

**The linguistic and cultural influence of Korean ethnic churches on heritage
language and identity maintenance among Korean Canadian students in Quebec**

by

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Abstract

In this qualitative study, I explore the linguistic and cultural influence of Korean ethnic churches on Korean Canadian students' heritage language and cultural identity maintenance in Montreal. Despite the extensive involvement of Korean immigrants in ethnic churches, very little is known about the linguistic and cultural role of these churches for adult Korean immigrants, let alone for their younger generations who grow up in Canada. Therefore, my research questions focus on how Korean ethnic churches support heritage language and cultural identity maintenance for the younger generations of Korean immigrant families in the Montreal context. I employed an ethnographic and qualitative approach and elicited data from qualitative interviews, participant observation, and group discussions. Data collection took place over a four month period from January through April, 2008. The participants (n=37 in total) were Korean Canadian students who live in Montreal and attend a Korean ethnic church (n=15), their parents (n=10), heritage language and Bible study teachers (n=4), and pastors of the church and of other Korean ethnic churches in the city (n=4). Another group of Korean Canadian students who were not members of a Korean ethnic church was also included (n=4). The results of the study show that Korean ethnic churches in Montreal do indeed play important roles for the maintenance of the HL and cultural identity for the younger generations of Korean immigrant families as major ethnic community institutions. Thus, the Korean ethnic churches are found to have roles far beyond their original religious role. The findings of this study suggest that all the members of the Korean ethnic churches should be more aware of their responsibility for upholding the linguistic and cultural role of the Korean ethnic churches. In addition, all the members of the Korean ethnic churches should make

better use of current institutional resources such as the use of heritage language within the institution, the Korean cultural environment, and interactions with other Koreans in the HL in Korean ethnic churches for Korean Canadian students' HL and cultural identity maintenance because this institutional infrastructure is already in place and would not need to be re-created.

Résumé

Dans cette étude qualitative, j'explore l'influence linguistique et culturelle des églises ethniques coréennes sur le maintien de la langue d'origine et de l'identité culturelle chez des étudiants canadiens d'origine coréenne à Montréal. Malgré l'implication importante d'immigrants coréens dans les églises ethniques, on en sait très peu au sujet du rôle linguistique et culturel de ces églises pour les immigrants coréens d'âge adulte, sans parler de leur rôle pour la nouvelle génération qui grandit au Canada. Par conséquent, mes questions de recherche se concentrent sur comment les églises ethniques coréennes supportent le maintien de la langue d'origine et de l'identité culturelle pour la nouvelle génération de familles immigrantes coréennes dans le contexte montréalais. A partir d'une approche ethnographique et qualitative, j'ai obtenu des données à partir d'entrevues qualitatives, d'observation participatoire et de discussions de groupe. La collecte de données se fit au cours d'une période de quatre mois entre janvier et avril, 2008. Les participants (n=37 au total) étaient des étudiants canadiens d'origine coréenne qui habitent Montréal et qui fréquentent une église ethnique coréenne (n=15), leurs parents (n=10), des enseignants de la langue d'origine et d'études bibliques (n=4), et des pasteurs de cette église ainsi que d'autres églises ethniques coréennes à Montréal (n=4). Un autre groupe d'étudiants canadiens d'origine coréenne qui ne sont pas membres d'une église ethnique coréenne fut aussi inclus (n=4). Les résultats de l'étude démontrent que les églises ethniques coréennes jouent en effet des rôles importants pour le maintien de la langue d'origine et de l'identité culturelle pour la nouvelle génération de familles immigrantes coréennes en tant qu'institutions communautaires principales. Alors, nous voyons que les églises ethniques coréennes ont des rôles qui surpassent largement

leur rôle religieux originel. Les résultats de cette étude suggèrent que tous les membres des églises ethniques coréennes devraient être plus conscients de leur responsabilité quant à l'entretien du rôle culturel et linguistique des églises ethniques coréennes. De plus, dans le but d'appuyer le maintien de la langue d'origine et de l'identité culturelle chez les étudiants canadiens d'origine coréenne, tous les membres des églises ethniques coréennes devraient faire un meilleur usage des ressources institutionnelles existantes, telles l'usage habituel de la langue d'origine au sein de l'institution, l'environnement culturel coréen et les interactions avec d'autres Coréens en langue d'origine, car que cette infrastructure est déjà bel et bien en place et n'aurait pas besoin d'être recrée.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 The Problem

In recent years, there has been increasing support for the preservation of heritage languages¹ as a way to preserve culture and to promote a sense of ethnic identity in younger generations of immigrant families. The teaching of heritage languages is seen as an effective means of promoting immigrant children's academic development in majority school settings and facilitating their socio-economic integration into the wider society of North America (e.g., Hinton, 1999; Cummins, 2000; Garcia, 2003; Kondo-Brown, 2006). However, many immigrant students lose their heritage language due to many pressures, including educational, peer, and social pressures. This pattern of losing one's heritage language is intensified by a significant lack of resources to support heritage language maintenance (e.g., Wong Fillmore, 1991; Kouritzin, 1999; Cummins, 2000). Fishman (1991) emphasizes the importance of families as crucial to "intergenerational mother tongue transmission" (p. 6). Despite the important role of immigrant families, it is not the sole and sufficient source of immigrant students' heritage language maintenance. It needs to be supported by other sources outside of the home, such as local ethnic communities. However, the role of such local communities has been understudied. In this regard, I feel that the role of ethnic community institutions for immigrant students' heritage language and cultural identity maintenance should be more extensively investigated. The aim of this thesis is to examine the role of one local ethnic community institution in heritage language and cultural maintenance, namely, the Korean ethnic church in Montreal.

¹ According to the Canadian Heritage Languages Institute Act (1991), a heritage language is a language "other than one of the official languages of Canada that contributes to the linguistic heritage of Canada" (also see Chapter 3).

As a landed immigrant parent in Canada residing in Montreal, Quebec, I became interested in the role of ethnic religious community institutions for Korean Canadian students' heritage language and culture maintenance for reasons that will be explained below. Montreal is a relevant site for such an inquiry because it is a multilingual and multicultural city relative to other regions in Quebec due to the large number of allophone immigrants, i.e., those whose mother tongues are neither English nor French (Bourhis, 2001).

In this study, I define Korean ethnic churches as Christian (Protestant and Catholic) churches in North America where most of the members are Koreans and most of the church-related services are provided in the Korean language.

Korean ethnic churches in Montreal have functioned as places where Korean immigrants can find comfort among members who share the same language and culture. In addition to the original religious role of the churches in Montreal, immigrants can pass on traditional Korean values, culture, and common social beliefs to young second-generation Koreans (Park & Sarkar, 2007). Furthermore, Korean ethnic churches serve as major ethnic community institutions for Korean immigrants in Montreal by providing practical help and guidance, and cultural and linguistic activities. Indeed, the majority of Koreans in Montreal are extensively involved in Korean ethnic churches, which provide them with opportunities to meet with other Koreans and share information through regular gatherings (at least once a week). Park and Sarkar (2007) point out that Korean immigrant parents expect the Korean ethnic church to serve as an important community resource for their children's heritage language and culture maintenance.

However, aside from Park and Sarkar's (2007) study in Canada and Pak's (2003)

study in the United States, few studies on the role of Korean ethnic churches in second generation Korean immigrant children's heritage language and cultural identity maintenance have been conducted. The main emphasis of previous research (e.g., Hurh & Kim, 1990; Min, 1992; Ley, 2008) has been on the original religious role and social functions of Korean ethnic churches for first generation adult immigrants in North America, not on language and cultural maintenance of this community. The linguistic and cultural role of these churches in the lives of the children of these immigrants has also not been examined.

1.2 Purpose of the Study

The community function of churches for Koreans abroad goes far beyond its original religious role (e.g., Yoo, 1999; Pak, 2003; Shin, 2005; Park & Sarkar, 2007). However, this function has been under-researched. As a result, despite the extensive involvement of Korean immigrants in ethnic churches, very little is known about the social, linguistic, and cultural role of these churches for Korean immigrants, let alone for their children. This study examines how Korean ethnic churches support heritage language and culture maintenance for the younger generations of Korean immigrant families in the Montreal context.

1.3 Rationale for Conducting Community-Based Research: The Concept of an Ethnic Community

Doughty and Doughty (1974) provide a general definition of community as “a sense of us-ness” (p. 30) developed through community members’ work, worship, and way of life while living in geographical proximity. This definition suggests that geographical closeness alone is not enough to define the notion of community: sharing activities, work, beliefs, and way of life is central to a sense of community. Doughty and Doughty also emphasize the role of language in the community, as this is what makes human relationships and social activities possible. Sharing a common culture (e.g., sharing Korean food, celebrating Korean traditional holidays, and sharing Korean traditional values) is one of the key factors to being a member of a community.

Tosi (1998) insists that, due to the diverse characteristics of ethnic communities in multi-ethnic societies, it is not at all an easy undertaking to define community in a single sentence. He states that a group of people living in “geographical proximity to each other and sharing some common social purposes” (Tosi, 1998, p. 325) has traditionally been regarded as an ethnic community. Tosi also suggests that in order for an ethnic group to be considered an ethnic community, people should share a whole set of beliefs and attitudes about daily life and that they should participate, at least to some degree, in ethnic organizations and the activities associated with these organizations.

In my investigation of Korean Canadian students’ heritage language and culture maintenance, I use Tosi’s definition of an ethnic community.

1.4 Understanding the Social, Cultural, and Linguistic Functions of Korean Ethnic Churches in North America

I present a brief description of the social, linguistic, and cultural roles of Korean ethnic churches in the United States and Canada in order to provide information about the role Korean ethnic churches play in North America. More than 80% of Korean ethnic churches overseas are concentrated in North America (3,776 in the United States and 382 in Canada as of 2007) (see Chapter 2).

Min (1992) examined the social roles of Korean ethnic churches and their structures in the United States. To accomplish this, he interviewed 131 head pastors of 165 Korean churches located in New York City in 1989 by telephone. The results revealed that a vast majority of Korean immigrants who were not Christians prior to emigrating in Korea chose to become Christians after their immigration. Min explains that so many Koreans become church members in the United States regardless of their former religious affiliations in Korea because of the diverse social roles that Korean ethnic churches provide. However, he claims that the growth of Korean ethnic churches may also be explained by the fact that it is predominantly the Christian-oriented Koreans who choose to immigrate, since Christianity is a westernized religion which is mostly chosen by middle-class city dwellers, who are most likely to emigrate (Min, 1992). His analysis of the structure of Korean ethnic churches reveals that most Korean ethnic churches in New York City have only about 50 members each and rent space for their services, since they do not have their own buildings. The small number of church members can be explained by the preference of Korean immigrants to benefit from close interactions and networks within small groups (Min, 1992). These results also show that

most Korean ethnic churches provide extra religious worship services during the week which motivate Korean immigrants to come to church at least twice per week. Finally, he points out that in the churches he studies, only the Korean language is used for adult religious services, while some churches provide bilingual or English worship services for second generation church members.

Min (1992) identifies four major functions that the Korean ethnic church serves: (1) it provides places and activities where Korean immigrants can get together and find comfort by being with other Koreans (i.e., fellowship); (2) it provides a setting where they can find practical help and guidance in their social lives; (3) it enhances the adult immigrants' social standing in the host country "by creating many religious and non-religious church staff positions" (p. 1390); and (4) it preserves traditional Korean values and culture. In addition, he mentions that Korean ethnic churches play a crucial role in maintaining the Korean language by providing Korean language schools and other Korean language programs (e.g., summer language schools) for their second generation members. His study shows that Korean ethnic churches play roles well beyond the religious role.

The number of Korean ethnic churches in the United States grew dramatically from 75 churches in 1970 to approximately 2,000 churches in 1988 (Hurh & Kim, 1990). Hurh and Kim reviewed previous studies on Korean ethnic churches and investigated Korean immigrants' religious practices in the United States in order to find out how Korean ethnic churches influence Korean immigrants' life in the United States. They interviewed 622 Korean first generation adult immigrants dwelling in the Chicago area who were randomly chosen from *the Korean Community Directory of Chicago* (Hurh &

Kim, 1990). Among the 622 participants, who were mostly from major cities in Korea with well-educated, urban, and middle-class backgrounds (97.4%), more than 50% were already church members before immigration. Their results confirmed that Korean ethnic churches have served religious, social, educational, and psychological functions for Korean immigrants, by providing places for Korean immigrants to pray, to maintain language and culture, to teach language and culture to next generations, and to find comfort and peace of mind.

Their findings also indicate that church-going members in Korea are more likely to immigrate to the United States than those who are not church goers. In addition, a considerable number of the participants in their study who were not Christians in Korea became church members after immigration, which increased total church participation of immigrants from 53% to 77%. The reasons that Korean church members mentioned for their church participation were “primarily religious, secondly social, and thirdly psychological” (Hurh & Kim, 1990, p. 25). Hurh and Kim provide several reasons why Korean ethnic churches were chosen by Korean immigrants. First, Korean ethnic churches served as a “reception center” (p. 30) by providing social, educational, and cultural services for new immigrants. Second, Korean ethnic churches have no specific requirements for membership compared to other Korean associations which have specific requirements such as *Dongchanghoe* (Alumni associations based on school ties) and *Hyanguhoe* (Associations based on one's native region in Korea) (Yoo, 1999). Thus Korean ethnic churches are accessible to any Korean immigrant. Third, Korean ethnic churches provide Korean immigrants with opportunities to meet each other often and regularly.

With regard to the role of immigrant churches in Canada, Ley (2008) identifies the immigrant church “as an urban service hub in which relations of trust and compatibility generate bonding social capital” (p. 2057). He investigated the role of ethnic churches in the Canadian context, since most attention has been given to the role of ethnic churches in the United States. In this study, 46 semi-structured interviews were conducted with pastors and church members from 20 Chinese-Canadian churches, 16 Korean-Canadian churches, and 10 German-Canadian churches located in the Vancouver metropolitan area. Drawing from the 2001 Census of Canada, Ley mentions that 72% of Koreans are affiliated with more than 60 Korean ethnic churches in Vancouver. He points out that common language and ethnicity encourage Korean immigrants to gather in Korean ethnic churches, where religious services and practical social services including settlement service and language schools are provided. However, he also states that the functions of Korean ethnic churches are limited to Korean immigrants, for Korean ethnic churches “saw their community in co-ethnic² terms” (p. 2067). On the other hand, German-Canadian churches saw their community in multi-ethnic terms including other ethnic groups in the neighbourhood.

The studies reviewed above show that Korean ethnic churches indeed play several important roles beyond the religious role for Korean immigrants.

However, this review does not disregard the predominant religious role of Korean ethnic churches for Koreans abroad. Religion does indeed play a major role for Korean immigrants “as a source of and support for emergent ethnic identity and group cohesion, and as a fundamental expression of subcultural identity in a pluralist society” (Chong,

² “Co-ethnic” was used to mean “for that ethnic group only”.

1998, p. 283). Hurh and Kim (1990) also claim that Korean immigrants' religious faith within Korean ethnic churches helps them overcome the unstable adjustment periods and intensifies the ties of ethnic identity in the new host country.

For this reason, they are a most appropriate and rich site for this research inquiry studying the effects of the churches on immigrant students' heritage language and cultural identity maintenance.

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is composed of seven chapters. In Chapter 1, I describe the research problems and purpose of the study. In Chapter 2, I provide a brief description of Koreans in Canada, their religions in Korea and Canada, and Korean ethnic churches in Canada, in order to provide information about the background context for this study. Then I describe the linguistic situations in Quebec focusing on the Montreal area, and heritage language education in Quebec. In Chapter 3, I review the literature about theories of heritage language and culture maintenance, processes and consequences of heritage language loss, and diverse factors related to heritage language and culture maintenance in the immigrant context in order to develop my theoretical framework. I then provide the research questions which guide this study. In Chapter 4, I describe the methodology and discuss the role of the researcher, research sites, research participants, data gathering procedures, methodological tools, strategies used for data analysis, and strategies used to ensure trustworthiness of the data in this study. In Chapter 5, I present my analysis of the linguistic, social, and cultural environment within Korean ethnic churches in Montreal. In Chapter 6, I discuss and interpret the results of the study according to my research

questions. In Chapter 7, I conclude the thesis with some implications for Korean ethnic churches, pastors, heritage language teachers, parents, and younger generations of Korean immigrant families.

Chapter 2: Research Context

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I describe the background context of this study including a description of Koreans in Canada, their religious practices in Korea and Canada, and Korean ethnic churches in Canada. I then discuss the research context of the study on the basis of linguistic situations in Quebec, focusing on the Montreal area, and heritage language education in Quebec.

2.2 Background Context of the Research

2.2.1 Korean immigration to Canada

Korean migration to Canada started in the mid-1910s when a small number of Korean students were sponsored by Christian missionaries to study in Canada. However, Korean migration was limited until 1966, when Canada changed its immigration policy in response to its economic demands (Yoo, 1999). At this time, Canada lifted the exclusion of Asian immigrants and Koreans were allowed to immigrate to Canada on a small scale until the 1980s, when “investment immigration” was put in place (Yoo, 1999, p. 884). Since then, considerable immigration from Korea to Canada has taken place till now. The vast majority of Korean immigrants were people who immigrated with skills, education levels, work experiences, and abilities in English or French as required by Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) after the mid 1990s (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2007). Korean immigrants in the skilled worker class during the period from 1999 to 2003 accounted for 61.88% of the total Korean immigration population, along with Family class (9.18%), Entrepreneurs (16.88%), Investors (8.08%), and Others

(1.3%) (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2006, as cited in Consulate General of the Republic of Korea in Toronto, 2008c).

According to CIC (2006, as cited in Consulate General of the Republic of Korea in Toronto, 2008a), the average number of Korean immigrants between 1980 and 1996 was 2170 per year. Data obtained from CIC (2006a) indicate that the number of Koreans who immigrated to Canada rapidly increased since 1997, but it decreased after 2001 (see Figure 2.1). The average number of Korean immigrants per year during this period was 6514.

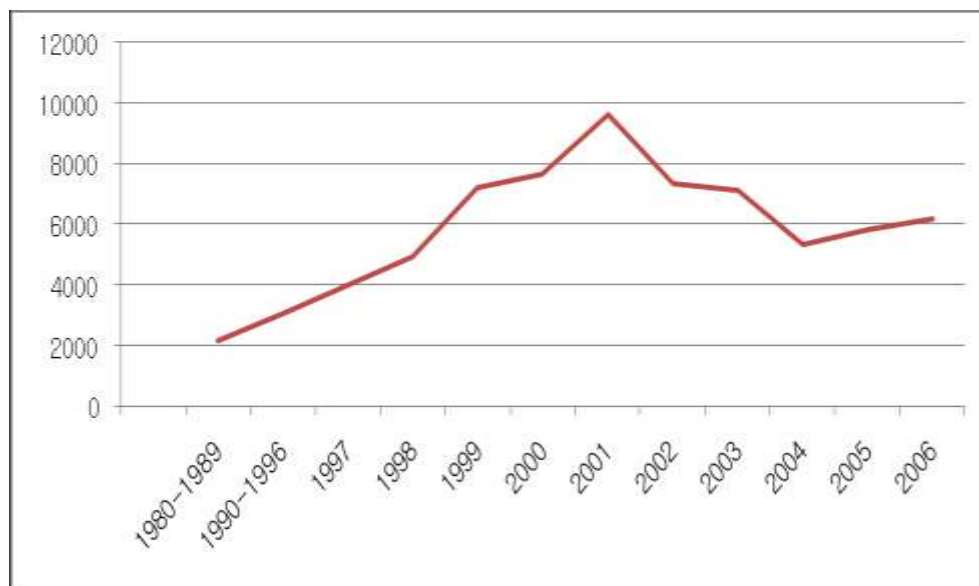


Figure 2. 1. Korean immigration to Canada, 1980-2006

(*Citizenship and Immigration Canada* (2006), Facts and figures 2006:

Immigration overview-permanent residents)

As a result of the steadily increasing influx of Korean immigrants to Canada, the total population of Koreans in Canada has drastically increased (see Figure 2.2) from 29,705 in 1986 to 146,545 in 2006 (Yoo, 1999; Statistics Canada, 2008a). In Figure 2.2,

the total population of Koreans includes both the Korean immigration population (i.e., Canadian citizens and permanent residents) and non-immigrant population (i.e., study permit holders, work permit holders, and refugee status holders). It does not include temporary visitors from Korea.

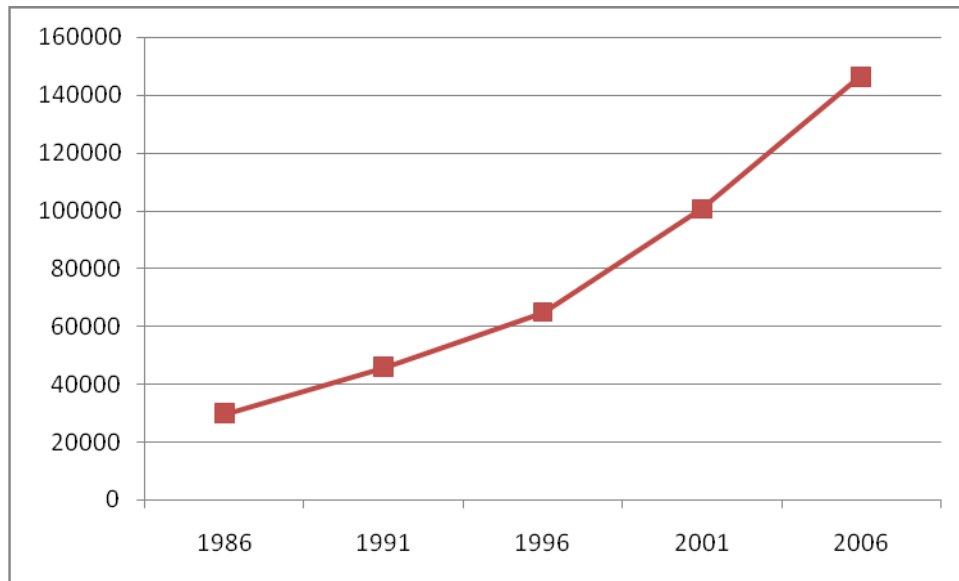


Figure 2. 2. Population of Koreans in Canada, 1986-2006

(Statistics Canada (2008a), Ethnic origin for the population of Canada, Provinces, Territories, 2006 census)

The 2006 Canadian census shows that most Koreans (84%) live in Ontario and in British Columbia (Statistics Canada, 2008a). There were 72,060 (49%) Koreans living in Ontario in 2006, while there were 51,860 (35%) Koreans in British Columbia at the time of the census (see Figure 2.3).

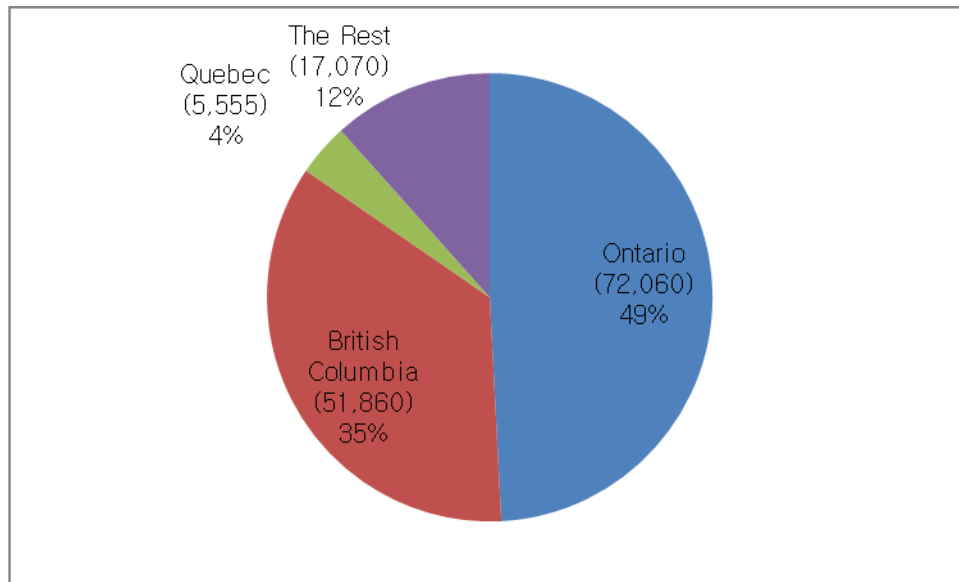


Figure 2. 3. Population of Koreans in Canada by Province, 2006

(Statistics Canada (2008a), Ethnic origin for the population of Canada, Provinces, Territories, 2006 census)

Of those who came to Ontario, 57,235 (79%) chose Toronto and of those who went to British Columbia, 46,035 (89%) chose Vancouver. Yoo (1999) explains that the majority of Koreans are concentrated in these two metropolitan cities, because there are more chances for Koreans to find jobs through the large already-established Korean communities in these areas. In addition, the multilingual and multicultural environment of these two cities attracts Koreans (Yoo, 1999).

2.2.2 Koreans in Montreal and in the Province of Quebec

Compared to the number of Koreans living in Toronto and Vancouver, there are very few living in Montreal. The 2006 census indicates that there are only 5,555 Koreans living in the province of Quebec, with 4,850 (87%) living in the Montreal area (Statistics

Canada, 2008a). Korean immigration to the province of Quebec started in the 1970s and the migration from Korea to Quebec has increased since 1986 when the immigration of entrepreneurs was encouraged by the Quebec provincial government (Yoo, 1999).

However, in the early 1990s, a large number of Koreans left Quebec, mainly for Toronto and Vancouver, because of “the political instability caused by the Parti Québécois’s campaign for independence and their [Koreans’] lack of facility in the French language” (Yoo, 1999, p. 885). According to Immigration-Québec (2008), an average of 460 Koreans has immigrated to Quebec per year since 1995 (see Figure 2.4) and the total number of Koreans who immigrated to Quebec during this period (from 1995 to 2007) was 5,987. In 1999, the largest number of Koreans (i.e., 983) immigrated to Quebec; however, there are no data concerning the reason for the sudden increase of Korean immigration to Quebec that year.

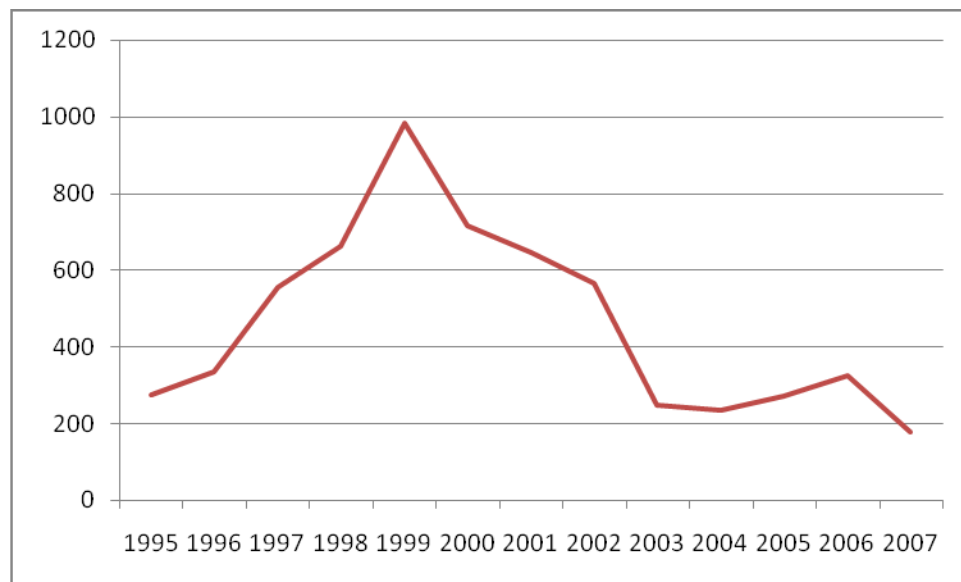


Figure 2. 4. Annual Korean immigration to Quebec, 1995-2007.

