald'.

Lindsey MacDonald
Chair
University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee



Intergenerational language transmission in New Zealand

Information sheet - parents

You are invited to participate as a subject in the research project *Intergenerational language transmission in New Zealand*. The aim of this project is to investigate aspects of raising children bilingually as speakers of a minority language and English. A key intention is to give prospective parents supportive information to help them raise their children as speakers of their heritage language.

Your involvement in this project will involve an interview approximately 45 minutes to one hour long. This interview will be audio recorded. During the interview you will be asked questions about your experience raising your child as a speaker of your community language in New Zealand. The results of the project may be published, but we will not tell anyone your name.

We will also ask you if you are willing to allow us to invite your teenager to be interviewed about their experiences being raised bilingually. We will make sure that your names and details will only be known to the researchers and any identifying material will be kept securely. However, you will be invited to allow parts of your recording to be used on a website. You will also be invited to allow parts of your recording to be held in the archives of NZILBB and be made available to other researchers and that excerpts may be used for other purposes such as teaching and conference presentations. If you agree to any of these requests you need to be aware that there is a possibility that your voice or what you say may be recognised by members of your community. We will let you listen to the snippets we want to use so you can decide whether you will give permission for your recording to be used in any of these ways.

You have the right to withdraw from the project at any time, including withdrawal of any information provided. If you wish, you can also review a transcript of your interview. If you give us an address, we will send you a summary of our findings when our study is complete.

The project is being carried out under the supervision of Associate Professor Una Cunningham, who can be contacted at (03) 364-2987, extn. 44192 or via e-mail at una.cunningham@canterbury.ac.nz. She will be pleased to discuss any concerns you may have about participation in the project.

This project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee, and participants should address any complaints to The Chair, Human Ethics Committee, University of Canterbury, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch (human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz).



(뉴질랜드 두뇌 행동 및 언어 학회)



뉴질랜드 내 차세대 모국어 전수

연구 프로젝트 관련 안내문 - 학부모님용

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귀하께서는 제공해 주신 정보를 포함, 언제라도 이 프로젝트 참여에서 철회하실 수 있는 권리가 있습니다. 또한 귀하께서 원하신다면 인터뷰 기록을 검토하실 수 있습니다. 또한 거주지 주소를 알려 주시면 이 연구가 끝나고 연구결과 요약문을 보내드리겠습니다.

이 프로젝트는 캔터베리대학 조교수 우나 커닝햄 (Una Cunningham)의 지도 아래 수행되고 있으며 문의사항이 있으실 경우 전화 (03) 364-2987, 구내번호 44192 또는 이메일 주소 una.cunningham@canterbury.ac.nz 로 연락하실 수 있습니다. 프로젝트 참여 관련 어떠한 문의사항도 기쁘게 답변해 드리겠습니다.

이 프로젝트는 캔터베리대학 인권 윤리 위원회의 검토 및 승인 하에 실시되고 있으며, 연구 참여자께서는 어떠한 사항이라도 인권 윤리 위원회 위원장, 주소: The Chair, Human Ethics Committee, University of Canterbury, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch (이메일: human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz) 으로 직접 의의를 제기하실 수 있습니다.

APPENDIX 4. Information sheet for child participant in English



Intergenerational language transmission in New Zealand

Information sheet - young adults

You are invited to participate as a subject in the research project *Intergenerational language transmission in New Zealand*. Your parent(s) will also be asked to take part in this research,

The aim of this project is to investigate aspects of raising children bilingually as speakers of a minority language and English. A key intention is to give prospective parents supportive information to help them raise their children.

Your involvement in this project will involve an interview approximately 30 to 45 minutes long. This interview will be audio recorded. During the interview you will be asked questions about your experience growing up as a speaker of your community language in New Zealand. The results of the project may be published, but we will not tell anyone your name. We will make sure that your name and details will only be known to the researchers and any identifying material will be kept securely.

However, you will be invited to allow parts of your recording to be used on a website. You will also be invited to allow parts of your recording to be held in the archives of NZILBB and be made available to other researchers and that excerpts may be used for other purposes such as teaching and conference presentations. If you agree to any of these requests you need to be aware that there is a possibility that your voice or what you say may be recognised by members of your community. We will let you listen to the snippets we want to use so you can decide whether you will give permission for your recording to be used in any of these ways. You have the right to withdraw from the project at any time, including withdrawal of any information provided. If you wish, you can also review a transcript of your interview. If you give us an address, we will send you a summary of our findings when our study is complete.

The project is being carried out under the supervision of Associate Professor Una Cunningham, who can be contacted at (03) 364-2987, extn. 44192 or via e-mail on una.cunningham@canterbury.ac.nz. She will be pleased to discuss any concerns you may have about participation in the project.

This project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee, and participants should address any complaints to The Chair, Human Ethics Committee, University of Canterbury, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch (human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz).