(Immigration-Québec (2008b), Statistiques sur l'immigration récente)

According to Immigration-Québec (2008a), of all the Koreans accepted into Quebec from 1997 to 2006 in 2008, only 26.4% currently reside there. Overall, family class immigrants (i.e., those whose applications are sponsored by family members already residing in Quebec - a class designed to reunite family members in Canada) and refugee class immigrants are more likely to settle in Quebec than economic immigrants. Only 18.2% of immigrants present in Quebec in 2008 are in the economic class (see Table 2.1).

Table 2. 1

Korean Population Immigrated to Quebec from 1997 to 2006 and still Present in 2008

Economic immigrants			Family class			Refugee			Total		
Total	Present	%	Total	Present	%	Total	Present	%	Total	Present	%
4,589	837	18.2	603	525	87.1	9	8	88.9	5,205	1,374	26.4

(*Immigration-Québec* (2008b), Statistiques sur la présence au Québec de l'immigration récente)

2.2.3 Korean international students in Canada

According to CIC (2006b), the number of Korean students with valid study permits has gradually increased since 1997, with the exception of 1998, when there was a decrease (see Figure 2.5). This pattern appears to continue and the number of Korean students in Canada is not expected to decrease in the future.

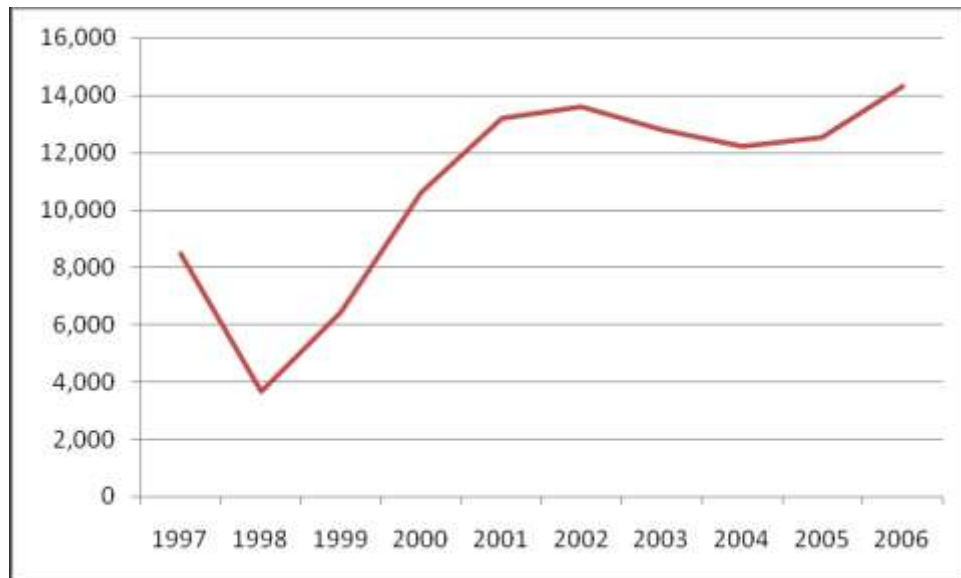


Figure 2. 5. Annual flow of Korean students into Canada, 1997-2006

(*Citizenship and Immigration Canada* (2006b), Facts and figures 2006:

Immigration overview-temporary residents)

According to CIC (2006, as cited in Consulate General of the Republic of Korea in Toronto, 2008b), the total population of Korean students in Canada was 26,885 in 2004 and the majority of them (84%) chose to study either in Ontario or in British Columbia. In 2004, there were 9,710 (36%) Korean students studying in Ontario, 12,912 (48%) in British Columbia, and 724 (3%) in the province of Quebec (see Figure 2.6).

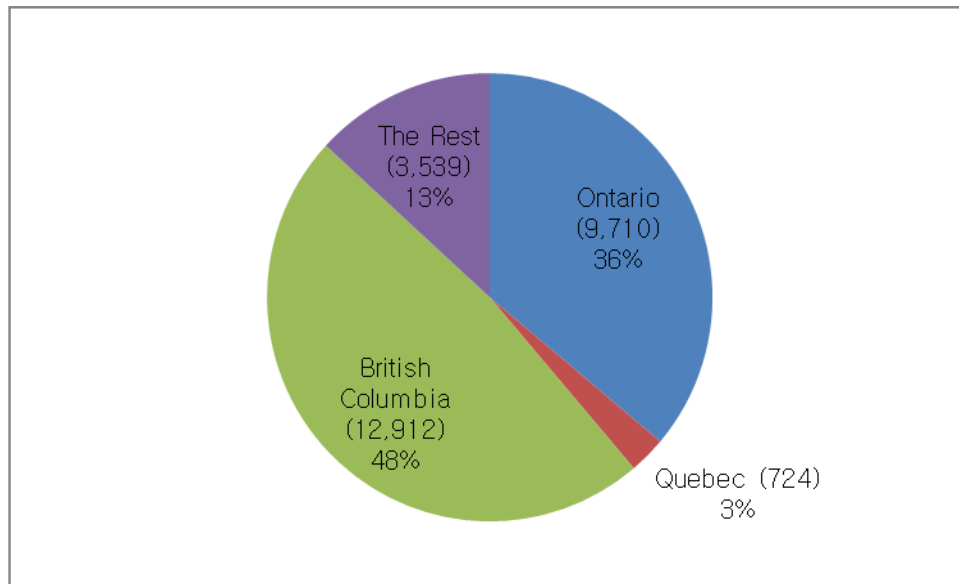


Figure 2. 6. Korean students in Canada by Province, 2004

(Consulate General of the Republic of Korea in Toronto (2008), Foreign students from Korea with valid status by destination, 2002-2004)

Of those who came to Ontario, 7,149 (74%) chose Toronto and of those who came to British Columbia, 9,322 (72%) chose Vancouver, while 564 (78%) chose Montreal among those who came to the province of Quebec.

According to CIC (2006, as cited in Consulate General of the Republic of Korea in Toronto, 2008b), 45.8% of Korean international students were primary and secondary students in 2004 and the number of Korean international students in primary and secondary schools in Canada increased by 5,530 from 6,770 in 2001 to 12,300 in 2004. In most cases, these students stay with their parents (mostly just their mothers). Those who are in Canada without families stay in a boarding school or with a homestay family. These students and their mothers are often referred to as *Gi-Reo-Gi* (Goose) families because they show a similar pattern to the geese that “fly a long distance and have a

special dedication to their youngsters” (The plight of Korean goose families, 2004, para. 4). In general, “goose fathers” send their wives (“goose mothers”) and children to North America for the good of their children’s English education, while goose fathers remain and work in Korea in order to financially support their families overseas. These wives and children normally stay in Canada on a temporary basis for about one or two years; a few stay longer. Fathers usually come to Canada a couple of times per year to visit their families. These fathers are also called “Eagle (*Dok-Su-Ri*) fathers” or “Penguin fathers” depending on their financial capacities (Onishi, 2008, June 8, para. 11). If fathers can afford the expense of frequent visits, then they are called eagle fathers, whereas penguin fathers are those who do not have the time and enough money to visit their families.

Now that I have presented the immigration patterns of Koreans to Canada, I shift my attention to contextual factors such as Koreans’ religious practices both in Korea and in Canada, and demo-linguistic situations in Quebec that add context to my study.

2.2.4 Religions in Korea

Korean religious culture is quite complicated. The religions of Korea have been formed by the combination and interaction of Koreans’ traditional beliefs including: Shamanism, which is based on ancient Korean beliefs and native practices; Buddhism, which was introduced to Korea in 372 A.D. from China; Confucianism, which was introduced along with Buddhism from China; and western religions such as Catholicism and Protestantism, which were introduced in the 17th and 19th centuries respectively (Korean Overseas Information Service, 2007).

The constitution in Korea guarantees freedom of religion (Korean Overseas Information Service, 2007). According to the Korea National Statistical Office (2005, as cited in Korean Overseas Information Service, 2007), over half (53.1%) of the total 47 million Korean population identify themselves as having a religion. Korea's religious population consists of 43% Buddhist, 34.5% Protestant, and 20.6% Catholic (see Figure 2.7). The remaining 1.9% includes followers of Confucianism, Islam, Shamanism, Won-Buddhism, and Cheondogyo.

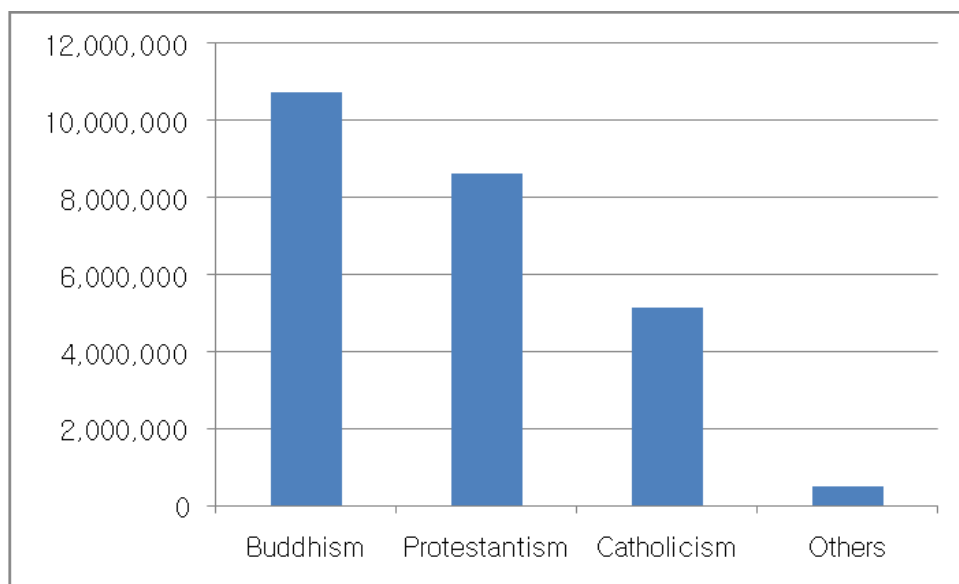


Figure 2. 7. Denominations of religious population in Korea, 2004

(Korean Overseas Information Service (2007), Korean life: Religion)

Although very few Koreans define themselves as followers of Confucianism, the Confucian ideology has influenced and shaped Korean culture as well as the Korean Christian faith to a considerable extent, as Windle (2000) claims that the influence of Confucianism seems to have become less visible in Korean society, but “the doctrines of Confucianism still underlie human interactions to a great extent” (p. 1). In a similar vein,

Kim (2002) also claims that “the influence of Confucianism on the lives of the Korean Christians is still dominant” (p. 85). With the rapid growth and change of Korean economy and society, the influence of Confucianism may not seem apparent in Korean society, but Confucian values such as ancestral worship, filial piety, and respect for the elderly are still widespread and recognized as virtues in Korean society (Korean Overseas Information Service, 2007).

After Protestant Christianity was introduced in the 1880s, Korea had experienced political and social instability during the end of the Choson Dynasty in 1910, the Japanese colonial period (1910-1945), and the Korean War (1950-1953) (Grayson, 2002). Furthermore Korea rapidly modernized and industrialized. These significant cultural changes encouraged many Korean people to find new solutions to their precarious life of instability through Christianity (Grayson, 2002; Korean Overseas Information Service, 2007). Now, the rapid growth of the Christian faith in Korean society is very noticeable in its social, cultural, educational, and political aspects (Korean Overseas Information Service, 2007).

2.2.5 Koreans' religion in Canada

The most recent publication by Statistics Canada (2007b) shows that in 2001, more than 75% of the Korean population in Canada were either Protestants (51%) or Catholics (25%), while 4% were Buddhists and 20% claimed to have no religion (see Figure 2.8).

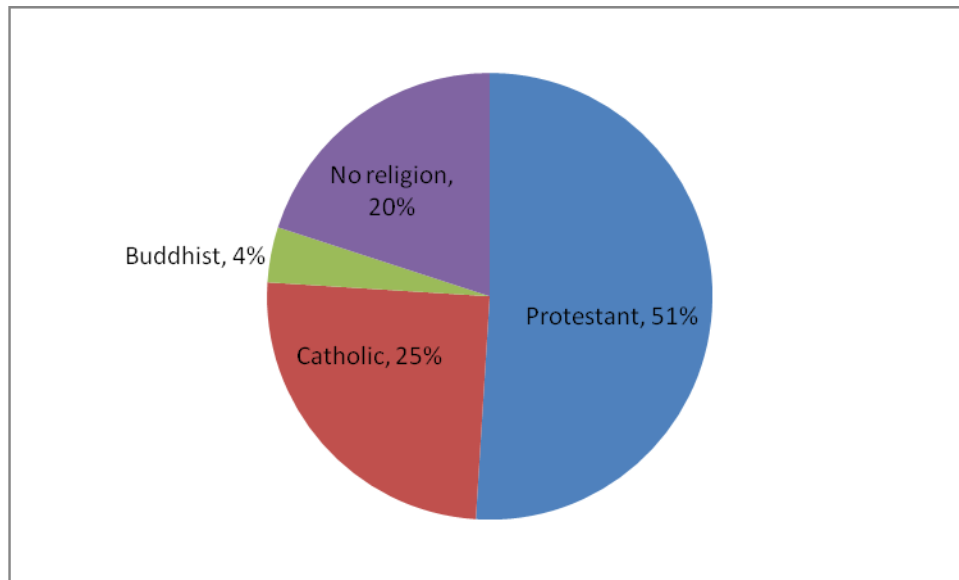


Figure 2. 8. Koreans' religion in Canada, 2001

(Statistics Canada (2007b), The Korean community in Canada)

Unfortunately, there are no data concerning these Korean immigrants' religious beliefs when they were in Korea. With regard to the reason why many Koreans become church members in Canada, Yoo (1999) explains that Korean immigrants choose Korean churches as places in the new country where they can find peace of mind from the anxiety and stress that often comes with living in a new environment, even though they were not Christians in Korea. In this regard, Yoo points out that Korean churches are a place where members share the same language and culture, meet other Koreans, and share information regardless of what their religion was in Korea.

2.2.6 Korean ethnic churches in Canada

In 2007, there were 4,982 Korean ethnic churches outside Korea with 4,148 of those in North America (Protestant churches). The majority of these churches were in the

United States (3,766); there are 382 Korean ethnic churches in Canada (Seo, 2008).

Concerning Korean Catholic churches outside Korea, there were 338 Korean Catholic churches in the world, according to the overseas Korean Catholic church directory.

Among them, 190 Korean Catholic churches were concentrated in North America, i.e.

173 Korean Catholic churches in the United States and 17 Korean Catholic churches in

Canada including 1 Korean Catholic church in Montreal (Catholic Bishops' Conference of Korea, 2008).

2.2.7 Korean ethnic religious institutions in Montreal

The first Korean ethnic church in Canada was established in Montreal in 1965 (Yoo, 1999). There are currently 13 Korean ethnic churches, most of which were established in the 1990s. One Catholic church was established in 1980. There are only three other Korean (Buddhist) congregations in Montreal and as far as I know, these three groups do not have regular meetings. Based on various Korean church leaders' personal estimates, the average number of members attending worship services regularly in Korean ethnic churches in Montreal is between 100 and 150 per church with the exception of the Catholic church which has 700 listed members (Catholic Bishops' Conference of Korea, 2008). Most Korean churches in Montreal are composed entirely of first generation Korean immigrants, second generation members, and a group of Korean students and their parents who are living in Canada on a temporary basis. Most worship services in Korean ethnic churches located in the Montreal area are provided in the Korean language. There is only one Korean ethnic church which provides an English language worship service program on Sunday.

2.3 Research Context

2.3.1 Linguistic situations in Quebec

There are two official languages in Canada, English and French. Most Francophones, described as those who have French as a mother tongue, are concentrated in the province of Quebec where French is the only official provincial language. According to the 2001 census, 86% of Francophones in Canada resided in the province of Quebec. Of the other 14%, 76% of Francophones living outside Quebec are concentrated in New Brunswick and in Ontario (Statistics Canada, 2008b). The proportion of Anglophones, described as those who have English as a mother tongue, who lived in Quebec, was 8% of Anglophones in 2001 (Statistics Canada, 2008b).

Linguistic equality has been the main political issue between the two official language groups in Canada. Within this linguistic reality, Canada has tried to attain language equity between the English language and the French language as the two official languages “through bilingualism laws and constitutional provisions” (Bourhis & Marshall, 1999, p. 246) both at federal and at provincial levels. However, Quebec has tried to retain its distinctiveness as a French-majority province. Bourhis (2001) mentions that a number of language laws, including Bill 101 (the Charter of the French Language) which is regarded as the most important language law, have been implemented by the Quebec government since 1969. Bill 101, which was passed in 1977, made French the only official language in Quebec. This caused major changes in education, work, and public life in favour of the French language compared to the English language (Bourhis, 2001). Allophone immigrants, a term used to describe “individuals who have neither French nor English as a mother tongue” (Bourhis, 2001, p. 105), who settle in Quebec

have often chosen to preserve their heritage language “as a cultural integration strategy for dealing with the presence of two rival host communities in their country of adoption” (Bourhis, 2001, p. 122). This means that allophones including the Korean immigrant population in Quebec are likely to maintain their heritage language as a home language, the French language as an educational and majority language in the province of Quebec, and English as the socio-economic language in North America (Bourhis, 2001).

2.3.2 Linguistic situations in Montreal

With regard to the linguistic situation in Montreal, Bourhis (2001) provides an overview of demo-linguistic changes in the Montreal metropolitan region after the adoption of Bill 101. He states that the proportion of French mother tongue speakers in this region increased from 65% in 1951 to 67% in 1996, whereas the number of English mother tongue speakers dropped from 26% in 1951 to 13% in 1996. In addition, the proportion of allophones increased from 8.6% in 1951 to 20% in 1996. According to the 2006 census (Statistics Canada, 2009), the proportion of French mother tongue speakers in this region dropped from 68.3% in 2001 to 65.7% in 2006, and the proportion of English mother tongue speakers also dropped from 12.7% in 2001 to 12.5% in 2006. On the other hand, the proportion of allophones increased from 19% in 2001 to 21.8% in 2006 (see Figure 2.9).

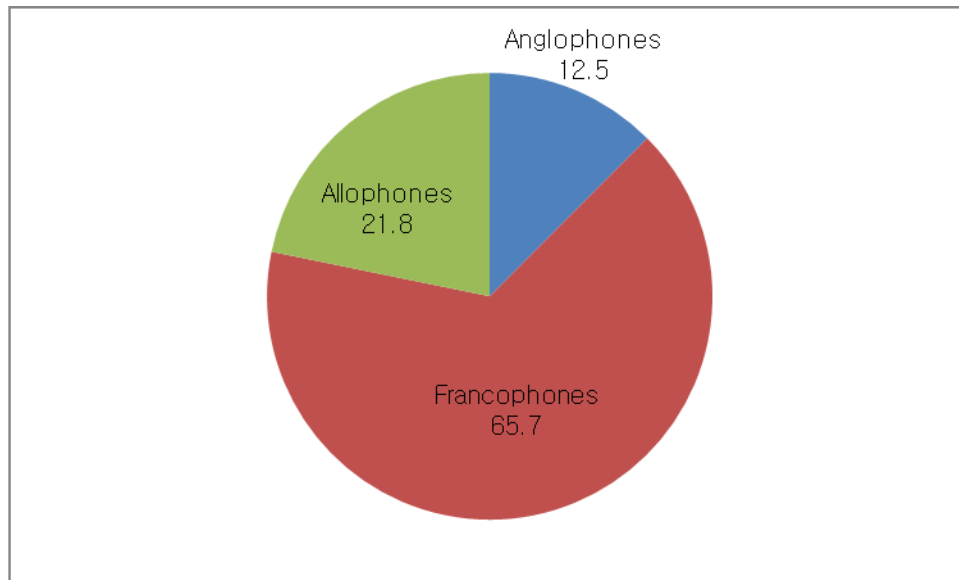


Figure 2. 9. Proportion of the three language groups in Montreal in 2006

(Statistics Canada (2009), 2006 Census: Evolution of the language situation in Quebec)

Bourhis (2001) claims that the increase of allophone immigrants in the Montreal area since the 1950s has made Montreal a multilingual and multiracial city relative to other regions in Quebec, because the majority of immigrants to Quebec (88%) have chosen to settle in the Montreal region where they can “readily construct multiple group identities incorporating their own heritage culture with the English and the French” (p. 135). The fact that the vast majority of Korean immigrants are concentrated in the Montreal area (4,850 out of 5,555 Korean immigrants living in the province of Quebec) also shows that the multilingual and multicultural environment of Montreal may attract Korean immigrants to settle in this region.

2.3.3 *Heritage language education in Quebec*

As a result of Bill 101³, which made French the primary language of instruction from kindergarten to secondary schools in Quebec, all immigrant students in Quebec must receive instruction in French at public or subsidized private schools (Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport du Québec, 2009). In order for immigrant students to receive instruction in English at public or subsidized private schools in Quebec, they need to obtain the "Certificate of Eligibility" for instruction in English under very specific eligibility criteria (e.g., at least one parent's completion of English elementary schooling in Canada) (Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport du Québec, 2009).

The concentration of new immigrants in Montreal also means that more than 45% of students in Montreal French schools are immigrants (McAndrew, 2003). With regard to the educational policies for immigrants in Quebec, the Quebec government provides three types of programs: (1) Orientation and welcoming classes (*classes d'accueil*) which help newly immigrated students acquire French language skills before they join regular classes; (2) Centres d'orientation et de formation des immigrants (COFI), which assist immigrant adults in acquiring French language skills required for their work in Quebec; and (3) Programme d'enseignement des langues d'origines (PELO) for the maintenance of immigrant students' heritage languages (Ghosh, 2004).

Among these programs, the PELO program is the only one that is directly related to immigrant students' heritage language education. The PELO program, which was launched in 1977, has classes that are usually offered either after school or during lunch time in public schools (McAndrew, 2003). Although this program is welcomed by the

³ "The Charter does not apply to non-subsidized private institutions" (Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport du Québec, 2009)

cultural communities for the maintenance of immigrant students' heritage languages, many non-PELO teachers argue that this program leads to immigrant students' incomplete mastery of French (d'Anglejan & De Koninck, 1992). Cummins and Danesi (1990) reviewed PELO in Quebec along with other provincial heritage language programs: community-operated heritage language programs and heritage language bilingual programs in the Prairie provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, and the Heritage Languages Program (HLP) in Ontario. They found that governmental support for the teaching of heritage languages through these provincial programs has made gradual progress, while there are still ambivalent attitudes toward governmental support for the promotion of the teaching of heritage languages, especially as a part of the regular school system, among many Canadians.

Concerning the effectiveness of the PELO, Kirk (2006) points out that this program has several limitations, such as limited funding and absence of prescribed curriculum. For instance, Kirk (2006) claims that "to qualify for a school-board-funded teacher to provide one hour a week of language instruction either at lunch time or after school requires the demand of at least twenty children in any one school" (p. 49) in the PELO program. Because of this requirement, few schools in Montreal qualify for the PELO program. As a result, Korean language education in Montreal before university level depends on Korean ethnic community-based heritage language programs either run by Korean ethnic churches or by the Korean language school sponsored by the Korean government on weekends, rather than by the Quebec school system (Kim, 2008). At the university level in Montreal, two universities (i.e., McGill University and the University of Montreal) have provided Korean language programs (Kim, 2008).

2.4 Summary

In this chapter, I presented a brief description of Koreans in Canada, their religion in Korea and Canada, and Korean ethnic churches in Canada in order to provide information about the background context for this study. Then I described demographic linguistic situations in Quebec focusing on the Montreal area, and heritage education in Quebec in this chapter. This provides the necessary context for understanding the contextual factors for the study of Korean Canadian students' heritage language and culture maintenance in Montreal. In the next chapter, I turn to a review of the relevant literature.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework of the Research

3.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with a definition of heritage languages and a description of three major orientations in language planning in multilingual societies, followed by a review of literature relating to heritage language (HL) and cultural identity maintenance and a review of literature relating to HL loss in the younger generation of immigrants. This is followed by the research questions which guide this study. The chapter closes with a brief summary.

3.2 Definition of Heritage Languages and Orientations in Language Planning

According to the Canadian Heritage Languages Institute Act (1991), a heritage language is a language “other than one of the official languages of Canada that contributes to the linguistic heritage of Canada”. Cummins and Danesi (1990) provide synonymous terms that have been used in Canada and other countries, such as “ethnic language, minority language, ancestral language, third language, non-official language, community language, and mother-tongue teaching” (p. 8). Among them, Cummins and Danesi define heritage languages as all languages which were brought to Canada by immigrants except for the aboriginal languages, English, and French. In this regard, I will follow their definition.

Positions taken towards HLs differ in host countries depending on their particular social and political contexts, and different attitudes toward language and its role in host countries. As Cavallaro (2005) indicates, HL maintenance in multilingual societies, in which different languages co-exist, has always been an issue and a source of debate.

Inquiries into the maintenance of minority languages have been made by many researchers in the field of sociolinguistics. In this regard, Ruiz (1984) proposes three basic orientations in language planning in the United States: “1) language-as-problem, 2) language-as-right, 3) language-as-resource” (p. 15).

In a language-as-problem orientation, the main goal of language planning has been the identification and determination of language problems of linguistic minority students (Ruiz, 1984). In this orientation, linguistic minority students' HLs have been treated as a social problem that should be eradicated and resolved through an educational approach which is aimed at the promotion of linguistic minority students' educational equity with linguistic majority students rather than the maintenance and development of their HL skills (Ruiz, 1984; Cummins & Danesi, 1990). These assimilation policies in education, which seem to represent a language-as-problem orientation (Ruiz, 1984), keep forcing linguistic minority students to renounce their HLs by presenting linguistic diversity as a problem that has to disappear (Cummins, 2001b). This is not limited to educational policies in the United States. Cummins claims that most European and North American countries, including Canada, also have similar educational policies.

With regard to multilingualism in Australia, Cavallaro (2005) claims that linguistic diversity is not actively protected and multilingualism is not effectively fostered in education. Furthermore, Cavallaro maintains that the government and the state educational systems are neglecting immigrants' HL skills in Australia.

In the Canadian context, Cummins and Danesi (1990) critically reviewed various research findings that focused on the context of the contentious debate over the

promotion of HLs in Canada. They explain that the increase in diversity has been caused by economic migration to North America, an influx of refugees from countries suffering from war, natural disasters, and poverty, as well as from economic globalization. As a result, multilingual and multicultural students have become the general norm, mostly in urban areas. According to Canadian Heritage (2004), "Canada became the first country in the world to adopt an official Multiculturalism Policy in 1972". However, Cummins and Danesi insist that Canadian multicultural policies in education have been used as a way for Canadians to distinguish themselves from Americans. They argue that regardless of the adoption of these policies, which represent a superficial Canadian identity, racial discrimination and intolerance against linguistic and cultural minority students in the educational system in Canada has accelerated the loss of immigrant students' HLs. Cummins and Danesi find that the adoption of multicultural policies has served to obscure and conceal "the continuing reality of racist assumption among the majority of Canadians" (p. 15). In addition, they criticize the continuous racial and systematic discrimination against minorities in Canada characterized by the intolerance against minorities' culture, language, and race in the field of education. In addition, Kondo-Brown (2006) points out that the issue of HL education in Canadian public schools is still controversial regardless of the adoption of multicultural policies in Canada.

On the other hand, in a language-as-right orientation, the protection of minority groups' linguistic rights is emphasized as a main purpose of language planning. Skutnabb-Kangas (1988) investigates bilingualism and multilingualism issues with respect to linguistic minority children's education. She focuses on these children's linguistic human rights through the comparison of several educational programmes in

different countries including mother tongue maintenance programmes and submersion programmes for both majorities and minorities, transitional programmes, and Canadian immersion programmes for minority and majority students' bilingual education. Based on the results, she claims that bilingualism or multilingualism has become the general norm in the world, not because of the desirability and benefits of multilingualism, but because of the power relationship between powerless minority languages and powerful majority languages in host countries. She also explains the opposing perspectives of minorities and majorities concerning multilingualism. Minorities think that keeping their language is a right based on the notion that every language is equally valuable and should be respected, whereas majorities think that multilingualism provokes societal divisiveness for the nation. Skutnabb-Kangas considers that "linguicism" (p. 13), a term that refers to "ideologies and structures which are used to legitimate, effectuate and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources between groups which are defined on the basis of language (on the basis of their mother tongues)" (p. 13), rather than bilingualism-as-desirable, has been practiced in educational programmes for linguistic minorities in host countries. Skutnabb-Kangas (1994) describes two levels of linguistic human rights for linguistic minorities: "an individual level and a collective level" (p. 625). First, mother tongue must be identified positively by its users and this positive identification must be respected and accepted by other language users at an individual level. Second, linguistic minority groups must have the right to develop and to maintain their mother tongues in the field of education at a collective level. However, she claims that the current educational policies in most European countries do not promote this type of multilingualism in general. In this regard, Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) clearly states that

“one of the basic linguistic human rights of persons belonging to minorities is-or should be- to achieve high levels of bi- or multilingualism through education” (p. 569).

Ruiz (1984) finds that the predominant orientations to language planning in the international literature have been language-as-problem and language-as-right. However, Ruiz argues that these two orientations are not sufficient in order to be a basis for language planning in multilingual and multicultural contexts because of their inherent hostility and divisiveness. In this regard, Ruiz emphasizes the fact that priority should be given to a language-as-resource orientation because of its inclusive and incorporative characteristics. Cummins and Danesi also argue that seeing linguistic minority students and their communities as a problem instead of a valuable resource should be decreased through school-based language policies and teachers' active and positive interactions with linguistic minority students in the classroom. From a language-as-resource orientation, Cummins and Danesi conclude that immigrant students' multilingual skills should be encouraged and supported as national resources that can strengthen Canada's competitive position in the rapidly changing world markets. In addition to seeing linguistic diversity as economic capital, Ruiz (1984) argues that minority children's HL should also be regarded as important sources for social well-being and collaboration in multilingual societies.

3.3 Heritage Language and Cultural Identity Maintenance

The promotion of HL and cultural identity maintenance and the facilitation of bilingualism or multilingualism have been supported and recognized by many scholars through theories (Lambert, 1975; Cummins, 1976, 1979, 1999, 2000, 2001a; Skutnabb-

Kangas, 1988, 2000; Fishman 1991; Tse, 1998; He, 2006) and empirical research (Hakuta & Diaz, 1985; Wong Fillmore, 1991; Hinton, 1998; Kondo, 1998; Kouritzin, 1999; Tse, 1997, 2001; Guardado, 2002; Cummins & Schecter, 2003; Garcia, 2003; Cavallaro, 2005). The following section discusses how these theories and studies support the promotion of HL and cultural identity maintenance of younger generations from immigrant communities.

3.3.1 Theories and Research Findings in Support of the Promotion of HL and Culture, and the Facilitation of Bilingualism or Multilingualism

3.3.1.1 Cognitive development and academic achievement

Up to the 1960s, several studies had projected a negative view of the effects of bilingualism or multilingualism on cognitive development (Cavallaro, 2005). For instance, Darcy's (1953) comprehensive review of literature on the effects of bilingualism on educational and intellectual development led to the conclusion that bilingualism or multilingualism had a negative effect, especially with respect to verbal tests of intelligence. In general, the common assumption in the literature until the 1960s was that bilinguals suffered from cognitive deficiencies due to "the psycholinguistic burden of processing two or more languages" (Cavallaro, 2005, p. 573).

However, since the 1970s, the positive importance of bilingualism has been recognized and supported by several scholars (Lambert, 1975; Cummins, 1976, 1979, 2000, Baker, 2003). Lambert (1975), for instance, claimed that bilingual students had a more flexible and diverse structure both in intelligence and in thought. He indicated that an additive form of bilingualism, meaning "the learning of the second language without

the dropping or the replacement of the other” (p. 67), should be pursued in education policies. He also pointed out that linguistic minority students' cognitive development and second language learning could not be positive if they were submersed in a totally new environment where they had to come into contact with a new language even before they developed their HL skills. It is in this situation that bilingual students' cognitive development might be negatively affected (Lambert, 1975).

Cummins has been advocating the importance of HL maintenance since the 1970s. In order to account for the relationship between bilingualism and cognitive development, Cummins (1976) proposed the threshold hypothesis. He claims that bilinguals' cognitive development can be positively influenced by their attainment of a certain level of competence in two languages. Cummins (1979) later proposed two levels in the threshold hypothesis, the lower threshold and the higher threshold. The lower threshold level of language competence in both languages should be attained in order to avoid negative cognitive effects. On the other hand, when bilinguals reach the higher threshold level, they will have positive cognitive effects regardless of the language of testing. In addition, Cummins claims that students' level of second language competence rests on the degree to which they have competence in their HL at the time when they are introduced to intensive second language learning. This explanation based on the developmental interdependence hypothesis, which holds that children's high HL skills are positively related to high levels of second language competence. However, Cummins (1989) claims that linguistic minority students who have a deficiency in their HL literacy skills due to lack of educational support lose their HL skills while they acquire second language skills, which is a form of subtractive bilingualism. Furthermore, according to the linguistic

interdependence principle, a strong base in minority children's HL literacy skills enhances their second language learning and second language academic skills. Cummins (2000) revisited the interdependence hypothesis which he proposed more than 20 years ago and reconfirmed the importance of immigrant students' literacy skills in their HL for the development of their literacy skills in the majority language. In this regard, Cummins (2000, 2001a) suggests that an additive educational context in which immigrant students can develop literacy skills in both languages should be provided so that they can develop flexibility in their thinking by comparing and contrasting two different languages.

Cummins' theories for the positive effect of bilingualism on cognitive and academic development have been supported by many empirical studies. Even before he developed his theories, Lambert and Anisfeld (1969) found that French-English bilingual students in Montreal scored higher on both verbal and non-verbal measures of intelligence than Montreal-based monolinguals. Cummins and Swain (1979) also reported a number of positive effects of bilingualism on cognitive development such as academic success, flexible thinking, and improvement of linguistic skills. In the same vein, Hakuta and Diaz (1985) conducted a longitudinal study with 123 Spanish-dominant speaking students enrolled in the Bilingual Education program classes in New Haven, Connecticut, public elementary schools. The study reveals that cognitive development can be fostered by bilingualism. They report that "bilinguals' greater sensibility to linguistic structure and detail is then transferred and generalized to different verbal and nonverbal tasks" (p. 340). More recently, Cummins and Schecter (2003) argued that linguistic minority students' HL development does not hinder their academic progress. On the contrary, their bilingual skills can enhance their academic performance in school,

since they can benefit from concrete conceptual skills in both languages. Furthermore, their academic development in the majority school language is not affected adversely by the use of a minority language as an instructional language in the classroom. S. K. Lee (2002) found similar results in his investigation of 105 Chinese-American and Korean-American public high school students who were born in the United States. Through questionnaires, observations, and interviews, S. K. Lee examined the relationship between immigrant students' HL and culture maintenance, and their academic achievement in school. The results show that those who were more interested in maintaining their heritage culture and language achieved a higher level of academic success than those who were less interested in keeping their heritage culture and language.

However, the facilitation theories and principles for bilingual education are not always supported and accepted among researchers (Cavallaro, 2005). The most well-known argument against the facilitation theories is Rossell and Baker's (1996) meta-analysis. In order to investigate the educational effectiveness of bilingualism and transitional bilingual education, particularly in the United States, they reviewed more than 500 studies and books, including 300 program evaluations. Based on this review, Rossell and Baker argue that transitional bilingual education, which uses students' native language in the classroom until they become proficient in English, is never superior to regular classroom education which uses only English. They also claim that transitional bilingual programs are inferior to structured immersion programs which mostly use the second language (English in this case), except in rare cases when limited English-proficient students really require assistance from teachers who can speak students' first language in order to finish their task. Rossell and Baker (1996) conclude that educational

intervention alone cannot explain children's academic achievement, since it is just one of many other important factors in children's academic achievement and the success of second language learning. In this regard, they suggest that "children's family characteristics, their intelligence, the characteristics of their classmates, and the intelligence and talent of their teacher" (Rossell & Baker, 1996, p. 43) should be considered together with several educational interventions in order to explain children's academic achievement and acquisition of English.

In contrast to Rossell and Baker's claims, Cummins (1999) argues that Rossell and Baker's conclusions are inaccurate, because of misinterpretations of the results of the studies reviewed and inaccurate labelling of programs. For example, Rossell and Baker took the Canadian French immersion model as an example of the American-type structured immersion when comparing structured immersion and transitional bilingual education. Cummins argues that Rossell and Baker overlooked the different characteristics of these two models. Canadian French immersion is aimed at English-speaking majority students' acquisition of bilingualism, while structured immersion aims at linguistic minority students' acquisition of English. Interestingly, several researchers (Dicker, 1996; Escamilla, 1996; Cummins, 1999; Cavallaro, 2005) argue that some of Rossell and Baker's findings actually support the effectiveness of bilingual education. Dicker (1996), for instance, finds that the Canadian French immersion program is supported over the transitional bilingual education program in Rossell and Baker's meta-analysis. Dicker claims that "if in fact Canadian immersion is superior to transitional bilingual education, this argues for the substantial use of two languages in instruction and the linguistic goal of bilingualism" (p. 374). Escamilla (1996) also points out that Rossell

and Baker left out any sort of qualitative study in their review. In this regard, Dicker (1996) claims that the “social, political, cultural, and linguistic environments in which bilingual education programs are implemented” (p. 372) should be understood through qualitative research in order to gain a better understanding of the educational effectiveness of bilingual education. This provides part of the reason for the qualitative design in the present study, since HL and cultural identity maintenance of young members from Korean immigrant families is deeply related to their cultural, historical, individual, and social experiences with other members within the Korean ethnic community and the host society.

3.3.1.2 Ethnic group membership and cultural identity

Language is often referred to as one of the most important factors for the maintenance of ethnic identity and group membership in multilingual situations (Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977).

He (2006) highlights ethnic identity as a key factor in HL development. She points out that the possibility of HL development is likely to increase depending on HL learners' positive desire and eagerness to accept their heritage culture and identity. Cavallaro (2005) also suggests that several key factors, including “a common language, a system of shared beliefs, and other common traditions such as food, clothing, residential preferences etc.” (p. 567), contribute to a sense of ethnic group membership, with language as the most significant among the factors. This supports Lambert's (1975) argument that linguistic minority groups should maintain their HL and cultural identity while they are learning the majority language, since becoming bilingual or bicultural does

not affect the maintenance of a group's ethnic identity. In fact, Lambert emphasizes the importance of "a dual heritage to become full-fledged members of two cultural communities" (p. 72).

With regard to ethnic minority students' ethnic identity development, Phinney (1989) and Tse (1998) proposed a three-stage model and a four-stage model, respectively. Phinney (1989) conducted a study of 91 African American, Asian American, Latino American, and White American 10th grade students in the Los Angeles area using an interview and a questionnaire. Based on the results, Phinney divided the period of ethnic minority's ethnic identity development into three stages (i.e., Diffusion/Foreclosure, Moratorium, and Achieved). At the stage of Diffusion/Foreclosure, there is little understanding about one's ethnic identity. Phinney writes that ethnic minorities' feelings about their ethnic identity in this stage "may be either positive or negative, depending on their socialization experiences" (p. 38). Phinney finds that young adolescents in this stage are likely to develop positive feelings about their ethnic identity if their ethnic culture and values are supported by family members. In the second stage, ethnic minorities start exploring their ethnic identity. This period of Moratorium is "accompanied by some confusion about the meaning of one's own ethnicity" (p. 38). During the last stage of ethnic identity development (i.e., Achieved), ethnic minorities accept their ethnic group membership and achieve a confident sense of belonging as group member. The results of the study showed that more than 50% of ethnic minority American students were in the stage of Diffusion/Foreclosure, with the exception of the White students. In this study, the White students were not aware of their ethnicity even though they were also in a minority situation within the school.

Almost 10 years later, Tse (1998) proposed “a four-stage model of ethnic identity development (i.e., Unawareness, Ethnic Ambivalence or Evasion, Ethnic Emergence, and Ethnic Identity Incorporation)” (pp. 15-16), which focused on racial minorities’ attitudes toward the HL and the majority language. Tse claims that it is not easy for “visible or racial minorities” to be integrated into the host society due to their physical differences (p. 15). Tse explains that ethnic minorities in the Unawareness stage tend to be children who are unaware of their ethnic minority identity and language status. The second stage, Ethnic Ambivalence, is likely to take place in adolescence or young adulthood. Ethnic minority adolescents are likely to have ambivalent attitudes towards their ethnicity and HL. Then, the Ethnic Emergence stage takes place, especially if the minorities are in an ethnically diverse social context (e.g., University) where they have to deal with issues of unclear ethnic identity and group membership. After this period, they end up in the final stage, Ethnic Identity Incorporation, where they can solve their ambivalent and contradictory feelings towards their ethnic identity and HL. Through these four stages, Tse emphasizes two core elements for ethnic minorities’ HL maintenance and development: “comprehensible input and group membership” (p. 17). Tse indicates that ethnic minorities who receive enough linguistic input in their HL are likely to maintain and develop the HL. In addition, ethnic minorities who acquire ethnic group membership are also likely to have positive feelings about their ethnic identity and HL, which leads to their HL maintenance.

These stages are crucial for understanding the different difficulties ethnic minorities might be having in the formation of ethnic identity. In this regard, both of these models of ethnic identity development support the selection of adolescents as

primary participants in the present study, since they are more likely to be in a stage of struggling with the formation of identity and the choice of language than other age groups.

Now I turn my attention to empirical research findings which demonstrate the interrelationship between ethnic identity development and HL development (Feuerverger, 1991; Cho, 2000; Phinney, Romero, Nava, and Huang, 2001; J. S. Lee, 2002).

Feuerverger (1991) distributed a questionnaire among university students in Canada, which examined the perceptions of 148 ethnic group university students studying their HL at the University of Toronto. In-depth interviews were conducted with students who were randomly chosen from each language group (i.e., 40 Italian, 26 Portuguese, 12 Chinese, 16 Korean, 12 Japanese, 16 Hebrew, 21 Ukrainian, and 5 Yiddish language group students). The results revealed that the maintenance of HL and ethnic identity could help students recognize the importance of their own heritage background and better understand the value of the cultural and linguistic diversity of Canada. In the same vein, Cho (2000) examined the effects of Korean-American students' HL competence in their social interactions and relationships with co-ethnic members and with the ethnic community. Cho conducted interviews with 16 second-generation Korean American adults and administered a questionnaire to 98 second-generation Korean-American students. The results show that their HL competence is positively related to their social interactions and relationships with speakers of the same HL and the Korean community. She claims that those who have strong HL competence have better relationships with other HL speakers due to the fact that they have a keen sense of their own cultural values and manners. In contrast, those who have not developed their HL competence have difficulties interacting with speakers of the same HL and with the HL community, which

consequently leads them to feel excluded from their own ethnic community. The findings also reveal that the Korean language is a vital element of their Korean ethnic identity.

Phinney, Romero, Nava, and Huang (2001) define an ethnic identity as “an identity as a member of an ethnic group within the larger society” (p. 135). In the US context, Phinney et al. investigated the role of ethnic language, parents, and ethnic friends within their ethnic community as the key factors for immigrant adolescents' ethnic identity development. They examined 216 second generation immigrant adolescent students (9th grade) from three different ethnic background families (i.e., 81 Armenian families, 47 Vietnamese families, and 88 Mexican families) and their parents in the Los Angeles area through an adolescent and a parent questionnaire. The results of the study show several ways in which immigrant students' ethnic identity is positively related to their HL proficiency. First, immigrant students' HL proficiency plays a positive role in their ethnic identity, since their HL is closely linked to their parents' heritage culture. Second, immigrant students' socialization practices with ethnic friends have a strong impact on their ethnic identity. Third, parents' encouragement of the use of HL at home and cultural maintenance enhances immigrant students' ethnic identity development.

J. S. Lee (2002) investigated the relationship between HL proficiency and cultural identity among 40 second-generation Korean American university students through her analyses of questionnaire data. The results show that HL maintenance can enhance biculturalism. This means that those who are proficient in the Korean language are more likely to develop a strong sense of cultural identity both with their own ethnic group and with the American society, versus those who are not proficient in the Korean language. This result also supports the idea that ethnic identity can be promoted by the

development and maintenance of HL among second generation Korean immigrant students. In addition, she concludes that HL development may help immigrant children define their identity more positively in multicultural and multilingual societies, since being bilingual may promote their acceptance of both the majority culture and their heritage culture.

In addition to promotion of a healthy sense of cultural identity, researchers have supported the personal and societal benefits of immigrant children's HL maintenance in the host society. Garcia (2003), for instance, examined current research trends from 1998 to 2002 in the field of ethnic and minority language maintenance and shift. The findings show that the preservation of immigrants' HL has been advocated by current research; HL maintenance is also beneficial to the practical ends of nations in a global world. Cho (2000) also shows that Korean Americans' proficiency both in English and Korean would be of great benefit to Korean-Americans in their careers. Her study also reveals that developing their HL would be of much benefit to society as "an act of interpreting or translating" (p. 346) with their bilingual skills in English and their HL. In a similar vein, Lao (2004) investigated 86 Chinese parents' attitudes toward Chinese-English bilingual education for their children in the United States through a questionnaire. Lao found that their children's bilingual skills would have practical benefits including better chance of employment, development of positive self-identity, and facilitation of communication within their ethnic community.

3.3.2 Factors in Enhancing Immigrant Students' HL and Cultural Identity

Maintenance in Multilingual and Multicultural Societies

With regard to the enhancement of immigrant students' HL and cultural identity maintenance, several researchers (e.g., Fishman, 1991; Hinton 1998; Garcia, 2003) claim that language maintenance and shift can be affected by many factors, including family, friends, social networks, and educational institutions. Hinton (1998), for instance, states that parents, ethnic peers, ethnic communities including religious institutions (e.g., ethnic churches), and schools are all important factors. In order to explain the role of these factors and to help linguistic minority communities whose intergenerational mother tongue transmission is threatened, Fishman (1991) proposed the Reversing Language Shift (RLS) framework. Intergenerational mother tongue transmission is emphasized as a core value of RLS based on the notion that a language is an indispensable societal resource that has to be maintained and developed. Fishman emphasizes that different problems and opportunities that different social contexts offer should be considered for the success of RLS. In addition, Fishman claims that RLS is never too late, because it does not have to be considered only in terms of nationwide levels of language policy. He points out that RLS can be started from the micro-level such as families, neighbourhoods, and local communities. Fishman also introduces the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) on which higher numbers imply higher threat to intergenerational mother tongue transmission. Table 3.1 shows Fishman's GIDS scale.

Table 3. 1

Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (1991, p. 395)

Stage 8	The use of the minority language is limited to a few socially isolated elderly people
Stage 7	The minority language is still used by a large number of community-concentrated older generation speakers
Stage 6	The intergenerational informal spoken language transmission within "the demographically concentrated home-family-neighbourhood"
Stage 5	The attainment of literacy within the home, school, and community environment, for adults and for children, through non-formal and non-compulsory education
Stage 4	The compulsory minority language education in schools including both public and independent schools (e.g., such as private, parochial, or proprietary schools)
Stage 3	The use of the minority language outside of the minority language community both among the minority and majority language group members
Stage 2	The use of the minority language in "local/regional mass media and governmental services"
Stage 1	The use of the minority language in "education, work sphere, mass media and governmental operations at nationwide levels"

He mentions that RLS advocates should recognize their own stages correctly in their particular situations, so that they can work towards lower and more positive stages in the GIDS. Fishman's GIDS provides the idea for the current stage of Korean immigrants in Montreal of the present study. Their current stage in the GIDS might be at stage 6 and stage 5 which emphasize the role of the family, school, and community (e.g., the local religious institution) for intergenerational mother tongue transmission.

3.3.2.1 Parental involvement and home environment

There is consistent evidence that parental use of HL at home is an important factor in enhancing immigrant students' HL maintenance. Portes and Hao (1998) found this in their study regarding patterns of language adaptation of more than 5,000 second generation students in the United States. They emphasize that parental use of the HL with their children within a supportive home environment can lead to a greater possibility of maintaining children's HL. In the same vein, Kondo (1998) examined social-psychological factors influencing HL maintenance through interviews with second generation Japanese university students in the United States. The results show that mothers play a significant role in fostering children's HL maintenance, since immigrant children have "much more extensive informal contacts and use in the HL" (p. 373) with mothers. She also emphasizes mothers' role as communicators in the HL with their children, and also as facilitators who support children's HL education. In the Canadian context, Guardado (2002) conducted semi-structured interviews with parents of four Hispanic families about their children's Spanish loss and maintenance in Vancouver. The four families were divided into two groups (i.e., language maintenance families and language loss families) based on children's proficiency in both languages, Spanish and English. The findings reveal that the parents in language maintenance families encouraged their children to use the HL in an active and positive way, whereas the parents in language loss families underscored only the ideal importance of the HL without actual promotion of children's HL use. Overall, all participants expressed the view that parents played a very significant role in their children's HL and culture maintenance.

With regard to parental involvement and home environment for children's bilingual development, Döpke (1992) proposes the one parent-one language principle. She investigated six German-English families and their six children who were born in Australia, over three years. During this period, all the parents decided to use the 'one parent-one language' principle for their children's bilingual development. Among six families, five mothers used German, the minority language in this case, with their children, while in one family it was the father who used German. The results found their children's positive attitudes towards bilingualism in general in all families.

Li (1999), an immigrant mother from China, also conducted a case study with her own daughter in Hawaii. She reports that positive attitudes toward both languages and interactions with children in the HL have a positive impact on children's HL development and identity formation in the new country.

However, Hinton (1998) claims that parental use of the HL cannot be a sole and sufficient source of immigrant children's HL maintenance. Kondo (1998) also stresses that Japanese mothers' HL use with their children at home is insufficient, particularly with respect to children's literacy skills. In this regard, she suggests that children's HL should be promoted and supported by schools, ethnic communities, and peer groups along with home support.

3.3.2.2 Ethnic communities and ethnic religious institutions

Having ethnic peers and neighbours who can speak the same HL is also an important factor in fostering immigrant children's HL and ethnic identity development. Many researchers (e.g., Min, 1992; Chong, 1998; Tse, 2001; Pak, 2003; Shin, 2005; Park

& Sarkar, 2007) have demonstrated that ethnic community institutions play a vital role in immigrant children's HL and cultural identity maintenance. For example, Tse's (2001) interview study with 10 second-generation bilingual adolescents in the United States shows that they can see the usefulness of their HL in ethnic religious institutions and that they are positively motivated to keep their HL, including their HL literacy skills (reading in particular), through various religious texts including church or temple weekly reports. Tse also states that ethnic community institutions, including church sponsored HL schools, provide places and opportunities for immigrant children to perceive and experience the HL as a useful and vital language. Lynch (2008) points out that local religious community institutions can provide experienced teachers and teaching materials as well as physical space for HL programs. Similarly, Pak (2003) investigated the role of the Korean church school in the Korean ethnic church for immigrant students' HL and culture maintenance in the US context. Through participant observation and interviews with students and adults in a Korean church school, she found that Korean immigrant students' HL proficiency is a vital component of their Korean ethnic identity and that the Korean church HL school plays a crucial role as a "haven for Koreanness" (p. 287). The Korean ethnic church has played an important role as one of the major ethnic community institutions in the United States for Koreans' social interactions in the Korean language. The findings also show that the children rely on the Korean community, because they were not fully accepted in the host society "because of appearance differences" (Pak, 2003, p. 287).

Ganga (2005) observed Italian immigrants in the Nottingham area, UK, and found that the Italian Catholic mission serves as a means of transmitting cultural values, ethnic

identity, and language through cultural activities and the use of HL in worship services. Thus religion plays a role in language and identity formation. Similarly, Warner (1998) claims that religion in the lives of immigrants should be understood “in the form not of texts but of living communities” (p. 9) as a means of reproducing their cultural heritage. In order to investigate the role of religion in the lives of second generation Korean-Americans, Chong (1998) conducted an ethnographic study in the US context. Chong gathered data from participant observation and in-depth interviews with 62 second generation church members and pastors in two Korean Protestant churches located in the Chicago area. Chong cites race and traditional Korean cultural values as the two most prevalent characteristics of Korean church members' ethnic identity which distinguish them from the host society. With respect to race, most of the second generation Korean American church members perceived this to be one of the most salient factors for their distinction from “the dominant Anglo society” (p. 269). Furthermore, the second generation Korean American church members' positive ethnic identity and group membership is supported through Korean ethnic church participation. Chong emphasizes the transmission of Korean values along with the maintenance and support of “general aspects of culture (food, language, and customs)” (p. 270) within the church. Chong suggests that second generation Korean church members' ethnic identity can be expressed and reinforced through transmitting and maintaining traditional Korean cultural values including several elements of Korean Confucian values (e.g., filial duty, patriarchy, emphasis on education, family-centered culture, and age-based authoritarianism). Overall, the social and cultural role of a Korean ethnic church is

perceived to be as important as its religious role by the Korean American church members.

In the same vein, Shin (2005) emphasizes the Christian church as a major resource in the Korean immigrant community. She mentions that those who participate more actively in church activities are likely to have a higher degree of cultural identity than those who do not. She also claims that the Korean ethnic church in the United States transmits Korean culture “through a variety of unwritten norms, rules and codes of conduct” (Shin, 2005, p. 58). Korean language worship services and other social interactions among church members reinforce the Korean language. She suggests that the Korean ethnic church should provide a haven for second generation members so that they can have a strong sense of ethnic identity. In their interview study with 9 Korean immigrant parents in Montreal, Canada, Park and Sarkar (2007) found that all the parents recognize the linguistic and cultural role of Korean ethnic churches for second generation Koreans regardless of their religious affiliations. Min (1992) reports that the social roles of the Korean ethnic church may have been changed from practical roles for adult immigrants (e.g., settlement services for new immigrants and fellowship services) in the early stage of immigration to educational roles for younger generations by providing Korean language classes and by maintaining cultural traditions. It is clear from the present body of literature that ethnic churches play roles well beyond their religious roles.