APPENDIX 5. Information sheet for child participant in Korean



Te Kāhui Roro Reo • New Zealand Institute of
Language Brain & Behaviour

(뉴질랜드 두뇌 행동 및 언어 학회)



뉴질랜드 내 차세대 모국어 전수

리서치 프로젝트 관련 안내문 - 청소년용

여러분은 뉴질랜드 내 차세대 한국어 전수 프로젝트 리서치에 참가자로 초대 되었습니다. 여러분의 부모님(들)께서도 이 프로젝트 참가에 초대되실 것입니다.

이 프로젝트의 목적은 아이들을 영어와 한국어 두 가지를 말할 수 있도록 기르는 측면에 관한 리서치입니다. 가장 핵심적인 목표는 예비 부모님들께 아이들을 기르는데 도움이 되는 정보를 드리는 것입니다.

여러분의 참여는 약 30 분에서 45 분정도 진행되는 인터뷰를 하는 것입니다. 이 인터뷰는 녹음될 것입니다. 인터뷰는 여러분이 뉴질랜드에서 자라는 동안 한국어를 하는 사람으로 자란 경험에 대한 내용입니다. 이 프로젝트의 결과는 발표될 수 있으나 여러분의 이름은 비밀보장이 될 것입니다. 저희는 여러분의 이름과 관련 정보를 리서치 담당자들만 관리하며 안전한 곳에 보관할 것을 약속합니다.

그리고 녹음된 인터뷰 내용 일부분이 저희 웹사이트에 사용될 수 있도록 허락해 주기를 부탁드립니다. 동시에 녹음된 내용의 일부분이 NZILBB 자료실에 보관되고 다른 리서치 및 교육 또는 컨퍼런스 발표 목적으로 쓰일 수 있도록 허락해 주기를 부탁드립니다. 허락할 경우 여러분의 목소리나 말을 커뮤니티 내 다른 사람이 알 수 있는 가능성이 있음을 이해하기 바랍니다. 저희는 이런 목적으로 쓸 녹음 내용의 일부분을 여러분이 들어볼 수 있게 하여 허락할지 결정할 수 있도록 할 것입니다. 여러분은 여러분과 관련된 정보를 포함하여 이 프로젝트 참여에서 언제든지 그만둘 수 있는 권리가 있습니다. 또 여러분이 원하면 인터뷰 기록을 다시 볼 수 있습니다. 그리고 집 주소를 알려 주면 이 연구가 끝나고 리서치 요약문을 보내드리겠습니다.

이 프로젝트는 캔터베리대학 조교수 우나 커닝햄(Una Cunningham)의 지도 아래 진행되고 있으며 다음의 전화번호 (03) 364-2987, 구내번호 44192 또는 이메일 주소 una.cunningham@canterbury.ac.nz 로 연락할 수 있습니다. 프로젝트 참여 관련 어떤 질문도 기쁘게 대답해 드릴 것입니다.

이 프로젝트는 캔터베리대학 인권 윤리 위원회의 검토 및 승인 하에 실시되고 있으며, 연구 참여자께서는 어떠한 사항이라도 인권 윤리 위원회 위원장, 주소: The Chair, Human Ethics Committee, University of Canterbury, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch (이메일: human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz) 으로 직접 컴플레인을 제기하실 수 있습니다.

APPENDIX 6. Ethics application approval for limited-proficient Korean-speaking family



HUMAN ETHICS COMMITTEE

Secretary, Lynda Griffioen
Email: human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz

Ref: HEC 2015/15

2 November 2015

Una Cunningham
School of Teacher Education
UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY

Dear Una

Thank you for your request for an amendment to your research proposal "Intergenerational language transmission in New Zealand" as outlined in your email dated 19 October 2015.

I am pleased to advise that this request has been considered and approved by the Human Ethics Committee.

Please note that this approval is subject to the incorporation of the amendments you have provided in your email dated 27 October 2015.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'L. MacDonald'.

Lindsey MacDonald
Chair, Human Ethics Committee

APPENDIX 7. Information sheet for parent participants in English



Te Kāhui Roro Reo • New Zealand Institute of
Language Brain & Behaviour



Intergenerational language transmission in New Zealand

Information sheet - parents

You are invited to participate as a subject in the research project *Intergenerational language transmission in New Zealand*. The aim of this project is to investigate aspects of raising children from a bilingual environment as primarily English language speakers. A key intention is to give prospective parents supportive information about language choices and practices to help them raise their children.

Your involvement in this project will involve an interview approximately 45 minutes to one hour long. This interview will be audio recorded. During the interview you will be asked questions about your language choices and practices when raising your child in New Zealand. The results of the project may be published, but will be anonymous.

We will also ask you if you are willing to allow us to invite your teenager to be interviewed about their experiences being raised primarily as an English language speaker in a potentially bi- or multilingual environment. We will make sure that your names and details will only be known to the researchers and any identifying material will be kept securely. However, you will be invited to allow parts of your recording to be used on a website. You will also be invited to allow parts of your recording to be held in the archives of NZILBB and be made available to other researchers and that excerpts may be used for other purposes such as teaching and conference presentations. If you agree to any of these requests you need to be aware that there is a possibility that your voice or what you say may be recognised by members of your community. We will let you listen to the snippets we want to use so you can decide whether you will give permission for your recording to be used in any of these ways.