3.3.2.3 Ethnolinguistic vitality

Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor (1977) proposed the term “Ethnolinguistic Vitality (EV) which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in

intergroup situations” (p. 308). They suggest that EV is influenced by “the Status, Demographic and Institutional Support factors” (p. 309). As regards the four status factors (i.e., economic, social, socio-historical, and language status), linguistic minorities who have more status are likely to have more vitality than those who have less status. Demographic factors, which include the concentration of group members, their distribution, and immigration trends, also greatly influence the EV of linguistic minority groups. The concentrated distribution of group members and the increase in group population by the group’s higher birth rate and influxes of immigrants from a common linguistic group area are demographic variables which seem to provide group members with a better chance of maintaining EV in the intergroup situation. Lastly, Giles et al. propose that linguistic minority groups are likely to enhance the degree of their EV through institutional support factors, including “the degree of formal and informal support a language receives” (p. 315) from the government, workplace, community, religious institutions, and schools. In other words, the more informal and formal support a group receives, the more EV they are likely to have. Both objective EV “based on census data and measurable institutional support” (Bourhis & Landry, 2008, p. 191), and subjective EV (Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977; Bourhis & Landry, 2008) based on a linguistic minority group’s self-beliefs and perceptions of its EV are considered to be important factors in a group’s language loss and maintenance.

3.3.2.4 Education and schools

There is a general belief that education should play a crucial role in maintaining linguistic minority students’ HL and fostering their HL development (Tse, 1997, 2001;

Baker, 2003; Garcia, 2003). Tse (1997) reviewed the currently available studies on the effects of ethnic language programs and attitudinal factors on HL maintenance. She found that ethnic language programs would be of benefit to minority students' proficiency in and appreciation of the ethnic language. In addition, she mentioned that more positive attitudes were found in ethnic language programs integrated into the day school and the regular curriculum than community-based HL programs, since a majority of immigrant students also have negative memories of their community sponsored HL schools. Rincker (1991) provides several reasons for students' negative memories of "out-of-school" (p. 643) HL programs which were provided in 25 languages in total based on the results of a questionnaire study with 154 heritage language teachers and administrators in Saskatchewan. These schools are shown not to be successful for immigrant students to develop their HL skills due to insufficient instruction time, low motivation of students due to the marginalization of HL classes within the regular curriculum, poor quality of materials and curriculum, insufficient funding, different ages and language levels in the same class, and lack of opportunities for teachers to improve teaching skills. In addition, Tse (1997, 2001) also claims that immigrant children's HL maintenance should be supported from mainstream schools by recognizing the value of immigrant children's HL skills and "by placing implicit importance on the language each time it was used in official and public ways" (2001, p. 689). Tse (1997) suggests that mainstream schools should integrate HL programs into the regular curriculum so that immigrant students can perceive the importance of their HL in their schools.

With regard to the role of bilingual education, Baker (2003) emphasizes "strong forms of bilingual education" (p. 97) which are aimed at the promotion of "bilingualism,

biliteracy, and cultural pluralism” (p. 97). Baker also claims that research on future bilingual education should focus on the improvement of “the probability that language minority children experience equity, justice, and tolerance, not just in school, but as the empowered citizens of tomorrow” (p. 106). Furthermore, Garcia (2003) highlights the role that teachers play in increasingly multilingual classrooms in North American and European public schools. Teachers should be aware of students’ linguistic diversity and develop their understandings of how to deal with linguistically diverse students in multilingual classrooms.

3.3.2.5 Other factors that may promote HL and culture

In addition to the factors discussed above, there are several other important factors in supporting the promotion of HL and cultural identity for young members of immigrant communities.

First of all, researchers note that making return trips to the country of origin is one of the best means of HL retention (Hinton, 1998; J. S. Lee, 2002). J. S. Lee (2002) investigated the relationship between HL proficiency and cultural identity among second generation Korean-American university students (n=40) and found, based on their self-rating in a questionnaire, that the students who had visited Korea more than four times had a higher level of proficiency in the Korean language. This is largely because these trips can provide a motivation for them to learn the HL, since they are immersed in a monolingual environment for the duration of the visit. Therefore, J. S. Lee suggests that more opportunities to visit Korea should be provided for Korean-American students.

Hinton's (1998) study with Asian-American university students also indicated that visiting their country of origin was positively related to HL development.

In addition, Cho and Krashen (2000) find that watching TV and reading in the HL can improve Korean-American students' HL skills. Cho and Krashen distributed a questionnaire to 114 Korean-American young adults who were enrolled in Korean language classes. Sixteen of them participated in in-depth interviews. The results reveal that more than 50% of the participants watched TV in the HL at least sometimes, which contributed to their HL maintenance. However, a majority of participants responded that they never read any materials in the HL. This is unfortunate, since studies have highlighted the importance of reading in the HL (McQuillan, 1996, 1998) for enhancing HL maintenance for young members of immigrant communities. It is assumed that young members' low proficiency in HL literacy skills may make them lose interest in reading any materials in the HL (Cho & Krashen, 2000).

Language brokering is also reported as another factor in supporting the promotion of linguistic minority students' HL skills (Tse, 1995, 1996). Tse finds that many immigrant children act as language brokers, translating and interpreting the majority language for parents who are not proficient in the majority language. Tse (1995) investigated the language brokering of 35 young native speakers of Spanish in the U.S. through a survey. The participants were 25 U.S.-born students and 10 foreign students. The results reveal that all the participants have experience in language brokering. Among the 25 U.S.-born students, 50% of the participants responded that they could learn Spanish through the act of brokering, while almost 50% among the 10 foreign students responded that they could acquire English faster through language brokering. In addition,

brokering has a positive effect on the promotion of immigrant students' level of independence, even though a few students complained about the burden and embarrassment caused by language brokering. Tse (1996) also explored the linguistic and cultural impact of language brokering on Asian American immigrant children in the United States. She surveyed 64 Asian American students about their experience in language brokering. The results reveal that nearly 90% of participants have experience in brokering for their parents, relatives, sibling, neighbours, and friends in various situations, and more than half of the participants responded that language brokering helped them develop competence in both their HL and the majority language.

The honorific characteristics of the Korean language may help young members acquire cultural values and reinforce linguistic knowledge in the HL, since relationships between speakers are linguistically and obligatorily encoded in the grammar when speaking Korean. Chung (2006) videotaped her family's (i.e., husband, 11-year-old daughter, and 4.5-year-old son) conversations in the house. The results of this study suggested that the two children could recognize their cultural values and identity by the use of the Korean language with their family members in the family, representing a "hierarchy of relationship according to sex, age, and status" (p. 304).

Thus far, I have reviewed literature relating to HL and cultural identity maintenance and development of young members from immigrant communities. This review offers insights into understanding why immigrant students should maintain their HL and cultural identity, and what factors reinforce their HL and cultural identity maintenance in multilingual and multicultural societies. This review also shows that

immigrant children's HL maintenance can be enhanced when they realize the usefulness of their HL and culture in the host society, and when they have a high level of motivation and interest in their HL maintenance, and positive attitudes toward their HL and culture. In addition, immigrant children's HL and cultural identity cannot be expected to be automatically maintained unless their HL and cultural identity are actively protected and promoted by parents and families, ethnic communities, and schools in the host society.

Now that I have discussed theories, research findings, and various factors relating to HL and cultural identity maintenance of younger generations of immigrant families are clear, I shift my attention to the loss of HL and cultural identity in order to understand what factors contribute to HL loss and how members are influenced by HL loss. Even though there has been increasing support for the preservation of HLs, many researchers (Wong Fillmore, 1991; Hinton, 1998; Kouritzin, 1999; Cummins, 2001a) point out that it is still often the case that the younger generations of immigrant families fail to maintain their HL in the host society due to the influence of education, peer and social pressure, and the lack of resources to support their HL maintenance. The issue of immigrant children's HL maintenance should therefore be framed in relation to the potential consequences of HL loss, to enhance motivation to find possible research-based solutions for their HL and cultural identity maintenance.

3.4 Heritage Language Loss

HL loss usually begins with young members of immigrant communities, since they are much more likely to be vulnerable in the sense of losing their HLs and cultural identities than adult immigrants (Wong Fillmore, 1991; Hinton, 1999).

Kouritzin (1999) describes the meaning of HL loss in terms of educational, social, and economic frameworks. She explains her theoretical framework on the basis of current understandings which regard HL loss as “restricted minority language acquisition in a majority language submersion setting” (p. 11). In order to explore the meaning of loss of HL of immigrants in the Canadian context, Kouritzin interviewed 21 adults who had lost their childhood HLs. Some participants associated this loss with a loss of heritage culture and identity. Others associated HL loss with “a loss of ease with the language that resulted from leaving the language community” (p. 202). Kouritzin found that participants had different points of view about their HL loss depending on their ages. The younger participants tended to link their HL loss to “the loss of marketability, employment opportunity, and economic advantages” (p. 203), whereas the older participants tended to associate their HL loss with the loss of connection to their HL identity and culture. Kouritzin concludes that HL loss is a powerful and negative individual experience.

HL loss in immigrant families causes a lack of communication between children and parents in the families. As a result, relationships with families, parents, and heritage cultures may be impaired, since immigrant children who lost their HL have fewer ways to maintain these relationships (Kouritzin, 1999). In this regard, Kouritzin suggests that “a more narrow, and more personal perspective than those that have dominated research to date” (p. 11) should be included in current research on HL loss. This provides part of the motivation for the design and procedures in the present study, since loss and maintenance of HL and cultural identity among the younger generations from Korean immigrant

families cannot be understood without considering their personal experiences within the family, Korean ethnic community, and the host society.

The processes of HL loss may differ depending on social situations and individual experiences. As immigrant students learn the majority language, they are likely to use it more exclusively and for the sake of convenience; however, without support, they also lose their HL. This is normally a gradual process, although it may be accelerated at the onset of schooling in the majority language and subsequent pressure to acquire the dominant language rapidly with concomitant HL neglect. However, immigrant children's HL loss is not an inevitable process in multilingual societies. In the next section, the various factors causing immigrant children's HL loss in multilingual societies are briefly reviewed.

3.4.1 Factors Which Cause HL Loss among the Younger Generations from Immigrant Communities

Wong Fillmore (1991) points out that the problem of HL loss cannot be addressed without considering immigrant children's social context. In multilingual and multicultural societies, immigrant children encounter influential social pressures when they start their schooling. Immigrant students are forced to assimilate into the host society through the rapid acquisition of the majority language. This means that immigrant students are likely to lose their HL rapidly while they are acquiring the majority language. This pressure can come, for example, from their classmates in school (Hinton, 1998). Immigrant students may feel strong pressure from their peers and may think that their differences could hinder their sense of membership in the majority group in school.

One of the most important factors causing immigrant students' HL loss in immigrant family is parents' choice of the home languages. According to Hinton (1998), parents' language choice at home may increase the possibility of their children's HL loss. With regard to involuntary language loss among Asian-American immigrants, through a set of linguistic autobiographies written by about 250 students, Hinton reveals that the introduction of English within the family by parents accelerates children's HL loss. As immigrant parents' level of proficiency in English grows, they want to try to help their children to learn English more rapidly and efficiently by using English at home with their children.

Another factor causing HL loss in immigrant families is the influence of siblings (Wong Fillmore, 1991). In a nationwide project based on interviews with more than 1,000 language minority families whose children attended preschool programs all over the United States, Wong Fillmore found that younger children in the family were more likely to lose their HL because of the earlier exposure to English at home from their older siblings, who learned English in school.

As noted above, HL loss usually begins with children in immigrant families when they start their schooling in the host society. The HLs of linguistic minority students are not actively encouraged in school, where they learn the majority language in order to be easily assimilated into the mainstream of the host society. Ghosh and Abdi (2004) report that linguistic, ethnic, and cultural differences have been neglected and even regarded as a threat to the host society in Canada. As a result of the assimilation policies in education in Canada, immigrant students' HLs have been devalued and neglected. This makes students have a negative self-concept toward their HL, culture, history, and even ethnic

identities. The negative self-concept of immigrant students toward their own ethnic groups then leads to HL loss.

Krashen (1998) finds that language shyness can also be a factor in HL loss, especially in students who are not native-like speakers of the HL. From the case histories of 3 Hispanic background graduate students, Krashen found that less proficient speakers of HL are subject to criticism and ridicule from more proficient speakers of HL in the HL community. Language shyness often leads immigrant children to reject or give up their HL. For fear of being ridiculed or criticized by those who are more fluent speakers of HL, they may reject the use of the HL and they may be estranged from the HL community due to this rejection.

3.4.2 Negative consequences caused by immigrant children's HL loss

As reviewed above, there are many interrelated factors that cause HL loss of the younger generations from immigrant families. There is no doubt that immigrant students' HL loss often causes a variety of negative consequences. These are discussed below.

To begin with, linguistic minority students' HL loss can cause a negative self image and cultural identity, since language represents the most significant aspect of culture and identity (Wong Fillmore, 1996; Kouritzin, 1999). Kouritzin (1999) provides two kinds of negative views, "inward and outward forms" (pp. 177-178), in order to explain the relationship between HL loss, culture, and identity. The inward negative view means that immigrant students can become ashamed of their own HL and culture. Kouritzin finds that they resist becoming minorities linguistically and ethnically by speaking the majority language and behaving like members of the majority culture. In

Kouritzin's study, some participants referred to themselves as "bananas" or "apples" (p. 177) which are yellow or red on the outside, but white on the inside. One of her participants also said that she always wanted to have "a nice White name" (p. 177).

The outward negative self image is often related to people's internalized racism against their own ethnic group, which is usually expressed by differentiation. Kouritzin (1999) finds that former immigrants try to differentiate themselves from new immigrants by speaking the majority language in order to show that they are superior to new immigrants. Along the same lines, Wong Fillmore (1996) reports that Chinese-American children call new immigrants from China "FOB (Fresh-Off-the-Boat)" (p. 444) and ask them to go back to their country. In order to differentiate themselves from new immigrants, they refer to themselves as "ABCs (American-Born-Chinese)" (p. 444). By using these terms, they try to differentiate themselves from new immigrants. However, Wong Fillmore claims that it is not an easy task for immigrant students to identify themselves with either their heritage identity or the dominant society identity. In the same vein, Kouritzin (1999) mentions that some participants used the term "Canadianized" (p. 179) instead of Canadian to refer to themselves. The participants, who all lived in Western Canada, felt that because of visible difference, "they were not permitted to be Canadian" (p. 179) regardless of their status as Canadian citizens. Concerning the issue of acceptance, Ghosh and Abdi (2004) insist that "it is an us-versus-them politics of location, in which visible minority groups remain immigrants in the perception of mainstream groups, even after several generations" (p. 71).

HL loss among young members of immigrant communities has negative consequences for their academic success in school. Cummins (2001b) maintains that the

rejection of immigrant students' HL in school has negative consequences for their school performance. He claims that if immigrant students are encouraged implicitly or explicitly by the teacher to leave their HL at home, then their active and confident participation in classroom is not likely to happen. Wong Fillmore (1991) also brings evidence to show that immigrant students' HL loss is closely related to educational difficulties in school. She says that linguistic minority students will "end up with fossilized versions of inter-languages" (p. 345) when they decide to give up their HLs before they acquire English fully. This result implies that immigrant students lose the educational opportunities that they are supposed to have.

Another negative consequence reported by many researchers (e.g., Wong Fillmore, 1991, 1996, 2000; Hinton, 1998; Kouritzin, 1999; Thomas & Cao, 1999; Cummins, 2001b), which can be one of the biggest negative consequences of immigrant students' HL loss, is the destruction of family relationships. Thomas and Cao (1999) investigated language shift and loss by analyzing examples of discourse of an immigrant family from Vietnam to the United States. The results of this study reveal that that the parents' authority was lost because the use of English dominates in the home. The study also shows that the children in this family make their parents who do not know English less authoritative by "putting them into a secondary position of decision making" in their school life (p. 112). The children in this family realized that their parents were not educated in the American educational system and they did not know the English language and the American culture. As a result of this, the children and parents could not communicate well due to an increasing language gap caused by children's HL loss. Both Wong Fillmore's (1991) study and Hinton's (1998) study support this idea that children's

HL loss has a negative influence on family relations because of the weakening of communication between generations. The results of their studies also reveal that immigrant children who have lost their HL are open to criticisms from grandparents, relatives, and friends due to their poor command of the HL. In addition, Wong Fillmore's (2000) qualitative study with one Chinese immigrant family composed of 4 adult members and 4 children in the United States also shows that the language shift from Chinese to English led by the children negatively affected their family relations because of the difficulty of communication between adults and children.

The theories and research findings presented above strongly support the maintenance of HL and cultural identity among young members of immigrant communities. My research endeavour therefore focuses on the importance of the recognition of HL and cultural identity maintenance, and the value of linguistic and cultural diversity in multilingual and multicultural societies. As the theories and research findings outlined in this chapter have shown, linguistic minority students' HL development is of great benefit to their cognitive development, academic achievement, second language acquisition, maintenance of ethnic identity, and maintenance of heritage culture. It also confers personal and societal benefits. Therefore, HL and cultural identity maintenance needs to be supported by immigrant families, ethnic communities, schools, and host societies.

Among these, I have shown that ethnic communities and ethnic religious community institutions, in particular, play a crucial role in HL and cultural identity maintenance among the younger generations of immigrant communities, since they can

be exposed to their HL and culture outside of the home. Furthermore, students can recognize the usefulness of the HL through social interactions with the same ethnic group members within the ethnic community.

Now, I shift my attention to the research questions which guide this study.

3.5 Research Questions

My research questions focus on how Korean ethnic churches support HL and cultural identity maintenance for Korean Canadian students.

My research questions were developed based on the following factors:

- A review of literature on HL loss and maintenance in multilingual and multicultural societies;
- My prior pilot study (Park & Sarkar, 2007) regarding Korean parents' attitudes toward HL maintenance for their children conducted in Montreal; and
- My personal experience in the Korean ethnic church as a HL teacher, Bible study teacher, member of the church, and immigrant parent of two young children.

The detailed questions are as follows:

- What factors affect Korean Canadian students' heritage language maintenance in Korean ethnic churches and how do these factors operate?
 - What do parents, Korean Canadian students, and adult church members (e.g., pastors, HL teachers) perceive to be the roles of Korean ethnic churches for Korean Canadian students' heritage language maintenance?

- How do Korean ethnic churches serve as social, cultural, and linguistic contexts that help Korean Canadian students maintain the Korean language as their mother tongue and enhance their cultural identity?
- How does the type of social relationship in a Korean ethnic church context affect the development and maintenance of the Korean Canadian students' heritage language?
 - How do church-related activities (e.g., Korean language school and Bible study group) affect the maintenance of the Korean Canadian students' heritage language and culture?
 - How does the sociolinguistic requirement to understand and use the honorific characteristics of the Korean language affect the maintenance of the Korean Canadian students' heritage language, depending on the type of social relationship in Korean ethnic churches?
- What factors should be considered to make Korean ethnic churches more active and successful ethnic community institutions in the development and maintenance of the Korean Canadian students' heritage language and their cultural identity?

3.6 Summary

In this chapter, I provided a definition of heritage languages and three major orientations in language planning in multilingual societies: “1) language-as-problem, 2) language-as-right, 3) language-as-resources” (Ruiz, 1984, p. 15). I then reviewed literature relating to language maintenance and loss of the younger generations from immigrant families within multilingual contexts. In particular, I emphasized the

importance of the family and the community in helping immigrants maintain and develop their HLs, cultures, and ethnic identities. These two factors are especially critical as linguistic and cultural minorities in the host society are not strongly supported and encouraged by the government and educational system in the host country. At the end of this chapter, I presented the research questions which guide this study.

Chapter 4: Methodology and Methods

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I describe the methodology employed for this study and the role of the researcher in order to situate myself in the inquiry as a qualitative researcher. I then discuss the research sites, research participants, materials used for the research, methodological tools, data gathering procedures, strategies used for data analysis, and strategies used to ensure trustworthiness of the data in this study. I end with a brief summary.

4.2 Methodology

In the past few decades, researchers have been able to choose from among several research approaches (i.e., quantitative, qualitative, and mixed-methods) in designing their research frameworks (Creswell, 2003). For this study, an ethnographic qualitative approach, based on the philosophical underpinning that “reality is constructed by individuals interacting with their social worlds” (Merriam, 1998, p. 6), most appropriately addressed my area of inquiry.

4.2.1 Qualitative Research Methodology

With regard to the strengths of qualitative research, Johnson and Christensen (2004) state that a deep understanding of people’s lived experiences can be gained by the use of “a wide- and deep-angle lens examining the breadth and depth of phenomena” (p. 33) in natural settings in qualitative research. In a similar vein, Denzin and Lincoln (2000) also point out that qualitative research is primarily conducted with multiple

methods in order to get a better understanding of the specific research questions in natural research settings. They claim that the use of multiple methods in qualitative research may enhance a deep, rich, and diverse understanding of possible answers to research questions, since each methodological practice may yield different meanings and insights by various means in a single study (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Such an approach also allows for a rich description of local contexts and situations of people's lived experiences.

Qualitative researchers insist that the main focus of this approach to research should be on understanding meaningful events in people's lives and their lived experience based on a phenomenological position (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994). Furthermore, Maykut and Morehouse (1994) claim that qualitative researchers try to understand participants' behaviours and words because they are interested in the participants' interpretation of the world. In this regard, proponents of qualitative approaches emphasize researchers' close involvement with the participants and research contexts and the facilitation of an inside view in the study (Bryman, 1984). Bryman (1984) also insists that a qualitative approach is more favoured than a quantitative approach when researchers investigate intricate social phenomena. In order to understand the constructed meaning of the individuals in this study, I focused on the close relationship between the researcher and the researched and "the socially constructed nature of reality" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 12). Since a heritage language is "the language associated with one's cultural background" (Cho, 2000, p. 333), it was important that I consider the younger generations' cultural and social experiences with other members within the community in the investigation. A group of people's language is closely related to their culture, since it has evolved on the basis of "their experience,

their origins, their perspectives, their relationships to other peoples, and their uniqueness as well” (Wong Fillmore, 1996, p. 435). Furthermore, Wong Fillmore claims that language and culture cannot be separated, since ethnic members and individuals have established their cultural identity and communicated with one another in their language within the same ethnic community. Luttrell (2000) also stressed the importance of human interactions and relations in ethnographic research.

Doughty and Doughty (1974) also mention that language and experience cannot be considered separately, since both are essential products of individuals' lived experience. An individual's language and experience come together in numerous social situations within a community.

Since I wanted to gain a deeper understanding of all my participants' lived experiences, I felt that a qualitative approach to this research problem would be most suitable. I felt it equally important to develop a rich description of local contexts and situations within my ethnic community in Montreal.

4.2.2 Rationale for an Ethnographic Qualitative Approach

Garcia (2003) reviews recent research trends in the field of ethnic and minority language maintenance and shift from 1998 to 2002. In his review article, he mentions that a huge amount of research has been done in the field of language maintenance for the preservation of heritage languages. He also indicates that several methods such as sociological surveys, group interviews, ethnographic observation, and combinations of these methods have been used in order to find reasons for the (non) maintenance of

heritage languages and also to investigate the ways in which heritage language maintenance is encouraged or discouraged.

The aim of ethnographic research is the interpretation and description of individuals' cultural behaviour (Wolcott, 1987). Culture should be inferred by the researcher from participants' behaviours and words, since culture cannot be explicitly represented and cannot be observed in a direct and straightforward way (Wolcott, 1987). In addition, a deep, diverse, and complete understanding of research problems cannot be achieved without considering "the cultural dimensions of human behaviour" (Wolcott, 1987, p. 54) and ethnographic research allows for this.

Although my research is not a study of culture itself, Korean younger generations' heritage language maintenance is related to their cultural, historical, individual, and social experiences with other members of the Korean ethnic community. Therefore, I tried to understand and research their heritage language and culture maintenance from an ethnographic standpoint. In this study, I investigated the Korean younger generations' heritage language and cultural identity maintenance within the Korean ethnic community church context in Montreal. The younger generations of Korean immigrant families in this study included Korean immigrant students who immigrated to Canada as well as those who were born in Canada. All student participants were in the age range of 13-19 and who were in secondary schools and in CEGEPs (Collège d'enseignement général et professionnel) in Montreal. With regard to the CEGEP system in Quebec, Statistics Canada (2008c) provided the following definition:

The postsecondary system in Quebec is unique in that the colleges (CEGEPs) provide a program that is a requirement for entry to university. Students who

complete high school (normally after 11 years of schooling) must complete two years of the "general program" of the colleges (as opposed to the "vocational" programs) and they then proceed to university for completion of their program, which normally takes three years for a pass bachelor's degree in arts or science.

These adolescent students in the teenage years were chosen, because they are still at the stage where they are struggling with their identity. McKinney, Fitzgerald, and Strommen (1977) define adolescence as “a transition between childhood and adulthood” (p. 3). This means that adolescents are different from children and adults in the sense that they are partly independent from adults, but they are still dependent on adults. Tse (1998) proposes a “model of ethnic identity development” (p. 15) consisting of 4 stages depending on ethnic minorities’ attitudes toward the heritage language and majority language. Among them, ethnic minorities who are mostly in adolescence and even young adulthood (Stage 2) are likely to have more ambivalent feelings toward their ethnic identity and language than the other age groups (Tse, 1998). Their ethnic identity and heritage language development are likely to be influenced by mainstream schools, their ethnic groups and communities, and ethnic peers who speak the same heritage language, rather than by parents during this period, since adolescents spend more time interacting with peers outside of the home. Phinney, Romero, Nava, and Huang (2001) also claim that adolescent students from immigrant families encounter complicated issues in their ethnic identity formation, since these adolescents are likely to interact with their parents, who keep the ethnic language, culture, and values brought from their home country, while they have to interact with both their own ethnic and non-co-ethnic peers in schools and communities outside of the home. In this situation, it is likely that adolescent students

have to negotiate their identity and language use among different cultures (Phinney et al., 2001).

4.2.3 Role of the Researcher

Researcher bias is a potential threat to validity in qualitative research (Johnson & Christensen, 2004). In this respect, it is important that I become more aware that my personal background, values, biases, and predispositions may affect my understandings, interpretations, and findings. Therefore, in this section, I identify my multiple roles through a reflexive self-reflection as a qualitative researcher.

I was born to a Christian family in Seoul, Korea. I grew up in a small town located in the southern part of Seoul, where my father has been a pastor at an evangelical holiness church for 35 years. I lived in this town until I married in 1998. As a pastor, my father always put a great deal of emphasis on self-discipline and integrity in my education, and he has been very supportive in providing me with a good educational environment. My father's enthusiasm for my education helped me to perceive the importance of education since childhood. Since childhood, I have been interested in English language and literature. So I earned a B.A. degree in English language and literature at a university in Seoul. Throughout my university years, I actively participated in various church-related activities as a teacher of a Sunday school for a "Youth-Congregation" and as a member of a choir in my father's church. I also had an opportunity to teach Taekwondo, a traditional Korean martial art, to high school students in the Philippines for two months as a university student engaged in mission work. Until that time, I had grown up and been educated in a monolingual and homogenous country. There were few foreigners in the

small village where I taught Taekwondo in the Philippines, but I did not consider myself as a linguistic and cultural minority at that time because of my privileged status as a volunteer instructor from Korea. After graduating from university, I started my career in a company, not as a teacher but as a business person. Through my four-year job experiences, which involved several overseas business trips and two years of residence in China, I had an opportunity to learn several languages including Chinese. These experiences made me become interested in language education and I decided to go to Canada with my family to pursue graduate studies in language education and to educate my son, who had just turned three years old when we left in 2002. In 2003, I was admitted to McGill University as a Master's student in the Second Language Education program. My family and I moved to Montreal.