You have the right to withdraw from the project at any time, including withdrawal of any information provided. If you wish, you can also review a transcript of your interview. If you give us an address, we will send you a summary of our findings when our study is complete.

The project is being carried out under the supervision of Associate Professor Una Cunningham, who can be contacted at (03) 364-2987, extn. 44192 or via e-mail at una.cunningham@canterbury.ac.nz. She will be pleased to discuss any concerns you may have about participation in the project.

This project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee, and participants should address any complaints to The Chair, Human Ethics Committee, University of Canterbury, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch (human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz).



Te Kāhui Roro Reo • New Zealand Institute of
Language Brain & Behaviour

(뉴질랜드 두뇌 행동 및 언어 학회)



뉴질랜드 내 차세대 모국어 전수

연구 프로젝트 관련 안내문 - 학부모님용

귀하께서는 뉴질랜드 내 차세대 모국어 전수 프로젝트 연구에 참가자로 초대 되었습니다. 이 프로젝트의 목적은 두 가지 언어를 사용할 수 있는 가정환경 내에서 자녀들이 영어를 주로 구사하도록 키운 측면에 관한 연구 조사입니다. 가장 핵심적인 목표는 예비 부모님들께 자녀를 양육하는데 도움이 되는 가족 내 언어 선택 및 실천에 관한 정보를 드리고자 합니다.

귀하의 참여는 대략 45분에서 1시간 가량 진행되는 인터뷰를 하시는 것입니다. 이 인터뷰는 녹음될 것입니다. 인터뷰가 진행되는 동안 뉴질랜드에서 자녀를 양육하시는 동안 귀하의 가족 내 언어 선택 및 실천과 관련된 경험에 대한 질문을 드릴 것입니다. 이 프로젝트의 결과는 발표될 수도 있으나 귀하의 이름은 비밀보장이 될 것입니다.

아울러, 저희는 귀하의 자녀가 2개 국어를 구사할 수 있도록 성장한 경험에 대한 인터뷰를 할 수 있도록 허락해 주실 것을 부탁드립니다. 저희는 귀하의 이름과 제공해 주신 정보를 프로젝트 담당자들만 열람할 수 있도록 하며 신상정보 관련 자료를 철저히 보안 유지할 것을 약속 드립니다. 또한 녹취록의 일부분이 저희 웹사이트에 게재될 수 있도록 허가해 주시기를 부탁드립니다. 동시에 녹취록의 일부분이 NZILBB 학회 자료실에 보관되고 다른 연구조사 및 교육 또는 학회 발표 목적 용도로 쓰일 수 있도록 허가해 주시기를 부탁드립니다. 허가하실 경우 귀하의 목소리나 귀하께서 하신 말씀을 지역사회 다른 구성원이 인식할 수 있는 가능성이 있음을 인지하시기 바랍니다. 저희는 교육 목적으로 쓰일 녹취록 부분을 귀하께서 들어보시고 동의 여부를 결정하실 수 있도록 할 것입니다.

귀하께서는 제공해 주신 정보를 포함, 언제라도 이 프로젝트 참여에서 철회하실 수 있는 권리가 있습니다. 또한 귀하께서 원하신다면 인터뷰 기록을 검토하실 수 있습니다. 또한 거주지 주소를 알려 주시면 이 연구가 끝나고 연구결과 요약문을 보내드리겠습니다.

이 프로젝트는 캔터베리대학 조교수 우나 커닝햄 (Una Cunningham)의 지도 아래 수행되고 있으며 문의사항이 있으실 경우 전화 (03) 364-2987, 구내번호 44192 또는 이메일 주소 una.cunningham@canterbury.ac.nz 로 연락하실 수 있습니다. 프로젝트 참여 관련 어떠한 문의사항도 기쁘게 답변해 드리겠습니다.

이 프로젝트는 캔터베리대학 인권 윤리 위원회의 검토 및 승인하에 실시되고 있으며, 연구 참여자께서는 어떠한 사항이라도 인권 윤리 위원회 위원장, 주소: The Chair, Human Ethics Committee, University of Canterbury, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch (이메일: human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz) 으로 직접 의의를 제기하실 수 있습니다.



Intergenerational language transmission in New Zealand

Information sheet - young adults

You are invited to participate as a subject in the research project *Intergenerational language transmission in New Zealand*. Your parent(s) will also be asked to take part in this research,

The aim of this project is to investigate aspects of immigrant families' attitudes and beliefs about raising children as either monolingual or bilingual. A key intention is to give prospective parents supportive information about language choices and practices to help them raise their children.

Your involvement in this project will involve an interview approximately 30 to 45 minutes long. This interview will be audio recorded. During the interview you will be asked questions about your experience growing up primarily as an English language speaker in a potentially bi- or multilingual environment in New Zealand. The results of the project may be published, but we will not tell anyone your name. We will make sure that your name and details will only be known to the researchers and any identifying material will be kept securely.