During my years at McGill University as a graduate student, I acquired different perspectives regarding my field of interest through the courses I took. At the same time, I actively participated in various Korean ethnic church-related activities. It was through the combination of these experiences that I became interested in immigrant students' heritage language loss and maintenance, especially in the case of Korean Canadians in Montreal. After I obtained a Master's degree, my family applied for Canadian immigration in 2005 and we became landed immigrants in 2006.

In this research, my multiple roles and experiences made me both an insider and outsider to my research participants and in my research context. First of all, I was an insider based on my active involvement in various church-related activities, my ethnic background, including native Korean speaker status, and my immigration experience. The researcher can become an insider to the community through the sharing of common

cultural and social experiences (Villenas, 1996). As a landed immigrant who has a similar immigration experience to adult members in the church, is a parent of two children, and member of the Korean ethnic church, I could gain a deeper understanding of my participants' lived experiences and develop a rich description of local contexts and situations within my research context as an insider.

At the same time, I was also an outsider because of my Ph.D. studies at one of the most prestigious universities in Canada. Most people in the church believe that I will leave here as soon as I obtain my Ph.D. degree, even though I am also a landed immigrant and Quebec resident. It is not unusual for Korean immigrant people to leave Quebec and Canada in order to find better chances of getting better jobs after they obtain their Ph.D. degrees. So I was often asked questions from church members like, "When are you going to leave?" or "When do you go back to Korea?" In addition, my doctoral study concentrating on immigrant heritage language maintenance also made me an outsider to my adult participants. They sometimes treated me as a researcher, not as one of them. I also could be perceived as an outsider by my student participants who were educated in Canada, since I was educated in Korea up until the end of my B.A. degree.

Accordingly, it was not an easy task for me to define myself strictly as an insider or an outsider in this study. However, my multiple roles as an insider-outsider were not detrimental to my research, since each relationship has its own merits as well as demerits. Johnson and Christensen (2004) underscore that researchers should effectively use both perspectives in order to remain "objective" without sacrificing a deeper understanding in their study. Enos (2001) also states that researchers should recognize their multiple

identities in a given research setting in order to make the research valuable without being biased against either insiders' or outsiders' perspectives.

In fact, my multiple research identities as both an insider and an outsider allowed me to consider and examine my perceptions and understandings through interactions with my research participants, within the ethnic community as a research context. In addition, I considered my position as a qualitative researcher with respect to the participants within the Korean church community and within the larger context of the host society. In relation to the host society and the Korean ethnic church, I was both a researcher and a member of the church. In this manner, I could move from being an insider or an outsider depending on a given situation or role.

4.3 Research Sites

This study was conducted in two Korean ethnic churches in the Montreal area over a four-month period from January to April in 2008. However, participant observation and group discussions were conducted only in the first church, which was my primary research site. Participants from the second church participated only in the in-depth interviews that I conducted.

4.3.1 Primary Research Site: The HOPE church

The primary research site was the Korean ethnic church which I call the HOPE church. This church has a membership of approximately 100 people and is located in Montreal. There I am a member, a heritage language teacher, a Taekwondo instructor, and a Bible study teacher. The main reason that this church was chosen as the primary

research site is that all the participants are part of my own cultural and social circle. This allowed me to obtain firsthand data from my students, their parents, and pastors with insider perspectives. In addition, given the average number of members attending Korean ethnic churches and the similar structure of Korean ethnic churches, the HOPE church is not considered a unique or atypical Korean ethnic church, even though it is not claimed by anyone to be the most “typical” Korean ethnic church in Montreal.

This church was founded by the current senior pastor in 1995. All the worship services and activities in the HOPE church are conducted solely in Korean. The youth congregations in the HOPE church are composed of three congregations: the youth congregation for young children with about 15 members, the youth congregation for teenagers with about 12 members, and the young-adult congregation for CEGEP and university students with about 15 members. The HOPE church has an assistant pastor who leads the youth congregations for teenagers and young children.

Table 4.1 shows the regular weekly service and meeting schedule of the HOPE church.

Table 4. 1

Weekly Service and Meeting Schedule of the HOPE church

Service	Time
First Sunday worship service	Sunday 09:15 – 10:15
Second Sunday worship service	Sunday 11:00 – 12:30
Youth congregation and Bible study class for young children (Under the age of 12)	Sunday 11:00 – 12:30
Wednesday worship service	Wednesday 19:30 -20:30
Service for Young-Adult congregation and Bible study class	Friday 18:00 – 20:00
Service for Youth congregation and Bible study class (Secondary students)	Saturday 10:00 – 12:00
Morning prayer service	Daily 06:00 – 06:45
Praise and Worship service	Last Sunday of every month 18:00 – 20:00
Meeting	Time
Fellowship time	Sunday 12:30 – 14:00
Bible study class for adult members	Monday 18:30 – 20:30
	Tuesday 18:30 – 20:30
	Thursday 09:00 & 19:00
Korean language school	Sunday 9:30 – 10:30
Library open	Sunday 13:00 - 15:00

4.3.2 Secondary Research Site: The FAITH church

Other participants were recruited from another Korean ethnic church, which I will call the FAITH church. This church has about 65 listed members and is located in Montreal. I included some participants for in-depth interviews from this church, so that I could have an outsider's perspective on the study. Since I am a non-member of this church, then I can view what is going in there as an outsider. This church was founded in 1990. The current pastor of the FAITH church has been serving in this church since 2006. All the worship services and activities in the FAITH church are also conducted solely in Korean.

Table 4.2 shows the regular weekly service and meeting schedule of the FAITH church.

Table 4. 2

Weekly Service and Meeting Schedule of the FAITH church

Service	Time
First Sunday worship service	Sunday 10:15 – 10:50
Second Sunday worship service	Sunday 11:00 – 12:30
Service for Youth congregation for young children and Bible study class	Sunday 11:00 – 12:30
Wednesday worship service	Wednesday 20:00 - 21:00
Saturday morning prayer service	Saturday 06:00 – 07:00
Service for Youth congregation	Saturday 16:00 – 18:00
Meeting	Time
Fellowship time	Sunday 12:30 – 14:00
Bible study class for adult members	Sunday 14:00 – 15:30

4.4 Research Participants

The participant group (n=37 in total) in this study was composed of Korean Canadian students (n=15) who live in Montreal and attend a Korean ethnic church, their parents (n=10), heritage language and Bible study teachers (n=4), and pastors of the church they attend and of other Korean churches in the city that they do not attend (n=4). Another group of Korean Canadian students who were not enrolled in any Korean ethnic church was also included (n=4).

The sampling strategy used in this research was “purposeful sampling” (Patton, 1990, p. 169); my participants were selected based on the criteria that could directly address and reflect the purpose of my research (Merriam, 1998; Johnson & Christensen, 2004). This sampling strategy allowed me to select participants based on the criteria in which I was interested. These are outlined in the section below.

4.4.1 Student Participants (n=19) and Their Profiles

The student participants of this study were recruited from the HOPE church and the FAITH church by word of mouth (i.e., 11 HOPE church members, 4 FAITH church members, and 4 non-church members): Four non-church members were introduced by the student participants of the HOPE church through their social networks in Montreal using a snowball sampling process. The reason I included four Korean Canadian students, who were not enrolled in any Korean ethnic churches, was that I wanted to investigate what language they spoke in and outside the home, and in what context and with whom they spoke the Korean language.

Criteria for selection

Fifteen Korean Canadian students were selected based on the following criteria:

- 1). Canadian born or immigrants to Canada;
- 2). Between 13 to 19 years old (teenagers);
- 3). Enrolled in secondary school or in CEGEP; and
- 4). Registered as members of the HOPE church or the FAITH church.

Among the 15 students, 11 students from the HOPE church participated in the group discussions. These, in addition to the above criteria, are students who are either currently enrolled or were once enrolled in the Korean language school and the Bible study group run by the HOPE church. The reason that I included students from the Bible study is that the Bible class is conducted in the Korean language with all the materials written in Korean.

Four other Korean Canadian students were selected based on the following criteria:

- 1). Canadian born or immigrants to Canada;
- 2). Between 13 to 19 years old (teenagers)
- 3). Enrolled in secondary school or in CEGEP; and
- 4). Not enrolled in any Korean ethnic churches.

Table 4.3 presents a summary of their profiles.

Table 4. 3

Profiles of Korean Canadian Student Participants

No	Age	Name	Birth Place	Length of residence in Montreal	Length of KR church attendance in Montreal	Current Grade Level	Language of instruction in school	Gender/ No of siblings	Church
1	18	Jinhyun	France	3 years and 7 months	3 years	Cegep 1st year	English (H) English (C)	Female/ 1	HOPE
2	15	Jinsu	Korea	3 years and 7 months	3 years	Grade 9	French ⁴ (H)	Male/ 1	HOPE
3	13	Junmi	Korea	5 years	5 years	Grade 8	French (H)	Female/ 1	HOPE
4	13	Sumi	Korea	12 years	12 years	Grade 8	French (H)	Female/ 1	HOPE
5	19	Jinhee	Korea	14 years	9 years	Cegep 2nd year	French (H) English (C)	Female/ 2	HOPE
6	19	Insuk	Korea	14 years	9 years	Cegep 2nd year	French (H) English (C)	Female/ 2	HOPE
7	18	Yongjin	Korea	13 years	13 years	Cegep 2nd year	Bilingual (H) English (C)	Male/ 2	HOPE
8	18	Yongjae	Korea	13 years	13 years	Cegep 2nd year	Bilingual (H) English (C)	Male/ 2	HOPE
9	17	Eunmi	Korea	13 years	13 years	Cegep 1st year	Bilingual (H) English (C)	Female/ 2	HOPE
10	17	Misun	Korea	16 years	14 years	Cegep 1st year	French (H) English (C)	Female/ 2	HOPE
11	15	Daeho	Korea	15 years	14 years	Grade 10	French (H)	Male/ 2	HOPE
12	13	Sangtae	Canada	10 years	13 years	Grade 8	English (H)	Male/ 2	FAITH
13	16	Yunju	Canada	10 years	10 years	Grade 11	Bilingual (H)	Female/ 2	FAITH
14	15	Hyunmi	Korea	8 years	1 year	Grade 9	French (H)	Female/ 1	FAITH
15	13	Sunkyu	Korea	10 years	9 years	Grade 8	French (H)	Male/ 2	FAITH
16	19	Jintae	Korea	3 years	N/A	Cegep 1st year	French (H) English (C)	Male/ 1	N/A
17	18	Kangyun	Canada	18 years	N/A	Cegep 2 nd year	French (H) English (C)	Male/ 2	N/A
18	17	Jongku	Korea	2 years	N/A	Grade 10	English (H)	Male/ 1	N/A
19	18	Daehan	Korea	14 years	N/A	Grade 11	French (H)	Male/ 1	N/A

Note. H = High school; C = CEGEP; N/A = Not applicable; KR = Korean; Pseudonyms are used for all the student participants

⁴ Students who attend French schools learn English as a second language

4.4.2 Korean Adult Participants (n=18) and Their Profiles

4.4.2.1 Parents (n=10)

The parent participants of this study were recruited from the HOPE church and the FAITH church. Eight parents from the HOPE church and two parents from the FAITH church met the criteria below and participated in in-depth interviews.

Criteria for selection

Ten Korean parents were selected based on the following criteria:

- 1). Parents of the teenage participants or those who have children of similar age and background;
- 2). Enrolled in the Adult Congregation in either the HOPE church or the FAITH church; and
- 3). Have been in Canada for more than three years.

The reason I chose parents who have been in Canada for more than three years as participants in this study is that newly immigrated parents might be so busy adapting themselves to the new life in Canada for the first couple of years after their immigration that they might not be able to actively participate in church-related activities during this period.

4.4.2.2 Teachers (n=4):

Four teachers (two heritage language teachers and two Bible study teachers) from the HOPE church participated in this research.

4.4.2.3 Pastors (n=4)

Four pastors (i.e., 1 senior pastor and 1 assistant pastor from the HOPE church, 1 pastor from the FAITH church, and 1 pastor from another Korean ethnic church in Montreal) participated in in-depth interviews in this research. Table 4.4 summarizes profiles of adult participants.

Table 4. 4

Profiles of Korean Adult Participants

No	Age	Gender	Native Country	Length of residence in Montreal	Length of KR church participation in Montreal	Involved in the church before immigration?	No. of children	Role
1	47	Male	Korea	13 years	13 years	Yes	3	Senior Pastor
2	32	Female	Korea	7 months	7 months	Yes	0	Assistant Pastor
3	52	Male	Korea	10 years	10 years	Yes	3	Senior Pastor
4	47	Male	Korea	20 years	20 years	Yes	4	Senior Pastor
5	44	Male	Korea	4 years and 6 months	4 years and 6 months	No	2	HL teacher
6	20	Female	Korea	14 years	13 years	Yes	0	HL teacher / Bible study leader
7	26	Female	Korea	3 years	3 years	Yes	0	Bible study teacher
8	36	Female	Korea	10 years	10 years	Yes	0	HL teacher
9	53	Female	Korea	13 years	9 years	No	3	Parent
10	44	Female	Korea	3 years and 7 months	3 years	No	2	Parent
11	47	Female	Korea	13 years	13 years	Yes	3	Parent
12	46	Female	Korea	16 years	13 years	Yes	3	Parent
13	36	Male	Korea	16 years	16 years	Yes	2	Parent
14	37	Female	Korea	15 years	15 years	Yes	2	Parent
15	41	Female	Korea	5 years	5 years	No	2	Parent
16	44	Male	Korea	19 years	19 years	Yes	3	Parent
17	48	Female	Korea	10 years	10 years	Yes	3	Parent
18	44	Male	Korea	10 years	10 years	No	3	Parent

Note. KR = Korean; LG = Language; Unique codes are used for adult participants

4.5 Data Gathering: Methodological Tools of Inquiry

For this research, I employed ethnographic and qualitative approaches, focusing mainly on qualitative interviews, participant observation, and group discussions in order to investigate the Korean younger generation students' heritage language and cultural identity maintenance within the Korean ethnic church context in Montreal. This group of young children are the ones who will maintain the community over time as well as the heritage language in the host society (Wong Fillmore, 1996). Through this research, I examined the maintenance of the heritage language and cultural identity for the younger generation students of Korean immigrant families within the context of Korean ethnic churches in Montreal. Their lived experiences produced by participating in several social situations within the Korean community as a member of the community were considered essential to their heritage language and culture maintenance.

4.5.1 Materials Used for the Research

4.5.1.1 Participant observation

For participant observation, a checklist (see Appendix A) of important points to be observed was prepared in advance. Five main points of observation were as follows:

- 1) How do Korean Canadian students participate in the activities and interact with one another, and with adult members in the church?;
- 2) How do different social relationships between interlocutors affect their language use?;
- 3) What is the language of their conversations with one another and with adult members?;

4) How do they interact with their teachers and with their peers in the Bible study class and in HL class?;

5) What kinds of materials are used in these activities and what is the language of the materials?

I employed participant observation in order to understand the Korean Canadian students' culture and lives in natural settings. In addition, I tried to gather deep and rich data on their social worlds and to obtain first-hand data on multifaceted social interactions and complicated human relationships (Bryman, 1984).

4.5.1.2 Group discussions

For group discussions, I used a group discussion guide (see Appendix B) consisting of one opening question and ten open-ended questions. I employed a group discussion method of gathering data for two reasons. First, I wanted to observe student-student interactions, student-moderator interactions, and students' language use. Second, I wanted to provide student participants with a chance to develop their ideas more clearly through sharing each other's thoughts during group discussions.

With regard to the use of the group discussion, Maykut and Morehouse (1994) indicate that a well-conducted group discussion, which is "a group interview as a group conversation with a purpose" (p. 104), can provide participants with a chance to develop their ideas more clearly through sharing each other's thoughts during the interview in the form of group discussion and informal conversations. With respect to the ideal number of participants in a group, Maykut and Morehouse (1994) suggest that the number of participants in a group should be more than four members and fewer than twelve

members in order that every member can participate in the discussion and their diverse contributions can be large enough for the purpose of the discussion. This is the reason why I made two groups with six and five members respectively so that every participant could actively participate in the discussion.

4.5.1.3 Individual one-on-one interviews

For individual one-on-one interviews with a semi-structured format, an interview protocol, mostly composed of open-ended questions (see Appendix C), was used. The interview questions (see Appendix C) were divided into three parts: language questions, cultural questions, and Korean church-related questions. Different interview questions (see Appendix C), were provided to student participants and to adult participants respectively. The interview questions and themes in my study cover a range of Korean ethnic church members' everyday life concerns with respect to Korean language and culture. Themes included their personal and historical experience learning Korean in and outside the home, language use at home and outside the home, attitudes toward the Korean language and culture, social relationships with other members in Korean churches, and participation in community activities, including church involvement in Canada. In addition, a questionnaire (see also Appendix C) was also used to seek demographic information along with the interview protocol.

All participants (n=37) were interviewed. The rationale for including all the members together with student participants as research participants was so that their different experiences, reflections, and voices would be reflected in the study. I tried to seek information on a number of issues including biographical data on the participants,

the extent of their participation in the activities of the Korean churches, their attitudes toward the role of the church in their lives, and the maintenance of their language and culture through the interview.

4.5.2 Data Gathering Procedure

Data collection extended from January through April, 2008. Table 4.5 presents the main contexts of participant observation and the timetable for data collection procedures during the research.

Table 4. 5

Main Contexts and Timetable for Data Collection Procedures during the Research

Participant Observation		
Context	Duration of each observation	Date of observation
Sunday worship service (8 hours in total)	2 hours	January 20
	2 hours	January 27
	2 hours	February 3
	2 hours	February 10
Korean language class (2 hours in total)	1 hour	February 3
	1 hour	February 10
Bible study class (12 hours in total)	3 hours	January 18
	3 hours	January 19
	3 hours	January 25
	3 hours	January 26
Praise and Worship service (4 hours in total)	2 hours	January 27
	2 hours	February 24
Social interactions, informal meetings and activities in the church	From 8:30 a.m. to 9:30 a.m./ From 12:30 p.m. to 3:00 p.m. on Sundays	From January to April
Group Discussions		
Place	Duration of each discussion	Date of discussion
HOPE church	1 hour and 40 minutes	January 25
HOPE church	1 hour	January 26
Individual Interviews		
Place	Duration of interviews	Date of interviews
Church, Home, Workplace, and Café etc.	Between 23 and 50 minutes	From January 26 to April 1

Before I began to collect data, I sent letters of informed consent (see Appendix D), which were written in English, to the church leaders (pastors) in the churches where I hoped to do participant observation and interviews. Written consent forms were obtained from the parents and legal guardians for the Korean Canadian students who were under the age of 18. In addition, assent forms were obtained from student participants in the age range of 13-18.

4.5.2.1 Participant observation

Participant observation was only conducted in the HOPE church where I serve as a member, a heritage language teacher, and a Bible study teacher.

I observed 11 Korean Canadian student members of the two group discussions and took field notes about their behaviours and language use on a number of variables to discover their seriousness and intent in participating in the service. At the beginning, I took field notes only on the observation checklist, but I soon began to use a notebook and the checklist together because of the limited space on the checklist. My role as a participant observer was divided into two parts. First, I sat at the back as an observer during the Sunday worship service, Praise and Worship service, the Korean language classes and the Bible study classes, which were led by other teachers. Second, I taught both the Korean language class and the Bible study class myself. The main contexts of participant observation were as follows:

- Sunday worship service: The worship service starts at 11:00 a.m. every Sunday.

There is one senior pastor and one assistant pastor. All Korean Canadian students who are members either in secondary schools or in CEGEPs attend this service

with adult members. This service is conducted solely in the Korean language. The church weekly report, which is distributed before the service, is also written only in Korean.

- Korean language school: This school starts at 9:45 a.m., before the worship service, for an hour on every Sunday morning. This school consists of five simultaneous classes depending on the student's Korean language level and age. There are five teachers and about 20 students. I am currently teaching four students who are all secondary students at intermediate level.
- Bible study class: There are two Bible study classes. One class is for teenagers and has about 12 members. The other class is for CEGEP and university students and has about 15 members. The first class, for secondary students, starts at 4:30 p.m. every Saturday and runs for about three hours, including fellowship time, which is a time to get acquainted with each other by sharing food together. There are two teachers including me. I am currently leading one group that has seven secondary students. The second class, which is for CEGEP and university students, starts at 6:00 p.m. every Friday and lasts about three hours, including fellowship time. There are two leaders who have been trained by the senior pastor. Even though these two leaders are university students, they play the same role as the two teachers of the first class do (i.e., leading the group discussion). All the materials used in the class are from Korea and written in Korean.
- Praise and Worship service: This service is held once a month for two hours. This service is solely conducted in the Korean language. This service was initiated by the former assistant pastor a few years ago for any Korean Christian students in

Montreal and now it is led by a group of Korean Canadian students along with one adult church member.

- Informal meetings and activities in the church (e.g., fellowship time after the service and student participants' library use). Normally a luncheon is provided by the church after the Sunday worship service for fellowship time.

During the observation sessions, I took field notes with observation check lists (see Appendix A). Some church-related activities (e.g. Korean language classes, Bible study classes, and Praise and Worship services) which Korean Canadian student participants were involved in were photographed; however, general observation during worship services was not recorded in any way for ethical reasons, since there were other church members who were not research participants.

At the beginning of the observations, I observed only three or four student participants at one time, but I soon began to observe all 11 student participants at the same time, because most of the activities and interactions were conducted in the same place due to the limited space of the church.

During the observations, I collected several documents used in the HOPE church in order to examine which language was used in the materials:

- Weekly reports;
- Materials used in the Bible study classes;
- Teaching materials used in the heritage language classes.

In addition, I collected the weekly reports issued by the other 12 Korean ethnic churches in Montreal, so that I could obtain information about various services and

activities provided by Korean ethnic churches for Korean Canadian students in the Montreal area.

4.5.2.2 Group discussion

Eleven Korean Canadian students from the HOPE church participated in the group discussions and individual follow-up in-depth interviews. The interview is described in the next section. These 11 students included four students from the youth congregation for teenage members and seven students from the young-adult congregation for CEGEP and university students.

Group discussions were conducted with two groups of student participants of the HOPE church. One group had six participants and the other had five. I led both discussions. Discussions were mainly conducted in Korean, but students were allowed to use English or French. Six CEGEP students participated in the first group discussion after their Friday Bible class. This lasted approximately 1 hour and 40 minutes. Four secondary students and one CEGEP student participated in the second group discussion, which lasted approximately one hour, also after their Saturday Bible class. The two discussion groups were supposed to be divided into the CEGEP student group and the secondary student group, but one CEGEP student could not join the CEGEP group for personal reasons; therefore, he participated in the secondary student group. The group discussions were digitally audio-recorded.

4.5.2.3 Individual one-on-one interviews

Even though participant observation and group discussion were used for data-collection in my study, the main instrument for collecting data was qualitative interviewing. The interviews were conducted with students, parents, teachers, and pastors.

All the participants were asked to fill out a questionnaire (see Appendix C) seeking demographic information before they participated in interviews. The interviews were conducted where and when the participants felt comfortable. The interviews were mainly conducted in Korean, but some interviews were conducted solely in English or in both Korean and English at the request of participants who were not fully proficient in Korean. No interviews were conducted in French, because no participants asked for an interview in French. The interviews were conducted between January and April, 2008. Interviews lasted between 23 and 50 minutes including the time it took for the participant to fill out the questionnaire, approximately 10 minutes.

With regard to the emergent characteristics of qualitative research, Creswell (2003) mentions that several aspects, including research questions, data collection process, and interview questions may change during the data collection and analysis processes and these changes are permissible in a qualitative study. This characteristic of qualitative research often makes the processes of data collection and data analysis inseparable and recursive (Seidman, 2006). Even though it was hard for me to separate the two processes, the transcription and analysis of my interview data were postponed until I had completed all the interviews. For the most part, I stuck to my original questions so that all the participants were asked the same questions, so that I, as an interviewer, would not be influenced by other participants' ideas and answers. However,

a few salient topics identified from the earlier interviews were added to later ones. These were: (1) When and why do student participants use honorific expressions when they speak Korean?; and (2) How do participants define a “second generation”?.

4.5.3 Ethical Considerations

For the protection of the identity and rights of the participants, I assured all the participants that their real names would not be revealed. Participants in the group discussions were assured that no information would be revealed that could identify them, and that comments they made would not be reported (either verbally or in writing) in such a way that specific people or incidents could be identified. I explained to all the participants that their participation was entirely voluntary and they could withdraw from the study any time. I submitted my application for ethics approval for human subject research to the McGill University Research Ethics Board-III (REB-III) in November 2007 and received the approval in January 2008.

4.6 Data Analysis

4.6.1 Analysis of Participant Observation Field Notes

In contrast to the interviews, I tried to type up my notes the same day if possible, but because my observations normally took place from Friday night to Sunday afternoon, I usually typed up all my notes with my reflections and feelings on the Monday morning following. Typed field notes were repeatedly examined and analysed during data analysis.

I started with a list of pre-determined categories according to my research questions at the beginning of the data analysis of the participant observation based on the

observation checklist. Then, I developed new categories as the data analysis went on (Johnson & Christensen, 2004). This process is described in detail below.

4.6.2 Analysis of Group Discussion and Interview Data

The group discussions and individual interviews were digitally audio-recorded, then downloaded and transcribed by myself. The main points were translated from Korean to English later for purposes of dissemination.

For the analysis of the group discussions, I looked at student-student interactions, student-moderator interactions, students' language use, and the topics discussed according to the questions provided by the group discussion guide.

Overall, the data of this study were analyzed through a nonmathematical analytical procedure which allowed inductive data analysis based on the meaning of participants' words and behaviours. My approach to data analysis was based on an 'interpretative and descriptive' approach which allowed me to describe my data accurately and "to reconstruct the data into a recognizable reality" (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994, p. 122) for the participants. However, my approach to data analysis was not exclusively inductive, since I also used a list of preset categories.

Initially, I had a list of key categories based on my group discussion and interview questions. From those, I developed the sub-categories according to themes. However, I did not apply the preset categories unless segments of data were evidently suitable to these categories. With the data that did not fit the preset categories, I developed new categories. I first identified new themes by dividing the data into meaningful analytic segments. Then, I labelled segments of data with codes or descriptive words in order to

create my own new categories (Johnson & Christensen, 2004). In the final analysis, I organized my data categorically with the list of preset categories, along with newly identified categories (Johnson & Christensen, 2004; Maykut & Morehouse, 1994).

Through this iterative and recursive process, I tried to find the most appropriate categories which could serve the purpose of my research so that I could answer my research questions (Merriam, 1998).

4.7 Strategies used to Ensure Trustworthiness of Data

I employed the following strategies to ensure trustworthiness of the data in my qualitative research: (1) use of multiple research methods; (2) extended fieldwork; (3) self-reflection for clarification of researcher bias; and (4) rich and thick description.