However, you will be invited to allow parts of your recording to be used on a website. You will also be invited to allow parts of your recording to be held in the archives of NZILBB and be made available to other researchers and that excerpts may be used for other purposes such as teaching and conference presentations. If you agree to any of these requests you need to be aware that there is a possibility that your voice or what you say may be recognised by members of your community. We will let you listen to the snippets we want to use so you can decide whether you will give permission for your recording to be used in any of these ways. You have the right to withdraw from the project at any time, including withdrawal of any information provided. If you wish, you can also review a transcript of your interview. If you give us an address, we will send you a summary of our findings when our study is complete.

The project is being carried out under the supervision of Associate Professor Una Cunningham, who can be contacted at (03) 364-2987, extn. 44192 or via e-mail on una.cunningham@canterbury.ac.nz. She will be pleased to discuss any concerns you may have about participation in the project.

This project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee, and participants should address any complaints to The Chair, Human Ethics Committee, University of Canterbury, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch (human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz).

APPENDIX 10. Consent form for parent participants in English



Intergenerational language transmission in New Zealand

PARENT CONSENT FORM

I have read and understood the description of the above-named project. On this basis I agree to participate in the project, and I consent to publication of the results of this project with the understanding that you will not tell anyone my name. I understand also that I may at any time withdraw from the project, including withdrawal of any information that I have provided. I also understand that I may choose to review a transcript of the interview/s. The project has been reviewed and approved by UC Human Ethics Committee.

NAME (please print):

ADDRESS or EMAIL

Signature:

Date:

As part of the research project we are compiling online resources to support parents who wish to raise their children as speakers of their community languages. Accordingly, we would like to ask you whether you would agree to have your recordings used online. If you agree to this you need to be aware that although we will give you a codename (for example, participant 12) it is possible your voice may be recognised by members of your community. We will give you the opportunity to hear and approve the audio clips we want to use.

I agree that parts of the audio recording of the interview with me be:

1. Used in an online resource to support parents raising their children as speakers of their community languages
2. Shown to students enrolled in a university class or a professional audience at a conference
3. Used as part of other research work by this research team.

yes	no
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
yes	no
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
yes	no
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

In addition to the current research project, we are compiling a database of audio-recordings for use in research and teaching at the New Zealand Institute of Language, Brain and Behaviour (NZILBB). Accordingly we would like to ask you whether we might use your recordings in the future, as detailed below. Please put a tick in the appropriate box if you are happy for your recordings to be used for any or all of the following purposes.

- | | yes | no |
|---|-----|----|
| 4. I agree that the audio recording of the interview with me and accompanying material be held in the Institute archives and be made available to researchers for future language research projects approved by the NZILBB management group and the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee | | |

I am the parent/legal guardian of

NAME OF CHILD (please print):

- | | yes | no |
|---|-----|----|
| 5. I give consent to my child participating in the project. I consent to publication of the results of this project with the understanding that we will not tell anyone my child's name. I understand also that my child may at any time withdraw from the project, including withdrawal of any information that my child has provided. I also understand that my child may choose to review a transcript of the interview/s. | | |

I agree that parts of the audio recording of the interview with my child be:

- | | yes | no |
|--|-----|----|
| 6. Used in an online resource to support parents raising their children as speakers of their community languages | | |
| 7. Shown to students enrolled in a university class or a professional audience at a conference | | |
| 8. Used as part of other research work by this research team. | | |

We would also like to ask you whether we might use your child's recordings in the future, as detailed below.

I agree that the audio recording of the interview with my child and accompanying material be:

- | | yes | no |
|--|-----|----|
| 9. Held in the Institute archives and be made available to researchers for future language research projects approved by the NZILBB management group and the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee | | |

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아울러 이 연구 프로젝트 관련, 저희는 뉴질랜드 두뇌 행동 및 언어학회(NZILBB)의 연구 및 교육 목적을 위한 녹취록 자료은행 시스템을 구축할 것입니다. 따라서 저희는 귀하께 향후 귀하의 녹취록을 아래에 명시된 목적에 근거하여 사용되어질 가능성이 있음을 알려드리며 그에 대한 동의 여부를 여쭙고자 합니다. 귀하의 녹취록 일부 또는 전부를 다음과 같은 목적에 의해 사용되어짐에 동의하실 경우 알맞은 칸에 표시하여 주시기 바랍니다.

4. 나는 인터뷰 녹취록 및 그와 관련된 모든 자료들이 학회 자료실에 보관되며 향후 NZILBB 운영 위원회와 캔터베리대학 인권 윤리 위원회의 승인을 받은 언어학 관련 연구 프로젝트에 사용되어질 수 있음에 동의합니다.
- | 예 | 아니오 |
|---|-----|
| | |

나는 아래에 명시된 청소년의 부모/법적 보호자입니다.