4.7.1 Use of Multiple Research Methods

I used multiple research methods (i.e., participant observation, group discussions, and qualitative interviewing) in order to gain multiple perspectives on the participants' lived experiences. For instance, the importance of parents' positive attitude toward immigrant children's heritage language maintenance is a well established finding in the field of language maintenance research. However, this alone is not enough to guarantee their children's heritage language maintenance and development (Shin, 2005). Parents' positive attitudes are not always linked to actual support for their children's heritage language maintenance because of "immigrant parents' ambivalence about the acculturation of their children in the host society" (Shin, 2005, p. 55). This means that immigrant parents want their children to maintain their heritage language, culture, and

identity, while they also want their children to adopt the culture and language of the host society as soon as possible through the fast acquisition of the language and culture of the host society (Shin, 2005). Also, children may face counter pressures from non-parents and some parents who are not supportive of HL maintenance. In this situation, the effective and cooperative combination of qualitative interviewing and participant observation within the Korean ethnic church context, where there were younger generations of Korean immigrant families, parents, and other group members, served as additive and integrative methodological triangulation in the exploration of these issues in my study. Overall, the incorporative and additive combination of participant observation, group discussion, and qualitative interviewing as “methods triangulation” (Johnson & Christensen, 2004, p. 254) helped me to understand participants’ diverse lived experiences. Supplementary and complementary methods triangulation for the elevation of credibility in research results (Atkinson & Coffey, 2002) also adds depth to the interpretation of the results.

4.7.2 Extended Fieldwork

I conducted this research over a four-month period from January to April 2008. In order to increase the validity of the research results, I observed my participants and their acts and behaviours in various activities repeatedly during this period (see Table 4.5).

4.7.3 Self-Reflection for Clarification of Researcher Bias

Under the heading, “Role of the researcher” at the beginning of this chapter, I tried to clarify my researcher biases and assumptions through self-reflection as a

qualitative researcher. The purpose of doing this was to become self-aware, and to check and control my biases (Merriam, 1998; Johnson & Christensen, 2004).

4.7.4 Rich and Thick Description

To ensure external validity of the study, I provided a transparent description of my research context and sites, participants, criteria for selecting participants, various methods and analysis strategies used in the study. Readers are therefore able to “make decisions about to whom the results might be generalized” (Johnson & Christensen, 2004, p. 256), which increases the external validity of the study.

4.8 Summary

In this chapter, I described the methodology and methodological tools of my research. I included the “Role of the researcher” section so that I could situate myself in the research by clarifying my researcher biases and assumptions as a qualitative researcher. I then presented a detailed description of my research contexts and sites, research participants, data gathering procedures, methodological tools, strategies used for data analysis, and strategies used to ensure trustworthiness of the data.

Chapter 5:

The Linguistic and Socio-Cultural Environment within the Korean Ethnic

Church: Presentation of Results

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I describe the linguistic and socio-cultural environment of the Korean ethnic church, based on the results of participant observation. This is followed by the results of group discussions and of individual interviews with student participants, which elicited data regarding students' perceptions of their personal and historical experiences learning Korean in and outside the home, language use, Korean language and culture, social relationships with other members of Korean ethnic churches, cultural identity, and participation in community activities, including in the Korean ethnic church. In the third section, the results of individual interviews with parents, teachers, and pastors, which elicited data regarding adult participants' perceptions of their personal and historical experiences teaching Korean, their children's Korean language and cultural identity maintenance, and the linguistic and socio-cultural role of Korean ethnic churches in Montreal are presented. The chapter closes with a brief summary.

5.2 Participant observation results

5.2.1 Structure of the Korean ethnic church

The HOPE church has five main groups and I refer to these throughout the chapter. They are as follows:

- 1) Group A is a group of first-generation Korean adult immigrants;
- 2) Group B is a group of young members who were born in Canada or immigrated before elementary school age. They are mostly the children of the first generation (Group A). Eight of the 11 student participants are included in this group. This group can also be divided into two groups depending on their language of schooling (French or English);
- 3) Group C is a group of teens and young adults who experienced some of their schooling in Korea before they immigrated to Canada. Three of the 11 student participants are included in this group;
- 4) Group D is a group of Korean students who are elementary and secondary students and their parents (mostly mothers) who are staying in Canada on a temporary basis (see Chapter 2); and
- 5) Group E is a group of Korean international college students and adults (*Yu-Hak-Saeng*) who are staying in Montreal as international students for their post secondary education, and those who are staying on a temporary basis (e.g., work permit holders).

In the HOPE church, around 20% of the population is composed of non-immigrant Korean members from goose families (Group D; see also Chapter 2) along with a small number of members in Group E. The rest of the population is composed of immigrant Korean members (40% from Group A, 30% from Group B, and 10% from Group C) (see Figure 5.1).

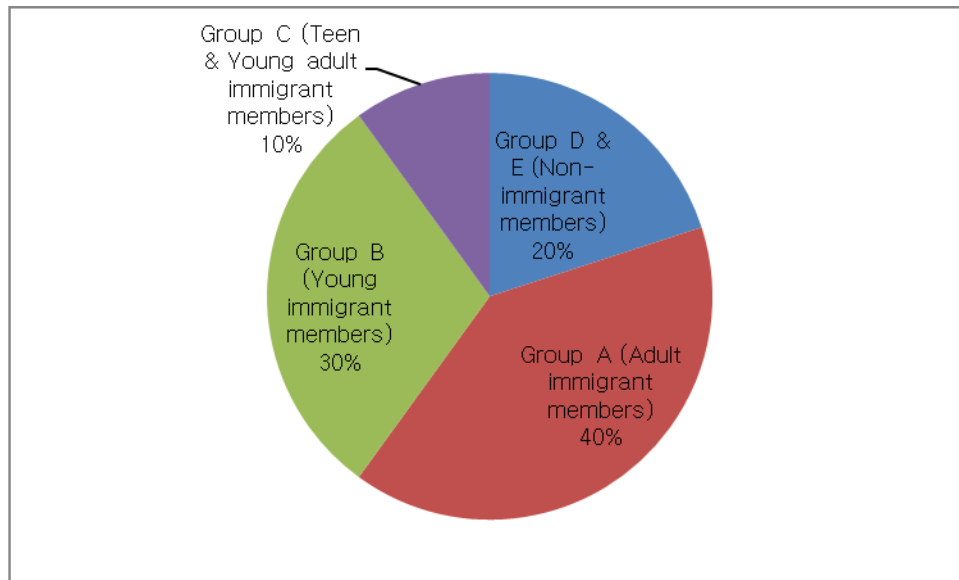


Figure 5. 1. Structure of the HOPE church

5.2.2 Linguistic environment of the Korean ethnic church

Sunday worship service for adult congregation at the HOPE church

The HOPE church has its own building. The Sunday worship service for adult congregations is held on the second floor, which is primarily used for divine service. This service starts at 11:00 a.m. and runs for about one hour and fifteen minutes on average. The services that I observed for this study were attended by 10 student participants, along with on average approximately 50 adult members. The only student participant who did not attend this service was Eunmi, who served as a teacher for kindergarten and elementary students. She attended the Sunday school for younger members, which was held by the assistant pastor at the same time as the adult service (11 to 12 on Sunday). With respect to the 10 participants' participation during the service, four sang in the choir, two played musical instruments during the service, and the other four just attended the service.

In general, the linguistic environment of the HOPE church is almost the same as the one in a Korean church in Korea, where all church services, related activities, and documents are exclusively in Korean (Ro, 2004).

The Bible and the hymnbooks used in the church are all Korean versions. The weekly report at the HOPE church is written almost exclusively in Korean, with the exception of the name of the HOPE church which is written in Korean and French. The service is conducted exclusively in Korean.

With regard to the general characteristics of the 13 Korean ethnic churches in Montreal, they share commonalities in their linguistic environment. All the weekly reports are written almost exclusively in Korean, with the exception of the names of the churches, which are written in Korean and English (10 churches), Korean and French (2 churches), or Korean, English, and French (1 church). Among the 13 Korean ethnic churches, six churches provide the order of service for worship in Korean and English, but the other seven churches provide the order of service only in Korean in their weekly reports. Eleven Korean ethnic churches do not use English as the language of worship during services. However, two churches accord English a limited role. While one church provides an English language worship service program on Sunday at the same time as the adult service, the other offers a bilingual translation service of live sermons from Korean to English delivered via headsets, which are made available by the church upon request.

Interaction during the worship service

During the Sunday worship service I observed, there was no interaction between the pastor and the church members. The service was led by the pastor according to the

order of service for worship, which was written only in Korean. Church members read the Bible and sang hymns in Korean. Neither English nor French was used during the service. The choir also sang Korean hymns. All the student participants read the Bible and sang hymns during the service. However, during the pastor's sermon, some students at times lowered their heads, and thus they did not seem to be paying attention during this part of the service. During the collection time, church members made their contributions to the accompaniment of a group of young students who played musical instruments. After the service, the pastor exchanged greetings with all the members in Korean and shook hands with them before they moved downstairs for fellowship time.

Interactions during informal meetings and activities including fellowship time

All the 11 student participants bowed properly ⁵to adult members, saying *An-Nyung-Hah-Sae-Yo* (formal greeting phrase), when they met adult members in the church before the service. When it came time to leave the church, the participants bowed to adult members and said either *An-Nyung-Hee-Ga-Sae-Yo* (formal goodbye phrase used when adult members leave the church first) or *An-Nyung-Hee-Gye-Sae-Yo* (formal goodbye phrase used when the youth leave before the adult members).

In general, most of the young members (Group B) used English among themselves, except a few students who spoke French with one another. In both cases, they often used church-related Korean terms when they spoke English or French with each other. In particular, they used Korean terms in order to address church members - e.g., *Mok-Sa-Nim* (Pastor), *Jang-Ro-Nim* (Elder), *Jib-Sa-Nim* (Deacon), and *Jeon-Do-Sa-*

⁵ When bowing in Korean culture, young members are expected to stand up and lower the head to show respect to elders.

Nim (Assistant pastor)- and to refer to church-related terms -e.g., *Seong-Ga-Dae* (Choir), *Hak-Sang-Bu* (Youth-congregation for secondary students), and *Seon-Kyo-Mo-Im* (Mission meeting)-, even when they spoke English or French with each other. In addition, these young members used *Nim*, the nominal honorific marker, whenever they were referring to other adult members of the congregation. In most cases, they used only Korean when they spoke with adult members (Group A), recent immigrant students (Group C), and Korean students (Group D, E).

During fellowship time, adult members and young members sat separately. In general, adult members interacted with each other only in Korean, while young members interacted with each other in English, Korean, or French depending on the composition of the group of members. In particular, among themselves the younger members, who had immigrated to Canada in early childhood (Group B), interacted with each other either in English or in French (mostly in English). However, these members used only Korean when they interacted in a group which included other members (i.e., recent immigrant students and Korean students). After fellowship time, four student participants joined the choir practice and the rest left the church.

Bible study classes

The HOPE church provides two Bible study classes for secondary students on Saturday and for CEGEP and college students on Friday.

- *The Bible study class for secondary students*

This class was composed of 10 members including four of the student participants. Before the class, they sang gospel songs together for about 30 minutes. This was led by

the student leader to the accompaniment of three students who played musical instruments. All the songs were displayed from the computer projector in the Korean language as follows:

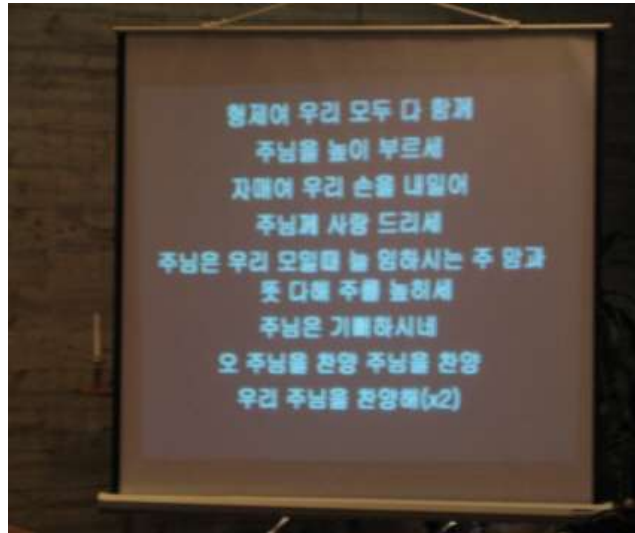


Figure 5. 2. Display of a gospel song in Korean

Then, the assistant pastor preached the sermon for the congregation for about 10 minutes in Korean. These two activities were held on the 2nd floor and then everyone moved to the fellowship hall located in the basement to have fellowship time for about 30 minutes. During the fellowship time, they interacted only in the Korean language. After fellowship time, this class was divided into two groups, each composed of 5 members. These two groups were led by me and another teacher in the fellowship hall. The assistant pastor led the discussion on my behalf when I observed the other class. Two of the four student participants were in my class and the other two were in the other class. All the other students in the two classes were from Group D (i.e., Goose children). Group discussions were conducted with the materials written in Korean, which were designed for teenage members. The content of the lesson was about characteristics of the Christian life such as 'not to be arrogant' and 'not to be lazy'. Group discussions were mostly

conducted in Korean, but English was also used by the teachers in a few cases where students could not understand difficult words or expressions in Korean. In these cases, students asked questions in Korean and teachers tried to explain the answers using basic Korean or English words instead of explaining the answers fully in English. During the observation, one student could not understand some difficult Korean words, e.g., *Daedasu* (majority) and *Kiwon* (origin), from the materials, so the teacher explained these words using English words. The use of French was not observed in either group.

- *The Bible study class for CEGEP and college students*

This class was composed of 12 members including 7 of the student participants. The procedure of the service was the same as the one described above for secondary students. First, they sang gospel songs together for about 30 minutes mostly in Korean, but they also sang three gospel songs in English. This was also led by the student leader. All the songs were displayed from the computer projector as follows:



Figure 5. 3. Display of a gospel song in Korean

These two activities were also held on the 2nd floor and afterwards, everyone moved to the fellowship hall. During fellowship time, everyone interacted either in English or in Korean depending on the group members. After fellowship time, this class was divided into two groups, composed of six members each. Two discussion groups were led by two college students, who had been trained by the pastor, with the materials written in Korean. Group discussions were conducted with the materials, which were designed for adult members. The content of this lesson was about how to live life according to the principles and precepts of the Bible. Both group discussions were conducted in Korean, with English used only when group members did not understand the materials or the leaders had difficulties explaining difficult words or concepts in Korean. For instance, one of the members read aloud some parts of the materials (e.g., Today's words, etc.) in Korean, and then the leader briefly summarized the contents in English. The use of French was not observed in either group.

The Korean language school (The HL school)

The HL school is held in the fellowship hall located in the basement. During the participant observation, while the students were in their classes, the choir in which most of their parents participated had a practice session in the small room attached to the fellowship hall. The classes were not divided with partitions and were not equipped with boards, as shown in Figure 5.4.



Figure 5. 4. View of the HL school

The HL school has four teachers (two parents and two university students), one principal (a parent), and 20 students (i.e., 14 students from Group B and C, and six Korean students from Group D). The HL teachers are composed of four immigrant adult members and one non-immigrant adult member from Group E. Five of the participants of this study are students in the HL school. The principal taught one class. In total, there were five classes composed of four students on average, four of which had some (two on average) Korean international students (Group D). The HL school was supposed to start at 09:45 a.m., but most of the classes started at around 10:00 a.m. The classes lasted for about 30 minutes before the worship service. All the classes were conducted in Korean, except for one class which was composed of four young children who were not able to communicate with their teacher only in Korean. In this class, both the teacher and the students used Korean and English. The focus of the three classes with lower grade elementary students was on basic reading and writing in Korean. The other two classes (see Figure 5.5), which were for higher grade elementary and secondary students, focused

on reading Korean books and having discussions on the topics that they read. Five of the student participants attended these two classes.

All the materials and books used in this school were solely from the library for children and the HL teachers. During the three HL classes with lower grade elementary students, the teachers taught students individually depending on their levels, since they had to manage different levels of students in the same class at the same time. During the other two HL classes for higher grade elementary and secondary students, the teachers led a discussion on the topics that they read about rather than teaching HL literacy skills.



Figure 5. 5. View of the HL class

Libraries in the church

The HOPE church has two libraries, one for adult members and one for children and HL teachers.

- *Library for adult members*

This library has 480 books, including 92 English books and 7 French books. Two adult members are in charge. The library seems to be well managed; a booklist is updated

by these members and new books are purchased by the church on a regular basis (i.e., once a month). Most of the books are religious books for adult members. However, this library also has 50 non-religious books (approximately 10%) for children. The library opens from 1:00 p.m. to 3:00 p.m. every Sunday during fellowship time. Normally two or three books are borrowed per week in total. All members of the HOPE church can borrow a maximum of five books at a time for up to four weeks.

- *Library for children and the HL teachers*

This library has 305 Korean books, including 184 teaching-related books, such as textbooks for Korean language teaching and dictionaries, and 121 non-religious books for children which were donated by church members or purchased by the church. This library also has 12 video tapes about Korean food, culture, and language. Among the 184 Korean textbooks, 134 textbooks were published in the 1990s and 43 textbooks were published in the 2000s. There are also 7 textbooks published in the 1970s and 1980s including one Korean dictionary published in 1975. This library is mainly used by the HL teachers for their teaching preparation, but students are also allowed to borrow books from this library. There is one HL teacher who is in charge of this library. However, this library seems to be less well managed, because upon inquiring I found that the booklist is not updated on a regular basis and new books are rarely purchased by the church. This library opens from 9:30 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. every Sunday. Normally few books are borrowed from this library (e.g., one or two books per month in total). There is no specific checkout system in this library, maybe because this library is used by HL teachers only on Sunday.

The two libraries are located on the back side of the fellowship hall. As shown in Figure 5.6., the three bookstands on the left are for adult members and the last bookstand on the right side is for children and the HL teachers.



Figure 5. 6. The HOPE church libraries

Praise and worship service

This service is held on Sunday nights once a month. It involves mainly singing gospel songs together. During my observation period, I observed the service twice. Around half of the church members (i.e., 42 members on average), from elementary students to adult members, attended the service, as well as four members from other Korean churches, who were secondary and college students. This fits with the usual attendance pattern for this service except for the small number of participants from other Korean churches, whose average number of participants is usually around 10. The service was divided into two parts, which were led by two church members, one college student and one adult member respectively. Five of the student participants were involved in this service. One of them was a leader and the other four members sang a song and played the

drum, the bass guitar, and the piano. Before the service, they prayed together in the fellowship hall and moved to the second floor. Prayer was conducted in Korean. The first part of the service was led by the student leader and the second part was led by an adult member. Between the two parts, the assistant pastor preached the sermon for about 10 minutes in Korean. This service lasted for about two hours, including fellowship time after the service. This service was mainly conducted in Korean even though there were a few English songs included. All the songs were displayed from the computer projector as follows:

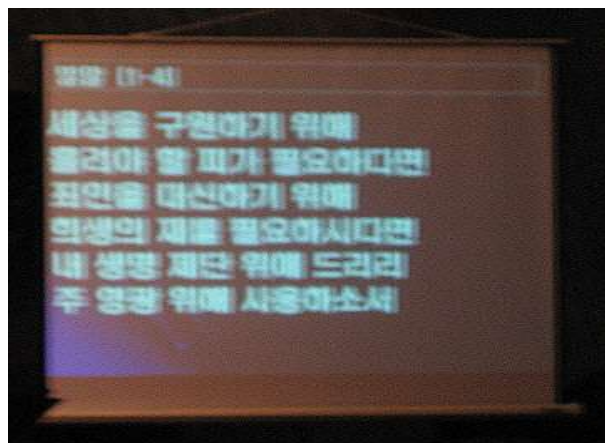


Figure 5. 7. Display of a gospel song in Korean

After the service, everyone moved to the fellowship hall to share food which was provided by the church. There was one adult member who was in charge of preparing food for this service. During fellowship time which lasted about 30 minutes, most of the members interacted in Korean.

5.2.3 Socio-cultural environment of the Korean ethnic church

Fellowship time after the Sunday worship service

Fellowship time starts at 12:20 p.m. right after the Sunday worship service and runs for about an hour. After fellowship time, the choir has a practice session on the second floor for about 45 minutes.

A Korean-style luncheon, which is prepared by female adult church members, is always provided during fellowship time after the Sunday worship service. This is shown in Figure 5.8. Most of the members partake.



Figure 5. 8. Korean style luncheon

Korean traditional foods are provided for the celebration of Korean traditional holidays, the anniversary of the founding of the church, and church members' birthdays, especially a child's first birthday, called *Dol*. During the observation period, there was a *Dol* celebration event for one child's first birthday. Both parents and the child wore *Hanbok* (traditional Korean clothes). The child's parents greeted people at the entrance of the fellowship hall and they lit a candle on a birthday cake. Then all the church members sang a Happy Birthday song in Korean. After the celebration event, Korean traditional

celebratory foods, e.g., *Ddeok* (rice cake), *Shikhye* (rice nectar), and *Miyuk-Guk* (seaweed soup), that were prepared by the parents were served.



Figure 5. 9. Korean traditional celebratory foods

During fellowship time, young members set the table for the adult members. They served adult members first. When lunch was buffet style, then the young members normally waited and let the adult members serve themselves first.

This concludes the description of the linguistic and socio-cultural environment of the Korean ethnic church. I now shift my attention to the results of group discussions and of individual interviews with student participants. In the following section, I discuss how student participants perceive their Korean language and cultural identity maintenance, and the linguistic and socio-cultural role of Korean ethnic churches in Montreal.

5.3 Group Discussion Results

The results of two group discussions with 11 student participants from the HOPE church, their interactions with each other and with me (i.e., a moderator), and their Korean language use during the group discussions are presented. In addition, their

responses to the opening question from the group discussion guide (see Appendix B) regarding their general ideas about the Korean language and culture are presented in this section. Their responses to the other 10 questions from the group discussions are integrated into the results of students' individual interviews, since the themes identified from the group discussions were similar to the ones identified from the students' individual interviews. The first group (i.e., GD-1) was composed of six CEGEP students and the second group (i.e., GD-2) was composed of four secondary students and one CEGEP student.

5.3.1 Student-student interactions, student-moderator interactions, and students'

Korean language use

The first group of students tried to use only Korean when they spoke to me, even though they mixed in English to refer to some words that they did not know in Korean. However, they spoke in English when they spoke with each other. For instance, Eunmi and Misun used English with each other in order to clarify their ideas more clearly through sharing each other's thoughts as shown in the following excerpt:

Eunmi: 근데 혹시 “**white washed**” 라고 들어 보셨어요?

Misun: **Oh, my god.**

Eunmi: **White** 가 백인이잖아요, 그러니까 백인처럼 된다는 건데, 저는 여기 나이 6 개월 때쯤 왔거든요, 당연히 여기 문화에 적응이 되서, 저는 진짜 한국가서 못 살 그런 사람이에요. 그러니까 아무래도 **white washed** 하고 **Korean** 하고 차이점 그런게 있잖아요,

I: 아, 그러니까 늦게 이민 온 사람하고 차이가 있다고?

Misun: 근데... **We are not white washed, Eunmi.**

Eunmi: **Yes, we are.**

Misun: 정말? **Okay**, 우린 **white washed** 예요. 그게요, 그리고 왜냐면 생각하는게 달라서 아마 그럴 수 있는거 같아요.

Eunmi: **That' it. That's white washed means.**

Misun: **Ah, I know, I know, but I like...** 근데...그냥 **white washed** 때문이 아니구 그냥 다른데서 자랐기 때문에 다른거 같아요. (GD-1, January 25, 2008)

Translation:

Eunmi: Have you ever happened to hear about the term, “**white washed**”?

Misun: **Oh, my god.**

Eunmi: **White** means white people. This means that minority people have become westernized. I came to Canada when I was barely 6 months old. Naturally, I am quite Canadianized and cannot imagine living in Korea. I think that there are differences between **white washed** Koreans and **Koreans**.

I: Do you mean that recent immigrants are also different from you?

Misun: But... **We are not white washed, Eunmi.**

Eunmi: **Yes, we are.**

Misun: Really? **Okay**, we are **white washed**. Maybe that's because we have a different way of thinking.

Eunmi: **That's it. That's white washed means.**

Misun: **Ah, I know, I know, but I like...** That is not because we are **white washed**, but because we grew up in a different place.

During the second group discussion, all the five participants spoke with each other and with me in Korean except in rare cases when they mixed a few English words when they spoke to me in Korean.

Concerning the student participants' Korean language use, the student participants from both groups always used proper honorific expressions to me during the discussions. Among the student participants, age difference was rightfully respected through the proper use of polite forms of addressing elder group members. During the discussions, the female student participants used *Unnie* (older sister) along with a first name (e.g., Jinhyun *Unnie*) to address an elder female and the male student participants used *Hyung* (older brother) along with a first name (e.g., Yongjae *Hyung*) to address an elder male in a polite manner. They never addressed elder females or elder males with just their first names during the discussion. Overall, the results of the group discussions show that student participants are accustomed to the proper use of honorific expressions in Korean.

These young group members never spoke French with each other or with me in either discussion.

5.3.2 Students' responses about the Korean language and culture in general

At the beginning of the discussions, I posed the open-ended question, "What do you think about the Korean language and culture?" Through this question, three themes were identified: (1) hierarchical nature of Korean culture and the Korean language; (2) emphasis on education and parents' honor; and (3) cultural differences between Korea and Canada.

Hierarchical nature of Korean culture and the Korean language

With regard to Korean culture, some of the student participants pointed out the strict hierarchy of Korean culture. In particular, they mentioned a clear hierarchy in status based on age in Korean culture. They also related this to the hierarchical nature of the Korean language that required them to use honorifics on the basis of age difference.

Jinhyun: 한살 정도 많으면, 한국에서는 몇 개월만 조금 높아도 바로바로 존댓말 하고 그랬는데, 여기는, 일단 영어 자체가 다 You잖아요? 그래서 그런지 다 **open mind**...그냥 다 친구잖아요. (GD-1, January 25, 2008)

Translation:

Jinhyun: In Korea, a younger individual is required to speak to their elder in a formal and polite way by the use of proper honorific expressions, even if the age difference is only a few months. In Canada, on the other hand, one can address another as *you* regardless of the age difference. Canadians are just **open-minded**. They treat everyone as friends.

Sumi: 저는 한국문화가 좀 심하게 **strict** 하다고 생각해요. 아이들 공부도 너무 심하게 시키고, 예의도 너무 강조하고. 저는 여렸을때 이민 와서

한국문화라는 것은 **politeness** 강조하고 공부 너무 많이 시키는거 밖에는 모르겠어요 (GD-2, January 26, 2008)

Translation:

I think Korean culture is too **strict** about manners and education. I think Korean culture is very particular about manners. Since I immigrated to Canada when I was very young, I only know that parents put too much emphasis on **politeness** and tend to use harsh discipline in their children's education in Korea.

Emphasis on education and parents' honor based on Confucian value system

Yongjin and Jinhyun pointed out that Korean people emphasized family honor and children's duty to the family. They mentioned that Korean parents related their children's academic success to family honor, which was the main reason that Korean parents put so much emphasis on their children's academic success. They also mentioned that their academic success would be their duty to the family and to their parents in order not to tarnish their parents' honor.