자녀 성함 (please print):

5. 나는 내 자녀의 연구 프로젝트 참여에 동의합니다. 나는 연구 결과의 발표에 있어 내 자녀의 실명을 거론하지 않는 비밀보장이 유지됨을 이해하며 이에 동의합니다. 또한 내 자녀가 제공하는 모든 정보를 포함하여 언제든지 프로젝트에서 철회할 수 있음을 인지하고 있습니다. 아울러 인터뷰 기록본을 내 자녀가 검토할 수 있음을 압니다.
- | 예 | 아니오 |
|---|-----|
| | |

나는 자녀의 인터뷰 녹취록 일부가 다음의 경우에 사용될 수 있음에 동의합니다:

6. 모국어를 구사할 수 있도록 자녀를 양육하고자 하시는 부모님들을 지원하기 위한 온라인 자료 편찬에 사용
- | 예 | 아니오 |
|---|-----|
| | |
7. 학회 소속 전문인력 또는 전공 관련 대학(원)생 자료 열람
- | 예 | 아니오 |
|---|-----|
| | |
8. 현 연구 프로젝트 팀에 위한 다른 연구 프로젝트의 일환으로 사용
- | 예 | 아니오 |
|---|-----|
| | |

저희는 자녀의 녹취록과 관련하여 향후에 다음과 같은 경우에 사용되어질 수 있음에 대한 동의를 구하고자 합니다.

나는 자녀의 인터뷰 녹취록 및 그에 관련된 자료들의 사용에 동의합니다:

9. 인터뷰 녹취록 및 그와 관련된 모든 자료의 학회 자료실 보관 그리고 향후 NZILBB 운영 위원회와 캔터베리대학 인권 윤리 위원회의 승인을 받은 언어학 관련 연구 프로젝트에 사용
- | 예 | 아니오 |
|---|-----|
| | |

APPENDIX 12. Assent form for child participants in English



Intergenerational language transmission in New Zealand

TEEN ASSENT FORM

I have read and understood the description of the above-named project. On this basis I agree to participate in the project, and I agree to the publication of the results of this project with the understanding that you will not tell anyone my name. I understand also that I may at any time withdraw from the project, including withdrawal of any information that I have provided. I also understand that I may choose to review a transcript of the interview/s. The project has been reviewed and approved by UC Human Ethics Committee.

NAME (please print):

ADDRESS or EMAIL

Signature:

Date:

As part of the research project we are compiling online resources to support parents who wish to raise their children as speakers of their community languages. Accordingly, we would like to ask you whether you would agree to have your recordings used online. If you agree to this you need to be aware that although we will give you a codename (for example, participant 12) it is possible your voice may be recognised by members of your community. We will give you the opportunity to hear and approve the audio clips we want to use.

I agree that parts of the audio recording of the interview with me be:

1. Used in an online resource to support parents raising their children as speakers of their community languages

yes	no
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

2. Shown to students enrolled in a university class or a professional audience at a conference

yes	no
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

3. Used as part of other research work by this research team.

yes	no
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

In addition to the current research project, we are compiling a database of audio-recordings for use in research and teaching at the New Zealand Institute of Language, Brain and Behaviour (NZILBB). Accordingly we would like to ask you whether we might use your recordings in the future, as detailed below. Please put a tick in the appropriate box if you are happy for your recordings to be used for any or all of the following purposes.

4. I agree that the audio recording of the interview with me and accompanying material be held in the Institute archives and be made available to researchers for future language research projects approved by the NZILBB management group and the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee.

yes	no
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



Intergenerational language transmission in New Zealand

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나는 다음과 같은 경우 내 인터뷰 녹음파일의 일부분이 사용되는 것에 동의합니다:

1. 한국어를 말할 수 있는 아이로 키우려는 부모님들을 돕기 위한 온라인 자료 편찬에 사용
2. 학회 소속 전문인력 또는 전공 관련 대학(원)생 자료 열람
3. 현 연구 프로젝트 팀에 의한 다른 연구 프로젝트의 일화으로 사용

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아울러 이 리서치 프로젝트 관련, 저희는 뉴질랜드 두뇌 행동 및 언어학회(NZILBB)의 리서치 및 교육 목적을 위한 녹음파일 데이터 시스템을 만들 것입니다. 따라서 저희는 여러분의 녹음파일이 미래에 다음과 같은 목적으로 사용되어질 가능성이 있음을 알려드리며 그에 대한 동의를 물어보려고 합니다. 여러분의 녹음파일 일부분 또는 전부를 다음과 같은 목적으로 사용하는데 동의할 경우 알맞은 칸에 표시하여 주세요.

4. 나는 인터뷰 녹음파일과 그에 관련된 모든 자료들이 학회 자료실에 보관되며
향후 NZILBB 운영 위원회와 캔터베리대학 인권 윤리 위원회의 승인을 받은
언어학 관련 연구 프로젝트에 사용되어질 수 있음에 동의합니다.

예	아니오

APPENDIX 14. Interview questions for parent participants in the proficient Korean-speaking family group



Interview questions for parents

1. Languages/ dialects acquired over lifetime:
 - a. Name of language/dialects
 - b. How acquire
 - c. Self-assessed level of proficiency
2. Their experiences being a speaker of a minority language in New Zealand
3. Details of child
 - a. Country of birth
 - b. Languages/dialects spoken
 - c. Parents assessment of child's proficiency in those languages
4. Details of decision to raise child as speaker of community language in New Zealand
 - a. Factors/reasons in decision
 - b. Information about experiences with this decision over the child's life, including child's reaction, experiences with other siblings (if applicable), reaction of community and family members, other New Zealanders, anecdotes of experiences
 - c. Support from family and other community members, how important that support has been
 - d. Extent child is exposed to other speakers of community language
 - e. Parents assessment of child's proficiency in community language (reading, writing, listening, speaking)
 - f. Who do you speak the language with and how often (in their family, community members, peers)
 - g. Who does your child speak the language with and how often (in their family, community members, peers)
5. School achievement
 - a. How well do you think your child achieves in English as a school subject?
 - b. Do you think that raising their child as a speaker of their community language has affected the child's schooling? How
 - c. Do you think that if you spoke more English to your child that this would improve your child's ability with English?
6. Advice for new parents, including any regrets, what are the main reasons that people don't raise their children as speakers of minority languages?

APPENDIX 15. Interview questions for child participants in the proficient Korean-speaking family group



Interview questions for young adults

1. Languages/ dialects acquired over lifetime:
 - a. Name of language/dialects
 - b. How acquire
 - c. Self-assessed level of proficiency
2. Details of experience being raised as speaker of community language in New Zealand
 - a. Information about experiences over the child's life, including child's reaction, experiences with other siblings (if applicable), reaction of community and family members, other New Zealanders, anecdotes of experiences
 - b. Who do they speak the language with and how often (in their family, community members, peers)
 - c. Extent child is exposed to other speakers of community language, support from family and other community members, how important that support has been
 - d. Why child thinks parents raised them as a speaker
 - e. Child's assessment of their proficiency in community language (reading, writing, listening, speaking)
3. School achievement
 - a. How well does the interviewee think they achieve in English as a school subject?
 - b. Does the interviewee think that being raised as a speaker of their community language has affected their schooling? How
 - c. Do you think that if you spoke more English that this would improve your ability with English?
4. Advice for new parents, advice for children, any regrets, what are the main reasons that people don't raise their children as speakers of minority languages?

APPENDIX 16. Interview questions for parent participants in the limited-proficient Korean-speaking family group



Interview questions for parents

1. Languages/ dialects acquired over lifetime:
 - a. Name of language/dialects
 - b. How acquire
 - c. Self-assessed level of proficiency
2. Their experiences being a speaker of a minority language in New Zealand
3. Details of child
 - a. Country of birth
 - b. Languages/dialects spoken
 - c. Parents assessment of child's proficiency in those languages
4. Details of experiences to raise a Korean child in New Zealand
 - a. Factors/reasons in decision
 - b. Information about experiences with this decision over the child's life, including child's reaction, experiences with other siblings (if applicable), reaction of community and family members, other New Zealanders, anecdotes of experiences
 - c. Support from family and other community members, how important that support has been
 - d. Extent child is exposed to other speakers of community language
 - e. Parents assessment of child's proficiency in community language (reading, writing, listening, speaking)
 - f. Who do you speak the language with and how often (in their family, community members, peers)
 - g. Who does your child speak the language with and how often (in their family, community members, peers)
5. School achievement
 - a. How well do you think your child achieves in English as a school subject?
 - b. Do you think that raising their child as a primarily English speaker has affected the child's schooling? How
 - c. Do you think that if you spoke more English to your child that this would improve your child's ability with English?
6. Advice for new parents, including any regrets, what are the main reasons that people don't raise their children as speakers of minority languages?

APPENDIX 17. Interview questions for child participants in the limited-proficient Korean-speaking family group



Interview questions for young adults

1. Languages/ dialects acquired over lifetime:
 - a. Name of language/dialects
 - b. How acquire
 - c. Self-assessed level of proficiency
2. Details of experience being raised as a Korean child in New Zealand
 - a. Information about experiences over the child's life, including child's reaction, experiences with other siblings (if applicable), reaction of community and family members, other New Zealanders, anecdotes of experiences
 - b. Who do they speak the language with and how often (in their family, community members, peers)
 - c. Extent child is exposed to other speakers of community language, support from family and other community members, how important that support has been
 - d. Why child thinks parents raised them as a speaker
 - e. Child's assessment of their proficiency in community language (reading, writing, listening, speaking)
3. School achievement
 - a. How well does the interviewee think they achieve in English as a school subject?
 - b. Does the interviewee think that being raised as a speaker of English language has affected their schooling? How
 - c. Do you think that if you spoke more English that this would improve your ability with English?
4. Advice for new parents, advice for children, any regrets, what are the main reasons that people don't raise their children as speakers of minority languages?



Interview questions for parents

Q1. Name of language/dialects for parents

R: 어머니께서 하실 수 있는 언어는 어떤 언어들이 있을까요?

Mother 11: 저는 독일어를 할줄 알고 영어를 할줄 알고 그리고 중국어를 조금 알아요.

R: 와, 그러면 4가지 언어를 하시는 거네요, 그죠?