Yongjin: 한국에선 부모님의 이름하고 명예를 중요시 하잖아요. 그리고 여기서도 마찬가지고. 우리가 지금 좋은 **CEGEP** 을 다니니까, 어찌보면 자신감...그런것도 있고요. (GD-1, January 26, 2008)

Translation:

In Korea, parents' honor is very important. The same may be said of Korean immigrant parents in Canada, too. I am proud to have a good reputation as a good **CEGEP** student, because it adds to my parents' honor.

Jinhyun: 한국뿐만 아니라 여기서도 한국사람들도 이름하고 명예를 중요하다고 생각하는거 같아요. 자식이 망하면 부모 얼굴 먹칠한다, 뭐 그런거. 그래서 부모님들이 다른 대학보다 **McGill** 을 더 좋아하잖아요. (GD-1, January 26, 2008)

Translation:

Korean people in Canada as well as in Korea seem to value parents' honor. It is often said that children's academic failure may disgrace their parents' honor. So that's why Korean parents want to send their children to a prestigious university like **McGill**.

Differences between Korean culture and Canadian culture

With regard to the differences between Korean culture and Canadian culture, Eunmi mentioned that she preferred Canadian culture to Korean culture.

Eunmi: 저는 개인적으로 캐나다 문화를 더 좋아하고요, 한국 문화는 약간 **rigid** 하고 스트레스 받는 문화 라고 생각해요. 왜냐하면 하두 여기가 **laid-back** 하고, 여긴 **You** 문화라 그런지 **stress** 가없고 편한거 같아요. (GD-1, January 26, 2008)

Translation:

Eunmi: I personally prefer the Canadian way of life. Korean culture tends to be **rigid** and can be stressful. Here, though, things are **laid-back** and quite **stress-free**, since **you** can be used to address people regardless of the age difference.

Junmi also expressed a negative view of the rigid and strict nature of Korean culture and the Korean language.

Junmi: 저는 사람들이 한국문화보다 캐나다 문화가 더 좋다, 뭐 이런식으로 많이들 말해서요, 좀 그런 사고 방식이 생겼어요. 그래서 약간 캐나다 문화가 다 좋고, 한국문화는 별로고. 예를들어서, 캐나다에서는 애들을 때리지 않고, 한국에서는 학교에서 애들한테 가르치려면 막 때려야되고. 그리고 뭐지, 한국은 집에서는 엄마, 아빠한테 존댓말을 꼭 쓰고 예의 바르게 해야 되는데, 캐나다는 물론 중요하긴 하지만, 그렇게 막 한국처럼 그런건 아니잖아요. (GD-2, January 27, 2008)

Translation:

People say that they prefer Canadian culture to Korean culture. I have heard them saying it many times. So, I seem to have formed a notion of preferring Canadian culture to Korean culture. For example, physical punishment by teachers is not allowed in Canada, but it is usually accepted in Korea. In addition, children in Korea must use honorifics with their parents and behave well in the family. Of course, children in Canada also should observe the proprieties in the family, but they are not strictly forced to do so in Canada.

In this section, I have presented the results of two group discussions focusing on their interactions with each other and with me, and their Korean language use during the group discussions along with their general ideas about the Korean language and culture.

To sum up, the results reveal that all the group discussion participants are very well aware of the importance and of the proper use of honorific expressions in Korean culture when they speak in Korean. However, the results also show that their awareness of the hierarchical nature of the Korean language and culture may make them feel that Korean language and culture are rigid and strict compared to Canadian culture. Concerning the parents' emphasis on education, the students seem to agree that their academic success is important both for themselves and for their families.

I now shift my attention to presenting the results of individual interviews with students, parents, teachers, and pastors.

5.4 Results of Individual Interviews

In the greater part of this chapter, I present the results of individual interviews with students, parents, teachers, and pastors, beginning with the results of students' interviews and the results of group discussions which were not presented in the previous section (see Section 5.3 in this chapter).

5.4.1 Results of Students' Individual Interviews and Group Discussions

As mentioned above, the individual interviews and group discussions yielded overlapping data; therefore, the data are presented together. The results of student interviews and the group discussions were organized into the following three main categories:

- 1) Students' use of the Korean language and experiences learning Korean;
- 2) Students' perceptions of Korean language and cultural identity maintenance;

3) Students' perceptions of the relationship between their Korean ethnic church participation and their Korean language and cultural identity maintenance.

5.4.1.1 Students' use of the Korean language and experiences in learning

Korean

In this section, I describe student participants' proficiency levels in Korean, their language use in and outside the home focusing on their use of the Korean language, and their experiences in learning Korean in and outside the home. I also provide their self-reported proficiency levels in French and English in order to compare their proficiency levels in Korean with their proficiency levels in the two majority languages.

Student participants' proficiency levels in Korean, French, and English

At the beginning of the interviews, all the students (N=19) were asked to evaluate their speaking and understanding ability in Korean, French, and English on a scale of 1 to 7, with 7 as *very fluent* and as *understand everything*. The results are shown in Table 5.1.

Table 5. 1

Students' Proficiency Levels in Korean, French, and English

	Korean		French		English	
	Speaking	Comprehension	Speaking	Comprehension	Speaking	Comprehension
Mean	4.53	5.03	5.05	5.58	5.58	6.00
SD	1.87	1.59	1.18	1.32	1.26	0.96

Table 5.1 shows that student participants' proficiency levels in English are similar to their proficiency levels in French, while their proficiency levels in Korean are lower than their proficiency levels in both French and English. The relatively high standard deviations in their proficiency levels in Korean (1.87 and 1.59 for speaking and comprehension, respectively) show greater variation in their proficiency levels in Korean than in French and English.

Students' language use at home

Nineteen students' language use at home (i.e., 11 from the HOPE church, 4 from the FAITH church, 4 non-church members), including their language use with their parents and siblings is presented in Table 5.2.

Table 5. 2

Students' Language Use at Home

Name	Parents		Siblings	Church
	Language	Understanding	Language: Mostly (Sometimes)	
Jinhyun	Korean	Fully	Korean	HOPE
Jinsu	Korean	Fully	Korean	HOPE
Junmi	Korean	Fully	Korean (French/English)	HOPE
Sumi	Korean	Fully	Korean	HOPE
Jinhee	Korean	Mostly	French (Korean)	HOPE
Insuk	Korean	Mostly	English (French/Korean)	HOPE
Yongjin	Korean	Fully	English (Korean)	HOPE
Yongjae	Korean	Fully	English	HOPE
Eunmi	Korean	Fully	English	HOPE
Misun	Korean	Fully	English (Korean)	HOPE
Daeho	Korean	Fully	English (Korean)	HOPE
Sangtae	Korean	85%	75% English (20% French/ 5% Korean)	FAITH
Yunju	Korean	Fully	English (Korean)	FAITH
Hyunmi	Korean	Fully	French (English/Korean)	FAITH
Sunkyu	Korean	Fully	French (Korean)	FAITH
Jintae	Korean	Fully	Korean	N/A
Kangyun	English/Korean	Mostly	English (French)	N/A
Jongku	Korean	Fully	Korean	N/A
Daehan	Korean	Fully	French	N/A

Note. Names of participants and churches are pseudonyms; N/A = Non-church members

Table 5.2 shows that most of the student participants speak to their parents in the Korean language at home except one student (Kangyun⁶) who speaks English to his father and speaks both English (mostly) and Korean (sometimes) to his mother. In fact, he was the

⁶ Kangyun was born in Montreal and he has been living there for 18 years.

only participant that I interviewed in English. When asked how well he understood his parents when they spoke to him in Korean, he responded that he could understand what they said in Korean for the most part. He mentioned that it was because they only used basic Korean language to him.

My mom, she doesn't speak English, but she understands a bit English. So sometimes I try to speak to her in Korean. And with my father, I usually speak English and sometimes Korean. I mostly understand them when they speak to me in Korean. I understand them well when they speak to me in Korean, because they try to talk to me, like, language that I can understand. If there's a word I don't understand, they try to explain it. They usually try to use basic language. But, sometimes I have difficulty in understanding, but most of the time, they try to explain them in English if I don't understand what they say. (Kangyun, March 3, 2008-English interview)

Other than Kangyun, two more students (Jinhee and Insuk) also responded that they mostly understood their parents when their parents spoke to them in Korean except for some cases where they could not understand difficult words or expressions. Another student, Sangtae, responded that he understood his parents 85% of the time when they spoke to him in Korean. He said:

엄마, 아빠가 저한테 한국말로 하세요. 다 알아듣지는 못하고 못 알아들으면 그럼 물어봐요. 그럼 더 쉬운 한국말로 설명해 주세요. 엄마, 아빠와 한국말로 이야기 할때는 한 85%정도 이해하는 거 같아요. (Sangtae, February 17, 2008)

Translation:

My parents speak to me in Korean. I don't understand everything and then I ask them if I don't understand what they say. Then they explain it to me in easier words in Korean. I think I can understand them 85% when they speak to me in Korean.

The two main reasons identified from the responses of the students who could fully understand their parents when they spoke to them in Korean are their parents' use of easy words in Korean and exclusive use of Korean with them.

부모님의 한국어는 다 이해 하는 거 같아요. 왜냐하면 엄마하고 아빠가 이제 제가 한국어를 어느 정도 하는 지 수준을 다 아시는 것 같아서요. 수준에 맞게 얘기해 주시는 거 같아요. (Eunmi, February 15, 2008)

Translation:

I think I can fully understand my mom and dad when they speak to me in Korean, because I think they know my level of Korean language proficiency. So they seem to speak to me in Korean at the level of my Korean language proficiency.

엄마, 아빠하고는 한국어만 써요. 부모님도 제게 한국어만 쓰셔요. 그리고 솔직히 제가 생각하기에는 엄마 아빠가 그나마 한국말로만 저희들한테 대화를 하셔서 그나마 저희들이 한국말로 대화를 할 수 있는 거 같아요. (Misun, February 15, 2008)

Translation:

I speak Korean with my parents. They speak to me only in Korean. Frankly speaking, I believe that my Korean conversational skills have been maintained mostly because of their exclusive use of Korean with me.

Another student, Daehan, responded that he could fully understand his parents when they spoke Korean to him, even though he seemed to have difficulty understanding my Korean when I interviewed him. This result suggests that his parents use quite basic Korean to him when they speak to him in Korean. Although he was allowed to use either English or French during the interview, he tried to speak only Korean to me.

With regard to the student participants' language use with their siblings, only five students spoke only Korean with their siblings, while 10 students used all three languages (i.e., Korean, French, and English) and the other four students used either only English or French when they spoke with their siblings (see Table 5.2).

Students' language use with grandparents

Most of the students' grandparents live in Korea except for Sumi's grandparents who live in Montreal. Sumi reported that she visited her grandparents at least 3 times a week. The other students spoke with their grandparents in Korean over the phone with varying frequency, as shown in Table 5.3.

Table 5. 3

Students' Language Use with Grandparents

Name	Grandparents			Church
	Language	Understanding	Frequency	
Jinhyun	Korean	Fully	3 times a week	HOPE
Jinsu	Korean	Fully	3 times a week	HOPE
Junmi	Korean	Fully	Once a week	HOPE
Sumi	Korean	Fully	3 times a month	HOPE
Jinhee	Korean	Fully	Twice a year	HOPE
Insuk	Korean	Mostly	Twice a year	HOPE
Yongjin	Korean	Fully	5 times a year	HOPE
Yongjae	Korean	Fully	5 times a year	HOPE
Eunmi	Korean	Mostly	5 times a year	HOPE
Misun	Korean	Fully	Once a week	HOPE
Daeho	Korean	Fully	Twice a week	HOPE
Sangtae	Korean	Hard to understand	Sometimes (Irregularly)	FAITH
Yunju	Korean	Mostly	Twice a year	FAITH
Hyunmi	Korean	Fully	Once a month	FAITH
Sunkyu	Korean	Mostly	Once a month	FAITH
Jintae	Korean	Fully	3 times per week	N/A
Kangyun	Korean	Barely understand	Once a month	N/A
Jongku	Korean	Fully	Once a year	N/A
Daehan	No communication with grandparents for the last 5~6 years			N/A

Note. Names of participants and churches are pseudonyms; N/A = Non-church members

Except for three students (Sangtae, Kangyun, and Daehan), all the students responded that they could understand their grandparents well when their grandparents spoke to them in Korean. Among the exceptions, Sangtae and Kangyun said that they had difficulty understanding grandparents.

할아버지, 할머니랑은 전화 가끔해요. 근데 잘 못알아들어요. 특히 전화로 하면 더 못알아들어요. (Sangtae, February 17, 2008)

Translation:

I sometimes speak to them over the phone. But I don't understand them well. It's especially difficult for me to understand them over the phone.

할아버지 할머니와 전화할때 조금...한국말 써요. **I just listen to them when they talk.** 어려워. **I speak with them on the phone not very often, like uh, once a month, I guess. I usually don't talk much. I just listen. My grandparents say,** “학교 잘해요?” or “잘 있어요?” 정도. (Kangyun, March 3, 2008)

Translation

When I speak to my grandparents over the phone, I use Korean a little bit. **I just listen to them when they talk.** It is difficult for me to talk (in Korean). **I speak with them on the phone not very often, like uh, once a month, I guess. I usually don't talk much. I just listen. My grandparents say,** “How is your school life?” or, “How are you” and so on.

In Daehan's case, he responded that he had not talked to his grandparents quite a long time.

할머니, 할아버지는 어, 오래전에 만나서 모르겠어요. 지금은. 벌써 5년 6년 못 봤어요. 전화도 안해 봤어요. 우리 엄마만 (할머니 할아버지랑 통화하시고요). 전 별로 (할아버지 할머니와) 말할거가 없어요. (Daehan, April 1, 2008)

Translation

I don't know now how well I understand them, because I saw them a long time ago. I haven't seen them for the last 5 or 6 years. I haven't even talked to them on the phone. Only my mom talks to them on the phone. I have nothing to talk about with them.

Students' Korean language use outside the home

The student participants' use of the Korean language outside the home is presented in Table 5.4.

Table 5. 4

Students' Korean Language Use Outside the Home

Name	Korean language use outside the home		Church
	With whom	Where: Mostly (Sometimes)	
Jinhyun	Korean friends and adults	Church	HOPE
Jinsu	Korean friends and adults	Church	HOPE
Junmi	Korean friends and adults	Church	HOPE
Sumi	Korean friends and adults	Church	HOPE
Jinhee	Korean friends and adults	Church (School)	HOPE
Insuk	Korean friends and adults	Church (School)	HOPE
Yongjin	Korean friends and adults	Church (School)	HOPE
Yongjae	Korean friends and adults	Church (Korean restaurants, Korean PC Bang ⁷ , School)	HOPE
Eunmi	Korean friends and adults	Church (School)	HOPE
Misun	Korean friends and adults	Church	HOPE
Daeho	Korean friends and adults	Church	HOPE
Sangtae	Korean friends and adults	Church (School)	FAITH
Yunju	Korean adults	Church	FAITH
Hyunmi	Korean adults (Rarely use)	(Church)	FAITH
Sunkyu	Korean adults	Church	FAITH
Jintae	Korean friends and Taekwondo instructors	(School/Taekwondo gym)	N/A
Kangyun	No use	No use	N/A
Jongku	Korean friends	School	N/A
Daehan	No use	No use	N/A

Note. Names of participants and churches are pseudonyms; N/A = Non-church members

⁷ A PC Bang is the Korean term for an Internet Café.

All the 15 church members responded that they mostly used Korean in the church with Korean friends and adult church members. Among the 15 church members, 6 students also mentioned that they spoke Korean with Korean friends at school, while the others never spoke Korean at school, where there were no other Korean students or no close Korean friends. The 15 church members mentioned that they rarely spoke English or French with Korean adult church members, even though they sometimes spoke English or French with each other or with younger members in the church. Yunju and Sunkyu responded that they spoke English or French with friends and with younger members in the church. However, they said that they spoke Korean with Korean adult members in the church. Sunkyu responded that it was mainly because of the honorific system of the Korean language that he used only Korean with adult members in the church.

어른들하고는 꼭 한국어로 해요. 더 편한거 같아요, 어른들한테는 한국말이. 거기다가 한국말은 존댓말 어떻게 쓰는지 아는데, 불어하고 영어는 존댓말 어떻게 쓰는지 몰라서 어른들 하고는 한국말만 하는거 같아요. (Sunkyu, January 26, 2008)

Translation:

I always speak Korean with Korean adult members in the church. It is more comfortable speaking with the elder Koreans in the Korean language. I know how to use honorifics with adults in the Korean language, but I don't know how to use honorifics in English or French. So I stick to Korean when I speak with Korean adults.

Among the 15 church members, Hyunmi responded that she just attended the Sunday worship service and rarely interacted with church members, because she never participated actively in the church activity.

With regard to the four students who were not members of any Korean ethnic churches, two students (Kangyun and Daehan) responded that they barely used Korean

outside the home. Kangyun said that he spoke English even with Korean adults. Daehan mentioned that he had no chance to meet other Koreans. He also mentioned that he used to go to a Korean church with his parents, who still attend a Korean church.

한인 교회에 갔을 때는 한국친구 많이 만났어요. 지금은 **other country**, 다른 나라 친구들과 같이 노는데, 불어만 말해요. 지금은 교회를 안 다니는데. 그냥 게을러서, 별 이유는 없어요. 지금은 부모님을 빼고는 거의 한국말 안써요, 일단 만나는 한국 사람이 없으니까. (Daehan, April 1, 2008)

Translation:

When I used to attend a Korean church, I had met many Korean friends. Now, however, I hang out with non-Korean friends from **other countries** and I speak only French with them. I do not attend a church now, not for a particular reason but probably because of laziness. I seldom speak Korean except with my parents, since I do not meet other Koreans these days.

In Jintae's case, he has been practicing Taekwondo, the Korean martial art, which is taught by Korean instructors. He responded that he spoke Korean with his instructors. In general, he said that he spoke Korean with Korean friends at school. Jongku also mentioned that he spoke Korean mostly with his Korean friends at school where there were many Korean students, but he rarely had a chance to speak with Korean adults.

한국인 친구는 학교에서 맨날 보니까 그냥 만나구 학교 끝나구나 아니면 주말에 주로 같이 놀구요. 그 친구들과하고는 한국어로만 이야기 하구요. 하지만 어른들과고는 대화할 기회가 거의 없어요. (Jongku, April 1, 2008)

Translation:

I see my Korean friends every day because we go to the same school. I play with them after school or on weekends. I speak only Korean with them. As for the Korean adults, I rarely get a chance to converse with them.

With regard to the students' use of Korean honorifics when they speak Korean, most of them respond that they use honorifics with adults and with newly met people with no age limit except for very young children. However, some of the students who are

church members also mentioned that they use honorifics only with adult members who are married or other church members who hold positions in Korean ethnic churches (e.g., assistant pastor, deacon, etc.) regardless of their marital status.

Student participants' experiences learning Korean

With regard to the student participants' experiences learning Korean (literacy learning in particular), three places were identified as possible contexts where they learned the language: home, HL school in the church, and HL school outside the church (see Table 5.5). In Montreal, there are seven HL schools run by Korean ethnic churches and one HL school not run by Korean ethnic churches. The HL school outside the church is the only institution that is financially assisted by the Korean government in Montreal. The HL schools run by Korean ethnic churches are held on Sunday, while the HL school outside the church is held on Saturday morning.

Table 5. 5

Student Participants' Experiences Learning Korean

Name	HL learning contexts			Church
	Home	HL school in the church	HL school outside the church	
Jinhyun	No	Yes	No	HOPE
Jinsu	No	Yes	No	HOPE
Junmi	No	Yes	No	HOPE
Sumi	No	Yes	Yes	HOPE
Jinhee	Yes	Yes	Yes	HOPE
Insuk	Yes	Yes	Yes	HOPE
Yongjin	Yes	Yes	Yes	HOPE
Yongjae	Yes	Yes	Yes	HOPE
Eunmi	Yes	Yes	Yes	HOPE
Misun	No	Yes	Yes	HOPE
Daeho	No	Yes	Yes	HOPE
Sangtae	No	Yes	Yes	FAITH
Yunju	No	Yes	Yes	FAITH
Hyunmi	No	No	No	FAITH
Sunkyu	No	Yes	No	FAITH
Jintae	No	No	No	N/A
Kangyun	Yes	No	No	N/A
Jongku	No	No	No	N/A
Daehan	Yes	No	Yes	N/A

Note. Names of participants and churches are pseudonyms; N/A = Non-church members

As we see in Table 5.5, only seven of the 19 student participants responded that they had experiences learning how to read and write Korean from their parents at home. The other 12 students responded that they had no experiences learning to read and write Korean at home. They said that this was mainly because they experienced some of their schooling

in Korea before they immigrated to Canada (i.e., six students) or because their parents chose to send their children to HL schools either in or outside the church (i.e., six students).

Four students (i.e., three non-church members and one FAITH church member) had no experiences learning Korean outside the home. The other 15 students had HL learning experiences either in church HL schools or the HL school outside the church (i.e., 10 students in both church HL schools and the HL school outside the church, four students only in church HL schools, and one only in the HL school outside the church). In particular, Jinhyun responded that she also had experiences teaching Korean to kindergarten students in the church HL school as an assistant teacher. All 10 students who had experiences in learning Korean both in the church HL school and in the HL school outside the church responded that they started attending the HL school outside the church first and then they moved to the church HL school afterwards. Concerning the reasons for their HL school change, Yongjin said:

몬트리올 한글학교 다닐 때는 우리교회에 한글학교가 없었어요. 그리고 교회에 한글학교가 생기고 나서부터는 계속 참여했어요. (Yongjin, February 13, 2008)

Translation:

There was no Korean language school in the church, when I went to the Korean language school outside the church. Since the church set up the HL school in the church, I have been attending the church HL school.

Similarly, Yunju noted:

한글학교보다 교회 한글학교가 훨씬 더 난 거 같아요. 왜냐면 이렇게 애들이 다 교회 어차피 가구 그러니까요. 어차피 교회 있는 시간에 한글학교를 하니깐요. 시간이 낭비하는 느낌이 안 나니까요. 교회밖의 한글학교는 토요일날 아침부터 해가지고 안 가구 싶은데 가야해서 간거라 한국말을 배운데 별로 효과적이지 않았던거 같아요. (Yunju, February 17, 2008)

Translation:

I prefer the Korean language school in the church to the Korean language school outside the church, because I go to church anyways, which means that I can attend the church Korean language school while I am in the church. So I don't feel like wasting time. The Korean language school outside the church is held on Saturday mornings. So it did not seem very successful for me to learn Korean in the Korean language school outside the church, because I went there unwillingly.

5.4.1.2 Students' perceptions of Korean language and cultural identity

maintenance

In this section, I present data related to how the 19 students perceive their Korean language maintenance in Canada according to themes identified from their responses

Meaning of maintaining the Korean language in Canada from students'

perspectives

I asked the students why they wanted to maintain their Korean language and if they would like their children to learn Korean. With these questions, I aimed to understand how the students perceive the meaning of the maintenance of the Korean language in Canada. Three themes were identified from their responses. The results showed that the students wanted to maintain the Korean language: (1) to maintain their Korean ethnic identity; (2) to communicate with parents, grandparents, and other Koreans; and (3) to have "practical" benefits. Data related to each of these themes are presented below.

First, the students responded that they wanted to preserve their Korean language in order maintain their Korean ethnic identity, as shown in the examples below.

한국말을 지키는 이유는 일단 한국 사람으로서 정체성을 가지고 있다는 것. 그게 제일 중요한거 같아요. 한국사람의 정체성. (Jinhyun, February 15, 2008)

Translation:

The main purpose of maintaining the Korean language is to maintain our identity as Koreans. I think maintaining Korean ethnic identity is the most important reason for me to maintain the Korean language.

저두 한국사람이니까 한국말을 하는 게 중요하다고 생각하구요. 저는 내후년 쯤에는 한국으로 유학 가서 한국말 제대로 배우고 오고 싶어요. (Yongjae, February 16, 2008)

Translation:

I believe it is important for me to speak Korean because I am Korean. I would like to go to Korea within a couple of years to seriously improve my Korean.

제가 한국 사람이기 때문에 한국말을 해야 정상인거 같아요. (Sumi, February 9, 2008)

Translation:

It is no wonder I speak Korean, because I *am* Korean.

The students viewed the maintenance of Korean ethnic identity as the most important reason for their maintenance of the Korean language. On top of that, Misun even related her learning of Korean to her Korean patriotism, although she has lived most of her life in Montreal.

한국말을 배우는 이유는 애국심 때문이구요. 그리고 솔직히 캐나다는 한국 사람들이 일단 그렇게 많진 않잖아요. 그래서 서양 애들은 동양인들 보면 아 중국사람이다 이렇게 생각해요. 그러면 솔직히 약간 상처 받고, 동양은 중국 밖에 없다는 그런 생각들을 바꿔주고 싶어요. (Misun, February 15, 2008)

Translation:

I learn Korean because of my Korean patriotism. The Korean population in Canada is relatively small compared to other Asian nationalities. I dislike the fact that most Asians are conceived to be Chinese. I wish to change that bias among Canadians.

When asked whether they would like their children to learn the Korean language or not, all of the students responded that they would like their children to learn the Korean language. One of the reasons is because the students relate their children's maintaining of Korean to their children's maintaining of Korean ethnic identity. Sumi emphasized that her children should be able to speak the Korean language as Koreans.

저는 한국 사람이기 때문에 자녀도 한국말을 해야죠. 저는 한국사람하고 결혼할 거예요. 그리고 자녀들도 한국사람이니깐. 그냥 한국 사람이면 한국말을 해야되요. (Sumi, February 9, 2008)

Translation:

Since I am Korean, my children should be able to speak Korean. I will marry a Korean. My children would also be Koreans. Koreans should be able to speak Korean.

제일 첫번째로 한국어를 가르칠 거예요. 우선은 한국 사람이구요. 그리고 전 되면은 애가 한국에서 공부하고 왔으면 좋겠거든요. 얼마 정도만이라도요. (Jinhee, February 18, 2008)

Translation:

The first language that I will teach my children would be Korean. They are Koreans in the first place. And I would like my children to learn Korean in Korea to some extent if possible.

Hyunmi pointed out that she would teach her children Korean first before they would learn English or French. She strongly insisted that parents should teach their children Korean at home.

저는 제 자식에게 한국말을 제일 처음에 가르켜 줄 거예요. 왜냐면 불어랑 영어는 제가 여기 몬트리얼에 살면 그 아이는 어차피 학교 가구 학교 가면 학교에서 지내는 시간이 더 많잖아요. 그리고 많은 애들중에 부모님들이 직장 다니구 그러시는 부모님들의 애들은 한국말 거의 다 잘 못해요. 그리고 부모님들이 어렸을 때부터 불어 못 배울까봐 한국말 안 시키구 그런 건 없어야 될 거 같아요. 불어랑 영어는 어차피 학교 가서 하게 되니까. 집에서는 반드시 한국어를 시켜야 되요. 모국어니까요. (Hyunmi, March 16, 2008)

Translation:

I will teach my children the Korean language first. They will have plenty of time to learn French and English once they start going to school. Many children whose parents are busy working mostly do not speak Korean well. Parents should not neglect to teach their children Korean because they worry about their children not being able to learn French. Children will learn French and English at school anyways. Parents should not wait until it is too late to teach them Korean, their mother tongue.