Mother 11: 그런데, 이제 중국어는 이제 막 시작했기 때문에 그렇게 잘한다고 할 수 없어요.

Q2. How parents acquire

R: 어머니 그러시구나. 그러면 그런 언어들은 어떻게 배우게 되셨습니까?

Mother 11: 독일어 같은 경우에는 전공을 했고 대학교에서 그리고 이제 어학 연수도 받았기 때문에 그런 식으로 배웠고. 그니까 제2 외국어가 어떻게 보면 독일어라고 할 수 있고. 그 다음으로 영어는 학교 과정에서 꼭 배우잖아요. 그래서 문법을 배우다든지 그런 거는 대학교에서 꼭 했었고 그리고 나서 예를 들어서 독일어는 회화를 먼저 하고 나서 그 다음에 영어를 회화를 배운 셈이죠 저 같은 경우에는, 예.

R: 그럼 중국어는 어떻게 공부하시게 되셨어요?

Mother 11: 아, 중국어 같은 경우에는 제가 여행을 가기 전에 한번 중국어를 조금 단기코스 한번 배우고 싶어서 한국에서 도서관에서 하는 단기 코스 좀 배우고 여행 갔다 오고, 그리고 관심이 있어서 지금도 조금씩 조금씩 공부하고 있어요.

R: 언어에 굉장히 좀 재능이 있으신 거 같으세요. 원래 언어를 좀 좋아하셨습니까?

Mother 11: 예, 제가 중학교 때부터 사실 영어가 좋더라고요. 그러니까 영어를 중학교 때부터 배웠거든요, 저 같은 경우에는. 지금은 초등 학교에서도 배우는데. 그때 처음 배울 때 하얀 언어가 좋다는 느낌을 받았어요. 그때부터, 예.

R: 그럼 그런 어떤 관심이 결국은 여기 오셔서 사시게 된 것의 이유도 되는 겁니까?

Mother 11: 꼭 그렇다고는 할 수가 없는 게 사실은 제가 영어 선생님이 되고 싶었는데 어떻게 어떻게 하다 보니까 독일어를 전공하게 됐고 그리고 독일어를 하다 보니까 독일어가 영어하고 조금 비슷한 게 있잖아요. 그러니까 알파벳을 쓴다든지, 그래서 하다 보니까 독일어를 배우게 되고, 이렇게 하다 보니까 외국에 대한 어떤 그런, 뭐라 그래야 되지, 약간 가고 싶고 이런 마음이 많이 들어가지고 독일에도 가게 되고 유럽에도 가게 되고 하다 보니까 또 영국에도 갈 일이 생겼어요 1년 정도. 그래서 영어를 그 때도 조금 배웠고 거기서 어떻게 남편을 만나게 되었어요.



Interview questions for young adults

Q1. Name of language/dialects for child

R: 우리 친구는 어떤 어떤 말을 할 수 있어요?

Child 6: So like how many languages I can speak regardless of if I'm fluent in them?

R: Yeah.

Child 6: Three.

R: Such as?

Child 6: Korean English and Japanese.

Q2. How acquire

R: 그런 언어들을 어떻게 배우게 됐어요?

Child 6: Korean I grew up with through my relatives and my parents teaching me, and English I learnt through school and just living here in New Zealand, and Japanese I learnt through New Zealand school at St. Andrews.

R: Japanese는 언제부터 배우게 됐어요?

Child 6: Year 7.

R: At Intermediate?

Child 6: Yep.

R: 왜 Japanese를 배웠는지 물어봐도 돼요?

Child 6: I was interested in Japanese culture and I felt that Japanese would later benefit me in the future.

R: In what ways?

Child 6: Maybe like if I have to do anything as related to my occupation like talking to other Japanese people maybe.

R: 혹시 Japanese people하고 얘기해 본 적 있어요?

Child 6: Yep I have two Japanese friends at school so I try to talk to them I can understand what they're saying but majority of the time I can sometimes make sentences of what I want to say to them.

R: 학교에서 Japanese friends를 만나면 Japanese를 쓰는 편인가요?

Child 6: Yep.

Q3. Self-assessed level of proficiency

R: 그럼 자기 스스로가 자기의 언어의 ability를 평가한다면 어떤 언어가 제일 편해요, comfortable해요?

Child 6: When I'm talking to other European people who know English I'll speak English to them but majority of the time I'll feel more comfortable speaking English to other Korean people. I only feel comfortable

APPENDIX 20. Feedback from some participants

- “That was such a thought-provoking experience. This research can be a good assessment of our children’s Korean language proficiency. Through participating this research we [Koreans in the study region] could gain a deeper understanding about how New Zealand-born Korean children believe about Korean language and culture. I believe many Korean parents want to know their children’s views and thoughts on this. I will encourage other parents to participate this research” (Mother from the informal pilot study)
- “We never had a chance to talk about this with our children. It is really valuable to know that my children have same thoughts” (All parent participants)
- “Thanks to this interview I had a valuable opportunity to summarise my thoughts on Korean language transmission and I am very grateful. I wish to receive a summary of the findings” (Mother 11)
- “It was the very first time for me to talk about my beliefs and experiences about my heritage language. It is more clear who I am now” (Child 3)
- “Thank you. That was fun because I’m prompt it to think quite deeply about myself and think about things that I’ve never thought about before. It was helpful, yeah. Thank you very much” (Child 9)

APPENDIX 21. Summary for participants of findings about intergenerational Korean language transmission in New Zealand

The present study started from the idea that Korean teenagers in New Zealand were more likely than other migrant groups to be able to speak their minority language. I found that Korean families, the wider Korean communities, as well as New Zealand society and inter-relationships between them, played important roles in Korean language transmission amongst Korean migrant families.

Overall, Korean families in the present study were positive to intergeneration transmission of the minority language (ITML), but this is often affected by mainstream society's influence. Most families spoke Korean at home with their children, but some became worried when their children started school and struggled with English. In some cases they began speaking both Korean and English at home, and continued with that even after the children were confident using English. As a result, some children felt they had limited proficiency in Korean even though they were able to maintain conversation in Korean. In a Korean home, parents are usually the main source of Korean, but they tend to increase the use of English for family conversations, with children and siblings from these families having different Korean language proficiencies; older children having a higher proficiency than younger children. This results in younger children using English as their dominant language.

The wider Korean community in New Zealand plays a very important role in supporting parents who want to pass on Korean to their children, and is also influenced by mainstream society. The wider Korean community makes connections between Korean families and New Zealand society through cultural festivals and events. Children value having more opportunities to use Korean in the wider linguistic environment, and some say this is the only chance they have to use specific honorific forms. Korean school is important in teaching Korean literacy to both Korean and non-Korean students. This helps Korean children to develop literacy skills in Korean and makes them feel confident about speaking Korean, as well as helping non-Korean students to learn Korean and culture so they understand popular Korean media content. In response to the growing Korean Wave, the wider Korean community facilitates Korean cultural festivals including K-pop competitions. This promotion of Korean language and culture to the majority society, helps Korean-speaking children become motivated to learn Korean and proud of Korea as a country. This results in children developing a sense of belonging to both Korea

and New Zealand. This may be an important reason for why Korean teens reported having a high rate of ability to speak Korean in New Zealand. There is, however, reason to be concerned about Korean language transmission across generations. Some participants felt that Korean school was very different from their ordinary school. Adult Korean speakers from the wider community need to be sensitive in their comments on language mistakes, which may result in children becoming reluctant to interact with Korean adults. At church, the introduction of bilingual church services may remove part of the incentive to learn Korean for young people.

Influences from mainstream society directly affect intergenerational transmission of minority language for individuals, families and the wider Korean language-speaking community. Conflicting messages from government as well as schools' emphasis on English language acquisition for academic and career success lead Korean parents to prioritise high English proficiency for their children and allow them to speak English at home. Consequently, children may see English as their dominant language and Korean as a less useful language. The Korean Wave, however, is a powerful factor for New Zealand-born Korean children in school. Korean language and culture appear to be seen as *cool* at secondary schools. This increased interest has encouraged Korean-speaking children to speak Korean more at home and become motivated to learn the Korean language. In this regard, newly-arrived international Korean students become good resources for Korean children to learn current Korean language and culture. New Zealand society has become superdiverse, the Asian population has increased and the Korean Wave has become popular internationally. These factors may lead Korean migrant parents in New Zealand to see bilingual benefits that were not previously recognised and encourage children to learn Korean.

To conclude, findings from the present study indicate these positive factors for success:

1. Speaking Korean at home as well as continuous input from parents and extended family enhances children's verbal skills.
2. Acquiring literacy skills at a Korean school and/or home and having exposure to the wider minority language community allow Korean migrants to develop strong community cohesion and promotes the minority language and culture to New Zealand society.
3. Perception of the Korean language as a *cool* language, and unusual, but strong reinforcement, at teenage level from *cool* K-pop encourage Korean children to learn

about Korean language and culture that promotes Korean language and culture to mainstream society.

Some of the identified negative factors are:

1. English is often the main tool for conversation in sibling interactions.
2. Too much correction by adult Koreans and lowered expectations that young people can use the language (such as bilingual support in various circumstances) in the wider Korean community may impede intergenerational Korean language transmission.
3. The lack of a national language policy and ill-informed and/or uninformed teaching advice from educational and health professionals continues to create dilemmas for multilingual families in New Zealand.

If children feel more at ease speaking English rather than Korean, they may not be able to pass on the Korean language to their own children, the third generation. A three-generation language shift may be taking place amongst Korean migrant families. The family unit is the starting point for the intergenerational transmission of minority languages, but a positive and encouraging Korean community is crucial in supporting family endeavours. The wider Korean community, with its formal and informal organisations, is also pivotal in reaching out to mainstream society. It is the platform through which to promote Korean language and culture as having potential benefits and advantages for both Korean and non-Korean New Zealanders, and making Korean language and culture more visible in wider New Zealand society. From this, it is hoped that both the participants in this study and others are encouraged to continue with their efforts to maintain the language and culture across generations.

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