Furthermore, Junmi emphasized the connection between Korean ethnic identity and Korean blood when she explained why she would like to teach her children the Korean language.

저는 제 자녀에게도가 한국어를 계속 시킬꺼예요. 몬트리올에 태어났어도 한국 사람 얼굴을 하고 있구. 한국인의 피가 섞여 있으니까요. (Junmi, February 25, 2008)

Translation:

I would like to teach my children Korean. Even though they would be born in Montreal, they would have a Korean face and they would have Korean blood.

Second, the students responded that they should maintain the Korean language in order to communicate with parents, grandparents, and other Koreans in and outside Korea.

한국말을 지키는 이유 중 하나는 일단 부모님 그리고, 친척과 다 의사소통을 다 한국어로 해야 하니까. (Jinhyun, February 15, 2008)

Translation:

One of the main purposes of maintaining the Korean language is that I have to communicate with parents and relatives in Korean.

한국 사람들 만나면 한국말로 이렇게 통할 수 있어야지. 제가 한국인인데 한국 사람들하구 얘기 못하면요 그들이 저보구 뭐라구 하는 것 보다는 제가 그들과 어울리지 못하는 게 슬픈 거죠. (Jinhee, February 18, 2008)

Translation:

One may not be able to fully engage in a group of Koreans if she or he cannot communicate in Korean. There just will not be a sense of mutual understanding. If I, as a Korean, cannot communicate with other Koreans in the Korean language, then I may feel sorrow myself, not because people blame me, but because I cannot associate with them.

Even Kangyun, who spoke English in his interview with me, wanted to learn how to speak Korean in order to communicate with Koreans in the Korean language. He said:

Actually, if I have time, I would like to go to school. If there is like a program, then I will try to learn Korean. Because it's embarrassing, sometimes, you know, when just Koreans ask, "Do you know how to speak Korean?", and I cannot speak Korean that well. (Kangyun, March 3, 2008)

Daeho responded that he had an experience helping a Korean visitor from Korea.

He said that he could help the visitor because he could speak Korean.

한국말은 잘 하면 일단 제가 혹시 몬트리얼에서 처음 오는 한국사람이 도움을 요청했을 때 도와 줄 수 있을 거 같아요. 얼마 전에도 매프로에서 한국 사람 만났어요. 그래서 길 좀 가르쳐 달라고 했을 때 한국말로 가르쳐 줄 수 있었어요. (Daeho, February 16, 2008)

Translation:

I think speaking Korean well allows me to help other Koreans who are in Montreal for the first time. Not too long ago, I was able to guide a Korean person, in Korean, who needed directions at a metro station.

With regard to the reason for desiring their future children's Korean language maintenance, the students emphasized their children's ability to communicate with parents, grandparents, and other Koreans.

특히 제가 만약 결혼한 사람이 한국인이다. 그러면 무조건 애는 한국말은 꼭 해야 되구요. 만약 영어를 하는 사람이다 그러면 한국말을 좀 덜 가르쳐 주더라도 가르쳐 줄거예요. 왜냐하면 부모님하구 저하구도 한국말을 해야 되겠구요, 저만 아니구 어르신도 있잖아요. 그러니까 한국말을 해서 어른들하고 얘기 할 수 있도록. 그러면서 자기가 한국인인 그런 프라이드도 가질 거 아녜요. (Insuk, February 15, 2008)

Translation:

Whether or not I marry a Korean, I will make sure my children will learn Korean to a certain extent. Not only they will have to communicate in Korean with me, but also they will eventually find it necessary if they wish to communicate effectively with their grandparents or other elder members of the community. In doing so, they will gain a sense of pride in being Korean.

Eunmi also wanted to teach her children the Korean language. However, she was a little concerned about her children's Korean language education due to her own lack of ability to speak Korean fluently.

제가 요즘에 걱정하는 건요, 제가 한국어를 원어민처럼 잘하진 안잖아요. 하지만 저는 꼭 몬트리얼이 아니어도 외국에서 살구 싶어요. 그러면요 원래 자식이 부모님보다는 한국말을 잘 못하잖아요. 그래서 뭐가 좀 있었으면 좋겠어요 아이들이 한국어를 배울 수 있는 교육기관이라든가 이런거요. (Eunmi, February 15, 2008)

Translation:

My concern nowadays is my inability to speak Korean compared to Koreans in Korea. I do want to live in Canada, whether or not in Montreal. But in general, children from immigrant families are not able to speak Korean well compared to their parents. So I am really hoping to find an institution that teaches Korean to young children.

Third, the interviews with the students also reveal that they perceive practical benefits to maintaining the Korean language, such as their having a better opportunity in their future choices of career and acting as a language broker for their parents.

먼저 일을 구할 때요. 여기 나라 사람 무조건 인제 우리가 이민 왔으면요. 우리 언어는 할 줄 안다고 생각을 하고 있거든요. 그래서 못 하면 일을 구하기가 힘들어요. (Insuk, February 15, 2008)

Translation:

When looking for employment as immigrants in Canada, employers will automatically assume that we are capable of fluently speaking our native language. If we are not, it is going to be difficult for us to find a job.

More specifically, Sangtae responded that he would like to maintain the Korean language in order to be a missionary for North Korean people in the future.

제 꿈은요. 북한에 가서 전도하는 목사님되기 바라는데요. 근데 북한 가서 전도하려면 먼 한국말 필요하잖아요. (Sangtae, February 17, 2008)

Translation:

My dream is to become a pastor who will preach the Gospel to North Koreans as a missionary. So, I need to maintain Korean in order to do missionary work in North Korea.

Sunkyu also pointed out that he felt he should maintain the Korean language in order to act as a language broker for his parents. This is very different from interacting with his parents per se.

우리 엄마, 아빠가 뭘 못 알아들으면 제가 불어 아니면 영어를 한국말로 **translate** 해서 엄마, 아빠한테 설명 해 주기위해서도 한국말이 필요하죠.
(Sunkyu, January 26, 2008)

Translation:

I need to maintain the Korean language in order to **translate** French or English into Korean when my mom and dad don't understand French or English.

As presented above, the interviews with the 19 students reveal that they wanted to keep the Korean language in order to maintain Korean identity, to communicate with parents, grandparents, and other Koreans, and to have practical benefits.

Now I shift my attention to the students' cultural identity maintenance, focusing on their perceptions of their cultural identity in terms of their ethnic background, language, religion, and culture.

Cultural identity maintenance from students' perspectives

Three themes were identified from the students' responses about their cultural identity maintenance. These themes are: (1) students' ethnic self-identification; (2) their perceptions of the relationship between Korean language maintenance and ethnic

identity; and (3) their Korean cultural activity participation outside Korean ethnic churches.

First, I asked the students how they identified themselves in terms of their ethnic background, language, religion, or culture in order to understand how they feel about their Korean identity and ethnicity. In order to help them to understand what I meant, I gave them some examples (e.g., Korean, Canadian, Korean-Canadian, Christian, and Quebecer). The results are shown in Table 5.6.

Table 5. 6

Students' Responses to Their Self-Identification

Self-Identification	Number of Students
Korean	7
Korean Canadian	9
Protestant Korean Canadian (or Korean Canadian Christian)	2
Canadian	1
Total	19

No one responded that he/she feels like a Quebecer, even though they live in Montreal.

Among the 19 students, 11 students identified themselves as Korean Canadian including two students who claimed also to be Christians.

저는 그 완전 그 100% 한국 사람은 아닌 거 같다고 생각은 하지만. 그냥 저는 캐나다에서 컸으니까. 그래서 저는 그냥 **Korean Canadian** 이예요. (Yongjae, February 16, 2008)

Translation:

I don't think that I am really 100% pure Korean, since I grew up in Canada. So I am just **Korean Canadian**.

Among the 11 students, Misun viewed her physical difference from white Canadians as a reason not to claim to be just Canadian, even though she had lived most of her life in Canada. In fact, when she talked about her ethnic identity, she claimed herself to be not just Canadian but Korean Canadian because of her race as an Asian origin immigrant.

저는 **Citizen** 만 **Canadian Citizen** 이예요. 즉 해외에 나갈 때는 **I'm Canadian** 이라고 말하죠. 그런데 제 안에는 한국 사람이구 또 크리스찬인 걸 알구요. 저는 **I'm Canadian** 이라 그러면요 확신이 없어요. 왜냐면 먼저 서양인은 금발 머리구 뭐 이런 **physical evidence** 이런 게 있어야 되잖아요. 근데 저는 전혀 없잖아요. 그런데 어렸을 때는 **Canadian** 이라고 많이 했어요. 그런데 지금은 둘 다 좋아요. 나는 **Korean Canadian** 이예요. 근데 지금은 한국 사람으로 기분이 더 좋아요. (Misun, February 15, 2008)

Translation:

Legally, I am a **Canadian citizen**. So anytime I travel out of the country, I claim that **I am Canadian**. But I feel more Christian as well as Korean in my heart. I am not sure that I can claim to be just **Canadian**, because there are no **physical evidence** such as blond hair to help present myself as a Canadian individual. I have nothing. When I was young, I called myself **Canadian**. These days I introduce myself as **Korean Canadian** instead, although it feels better for me to identify myself as Korean.

There are seven students who identified themselves as Korean regardless of their legal status in Canada.

전 한국 사람이라고 생각해요. 그냥 **Korean**. **Korean Canadian** 도 아니구. 전 **Canadian citizenship** 만 그냥 받은 거잖아요. 그래서 한국 주민등록번호는 없지만. 그래도 **Korean** 이죠. (Yongjin, February 13, 2008)

Translation:

I think I am **Korean**. I am not **Korean Canadian**. I am just Korean. I just have **Canadian citizenship**. Even though I don't have a Korean registration number, I am **Korean**.

제가 여기서 시민권두 있어두, 저는 한국 사람인 걸 잘 알구 부모도 한국 분이구 하니까요. 나는 내 자신이 한국 사람인 걸 철폐해야 할 이유가 없다고 생각해요. 그래서 저는 그냥 **Korean** 이예요. 여기 친구들도 년 **Canadian citizenship** 있는데 왜 너 캐네디언이라고 안 그러냐구 물어봐요. 그리고

한국 애들중에 다들 이민잔데 자기는 캐네디언이라고 하고 뭐 그냥 동양 얼굴에다가 이름은 ‘크리스티나’ 뭐 이러거든요. 그런거 보면 정말 바보 같애요. 저는 외국 이름 가진 것두 별루라고 생각해요. (Hyonmi, March 16, 2008)

Translation:

Although I have Canadian citizenship, I am fully aware that I am **Korean** raised by both Korean parents. So there is no need to be ashamed of my cultural identity. So I am just Korean. My Canadian friends do not understand why I am reluctant on that issue even though I have Canadian citizenship. Some of my Korean friends who are all immigrants claim to be otherwise. In addition, I personally think that it is just dumb for them to adopt English names such as *Christina* with their Asian faces.

Among the seven students, Insuk responded that she answered differently depending on who asked the question. She said:

저는 **Pure Korean** 이에요. 하지만 물어보는 사람에 따라서, 한국 사람이 물어 보면 캐네디언이라고 하고 그 다음에 캐나다 애들이 물어 보면 나는 Korean 이라고 해요. (Insuk, February 15, 2008)

Translation:

I am **pure Korean**. However, my answer varies depending on who asks the question. I claim to be Canadian when asked by Koreans, but insist on being **Korean** if a Canadian person asks.

There is only one student (Kangyun) who identified himself as Canadian. He claimed to be Canadian due to his inability to speak Korean well.

More or less, let's say I feel more Canadian, because I don't speak Korean well. So I can't say, I feel Korean, because of the language I don't think I have. I have lived in Montreal for 18 years. I visited Korea only a few times when I was a kid. So my memory is not, you know, exactly Korean. (Kangyun, March 3, 2008)

Second, in order to understand the students' perceptions of the relationship between Korean language maintenance and ethnic identity, I posed the following question: "If someone does not speak Korean, can he (she) still claim to be Korean?"

Among the 19 students, nine students respond that the person who does not speak Korean

can still claim to be Korean. Most of them emphasized the inseparable connection between Korean identity and Korean blood (their own word) regardless of the person's inability to speak Korean. They viewed Korean blood as the most important thing to be considered as Korean.

서양 사람들에 입양 된 한국인 아이들도 솔직히 자기들은 “나는 캐네디언이야” 이렇게 생각하잖아요. 그런데 피는 못 속여요. 결국에는 개네두 한국 사람이예요. (Misun, February 15, 2008)

Translation:

Those Koreans who were adopted by Canadian parents may feel that they are entirely Canadian. However, blood will tell. They cannot change the fact that they are of Korean descent. They are Korean after all.

However, nine among the other 10 students related the person's Korean language maintenance to his (or her) right to claim to be Korean.

한국말을 못하면 한국인이라고 부를 수 없을 거 같아요. 일단 한국말도 못하고, 그러면 생각하는 것조차 여기 식이고 그러면 한국과는 전혀 관계가 없는거 같아요. 그냥 생긴거만...딱 진짜 생긴거만 한국인. (Jinhyun, February 16, 2008)

Translation:

Being able to speak Korean is an integral criterion for one to be considered a Korean. If a Korean descendent cannot speak a word of Korean, then he (she) might be a person who is completely white washed. Then she or he has no connection to his (her) Korean identity. That person is quite simply an empty shell.

Honestly, you should be able to speak the Korean language. If you say, “Oh, I am Korean”, and then you can't speak Korean, then, it's a bit weird, I guess. It's just like saying, “Oh, I am Quebecer, but I cannot speak French”. I think Quebecer is about French. So you can't claim to be Korean if you can't speak Korean. It goes together, I guess. You can't say or identify yourself as Korean. (Kangyun, March 3, 2008)

Only one student among the other 10 students (Yongjin) responded that it depended on the person's conditions.

그건 뭐 상황마다 다르죠. 제가 보면 예를 들면 한국말 아예 모른다. 근데 할 수 없이 모르면. 예를 들어 배울 기회가 없었거나. 그러면 뭐 자기 마음이 그러면 그렇죠. 자기가 한국 사람이라고 보이죠. 아니면 뭐 자기가 그 다 버리고 한국 언어하고 그런 거 다 버리면 결국 자기가 한국 사람이라고 부르긴 좀 아니라고 생각. (Yongjin, February, 13, 2008)

Translation:

It depends on conditions. If people had no opportunity to learn Korean, then they may call themselves Korean if they want to. But if people did not learn Korean by their choice, then they cannot call themselves Korean, because they have no inclination to keep the Korean language or their Korean ethnic identity.

Third, I looked at the students' Korean cultural activity participation outside Korean ethnic churches. Among the 19 students, 11 students (eight church members and three non-church members) had never participated in any Korean cultural activities outside the church, which shows that three non-church members had never participated in any Korean cultural activities in Montreal. The other eight students responded that they had participated in Korean cultural activities outside the church. Seven students volunteered at the intercultural festivals or the Korean library set up sponsored by Montreal *Haninhoe* (The Korean Community of Greater Montreal) including two students who also participated in an extracurricular program (i.e., Taekwondo class) provided by the HL school outside the church. However, even the students who had experienced cultural activities sponsored by Montreal Haninhoe only participated in the activities just once or twice. The last student (Yunju) participated in the Korean Culture Experience Program sponsored by the government of Korea outside the church. She was selected through an essay competition and was invited to visit Korea for a week.

Based on the students' responses, I found that there were three places where they have participated in Korean cultural activities outside Korean ethnic churches in

Montreal: Montreal *Haninhoe*; the HL school outside the church; and the Korean government-sponsored program⁸.

In this section, I presented the students' ethnic self-identification, their perceptions of the relationship between Korean language maintenance and ethnic identity, and their cultural activity participation outside Korean ethnic churches. In the next section, I present the students' perceptions of the relationship between their Korean church participation and their Korean language and cultural identity maintenance.

5.4.1.3 Students' perceptions of the relationship between their Korean church participation and their Korean language and cultural identity maintenance

In this section, I present data related to how the student participants perceive the relationship between their Korean church participation and their Korean language and cultural identity maintenance. These data are mainly based on the responses from the 15 student church members. The results of the group discussions with the 11 students from the HOPE church are integrated into this section as well. The results are organized into the following four main categories:

- 1) Students' frequency of church participation and their understanding of church-related activities including the Sunday worship service;
- 2) Students' reasons for attending the Korean ethnic church;

⁸ The Overseas Koreans Foundation (www.korean.net) has been hosting the Homecoming Program for Overseas Koreans Youth every year since 1997. Through this program, 200 Korean youths between the ages of 15 and 22 from around the world are invited to visit Korea for a week. As far as I know, a small number of Korean youths (normally one) are selected from Montreal.

- 3) Students' perceptions of the relationship between their Korean ethnic church participation and their Korean language maintenance;
- 4) Students' perceptions of the relationship between their Korean ethnic church participation and Korean culture maintenance.

Students' frequency of church participation per week among 15 church goers⁹ and their understanding of church-related activities

Among the 15 student participants attending a Korean ethnic church, 14 students responded that they attended services and participated in church-related activities more than three times per week (Mean = 3.57, SD = 0.65) mostly on Sunday, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday. The worship services on Sunday and Wednesday are for all the members, focusing on adult members, while the activities for Youth Congregations are normally held on Friday and Saturday. All were active participants except one student, Hyunmi. She responded that she had never voluntarily participated in services or any church-related activities. She responded that she attended a church at her mother's request and she attended only the Sunday worship service once a week or once every other week. She also responded that she had difficulty in understanding the sermons, the Korean Bible, and the Korean hymns.

저는솔직히 말해서 한 번도 한인 교회를 의미있게 가 본 적이 없어요. 그냥 엄마가 가라 그래서요. 그래서 저는 교회에서 그렇게 말을 많이 하지 않아요. 전 주일날 예배만 참석해요. 그리고 목사님 설교도 귀 기울여 들어본 적이 없어서 잘 알아듣는지 그건 잘 모르겠어요. 그리고 성경책에 있는 한국말은 못 알아 듣겠어요. 좀 어려워요. 찬송가도 어렵고. (Hyunmi, March 16, 2008);

⁹ Among the 19 student participants, four non-church members were not included in this section.

Translation:

Quite frankly, I have never found a purpose for attending the Korean church. I only do so at my mother's request, but whenever I am there I rarely interact with others. I only attend on Sundays and I seldom get the message from the sermons, probably because I never pay attention to them. I also do not understand the Korean Bible or the Korean hymn songs, because they are a little difficult...

With regard to their understanding of church-related activities, most of the students indicated that the Sunday worship sermon preached by the pastors was the most difficult activity to understand. Only two students responded that they could fully understand the Sunday worship sermon.

목사님 설교는 전체적인 내용은 다 이해 가는데요. 되게 **specific** 한 단어들은 잘 이해가 안가요. 제가 한 번은 모르는 단어를 다 써 봤거든요. 진짜 한장 두장 짝 이렇게 나오더라구요. (Eunmi, February 15, 2008)

Translation:

I can get the general message from my pastor's sermon; however, there are a number of very **specific** words that I have a tough time understanding. I once scribbled down a list of vocabulary I could not comprehend, and it filled nearly two pages.

주일날 목사님 설교는 100%중에서 25%정도 이해하는 거 같아요. 복음성가나 찬양 같은 것도 다 이해하는 건 아니예요. 하지만 토요일 학생부 설교는 목사님이 좀 더 쉽게 하셔서 한 80% 정도 알아 들어요. 그리고 다른 교회 행사는 한 75%정도 이해하는 거 같아요. (Sunkyu, January 26, 2008)

Translation:

I probably understand only 25% of my pastor's sermon on Sunday. I also don't understand the full meanings in the hymn songs and gospels. On the other hand, Saturday evening services for secondary students offer easier sermons fit for young students and I am able to understand about 80%. About the other church-related activities, I think I understand 75% of them.

Most of the students responded that worship services for Youth-Congregations were a lot easier than Sunday worship service. They responded that the sermons given by the pastor during Sunday worship services were not easy for them to understand in general,

because the sermons were mainly for adult church members not for young members. On the other hand, they could fully understand the sermons for Youth Congregations with ease, since the pastors seemed to use easier words and expressions during these sermons. Except for the Sunday worship sermon, most of the students responded that they had no difficulty in understanding the church-related activities conducted in the Korean language because they were accustomed to Korean religious terms.

Students' reasons for attending Korean ethnic church

When asked why they go to Korean church, four students responded that they had no specific reason to attend. These four attended church mainly because their parents wanted them to, even though the other 11 students had also started to attend the Korean church at their parents' request in the first place. However, the 11 students mentioned that they had at least one reason to attend the Korean church other than parents' choice. They responded that they attended the Korean church: (1) in order to learn and practice the Korean language; or (2) in order to have social gatherings with other Koreans. In fact, most of the students chose both reasons.

First, the students viewed the Korean ethnic church as the place where they could learn and practice the Korean language outside the home.

한국말을 쓸 데가 집 밖에 없는데요. 교회오면 한국 사람들이 많으니까. 한국말로 대화를 계속 할 수 있으니까 그냥 기분이 좋아요 교회에 오면.
(Sumi, February 9, 2008)

Translation:

I rarely have a chance to communicate in Korean outside my home. At the Korean church, however, I get plenty of opportunities to talk with a lot of Korean people in Korean. So I feel so good when I go to church.

Similar answers were also identified from the group discussions.

Eunmi: 그러니까 한인교회 아니면 한국말을 어디서 배우냐, 솔직히 말해서요, 아무리 부모님이랑 대화한다고 해도요, 친구들이랑 한국말로 해야 이게, 한국말은 여기서, 즉 교회안에서 배워야 한다고 생각해요. (GD-1, January 25, 2008)

It is probably the best to learn Korean at Korean church by talking with friends there. Even though I can have constant conversations with my parents, it is more fun and natural to learn the language while chatting with friends in the church.

Misun: 모르는 사회에 처음와서, 특히 영어가 **main** 그거면 한국말 연습할데가 없잖아요. 약간 어떻게 보면 여기가 (한인교회가) “미니 한국” 일수 있구요. (GD-1, January 25, 2008)

Having arrived in an unknown society where English is a majority (**main**) language, there is no place to effectively practice Korean. In this setting, I consider a Korean church as “mini-Korea”.

Second, the students responded that they felt comfortable with other Koreans, who had the same ethnic and immigration background. Some students also mentioned that they could understand each other as fellow members of younger generations from Korean immigrant families.

한인 교회는 굳이 예수님 잘 안 믿더라도 이민자들이 다 모이는 곳이라고 생각해요. (Yongjae, February 16, 2008)

Translation:

The Korean ethnic church is a place for Korean immigrants to gather, regardless of their faith in Jesus Christ.

어떤 부모님들은 여기 캐나다 문화에 너무들어가구 싶어해요. 그래서 자녀들 한테도 영어로만 써요. 그니깐 그만큼 자기는 캐네디언만 되고 싶다는 뜻인 거 같아요. 하지만 한국인은 한국인들 옆에 있어야 된다고 생각해요. 다 이해 하잖아요. 제 입장을요. 여긴 이민 교회라서 더 더욱. (Eunmi, February 15, 2008)

Translation:

Some parents are excessively focused on being assimilated into the Canadian culture, so they only communicate in English with their children. They are

perhaps desperate to be Canadian. However, I believe Koreans should be with other Koreans; then we can fully understand each other as immigrants, especially in Korean immigrant churches.

Other than the above two reasons, Yongjin also directly related his Korean church attendance to his Korean ethnic identity.

일단은 부모님이 다니시니까요. 하지만 제가 선택권이 있었어도 그래도 한국교회 다닐거예요, 제가 한국 사람이니까요. (Yongjin, February 13, 2008)

Translation:

It was my parents' choice to attend the Korean church in the first place. However, even though I could choose to go to any church, I would choose to attend the Korean church, because I am Korean.

Students' perceptions of the relationship between their Korean ethnic church participation and their Korean language maintenance

Based on the students' responses, three themes were identified. They perceived that their Korean language skills improved because of the following three factors in the Korean ethnic church: (1) constant use of Korean with friends and adult members; (2) use of Korean in the worship services and activities; and (3) interactions with other Korean students (Group D, E).

First of all, the students viewed their constant use of Korean with Korean friends and adult members as one of the main factors for their Korean language maintenance in the Korean ethnic church. In particular, they responded that their conversational skills in Korean were maintained and improved through interactions with other Korean church members in Korean.

주로 어른들이랑 많이 대화 하게 되요. 그리구 어른들이 다 한국말로만 대화를 나누시니까요 저절로 한국말로 말하게 되요. 그러면서 한국말이 느는거 같아요. (Yunju, February 17, 2008)

Translation:

I spend a fair amount of time chatting with Korean adults. Since they speak only Korean, we naturally talk only in Korean. I think my Korean improves because of that.

저는 교회 다니면서 한국말이 많이 늘었어요. 특히 담임 목사님이 계속 한국말로 얘기하라고 그러셔서 더 는거 같아요. 그리고 교회 형들하고 축구하면서 한국말로 해요. (Sangtae, February 17, 2008)

Translation:

My Korean greatly improved as I began attending church. My pastor always suggests that I should keep talking in Korean, and I usually speak in Korean with older friends from my church when playing soccer together.

Second, the students also related their Korean language improvement to the use of Korean in the worship services and activities in the Korean ethnic church. They responded that the exclusive use of Korean in all the services and activities made them improve their Korean language skills.

그리고 목사님 설교를 통해서도 많이 느는 것 같아요. 설교 하시면 목사님이 단어를 많이 말하시잖아요. 제가 몰랐던 단어들 설명해 주시구 그러면 그 때 아 이걸 이렇게구나. 이러면서 배우는 거 같아요. (Misun, February 15, 2008)

Translation:

I also learn a great deal from my pastor's sermons because he uses a variety of vocabulary. It definitely helps when he offers explanations on those words I was not aware of beforehand.

In the group discussion (GD-2), Daeho mentioned that he learned a lot of Korean by attending the service and the Bible study class conducted exclusively in Korean. .

저도 교회 통해 한국말을 많이 배우는 거 같아요. 예를들어 찬송가 이런것도 한국말로 보면서 부르니까 더 늘게 되고 그리고 성경공부도 한국말로 하고 그러니까요.

Translation:

I think my Korean improved through life at church, such as through singing of hymn songs written in Korean and studying the Bible in Korean. (GD-2, January 26, 2008)

On top of the above factors, the students also pointed out that their Korean language skills improved through interactions with Korean international students who used modern and contemporary Korean.

저는 한국말이 유학생들 댁에 되게 많이 느는 거 같아요. 그리구 애네들이 항상 새로운 그 약간 요즘 쓰는 한국말들을 쓰니까 한국어가 되게 많이 늘었어요. (Misun, February 15, 2008)

Translation:

My Korean is constantly improving thanks to my Korean friends who have come from Korea to pursue their respective studies. I pick up lots of new words and expressions since their Korean is quite up-to-date and modern.

However, some of the students were sceptical of the fact that their Korean language skills, especially their literacy skills in Korean, improved because of their Korean church participation. Jinhyun responded that her Korean church participation was not enough to improve her overall Korean skills, even though her conversational skills might improve to some extent.

교회에 다닌다고 해서 한국어가 크게 늘거 같지는 않아요. 그게 어느정도 말하는 것까지는 될테지만, 진짜 한국말 잘 한다는 건 말만 조금 하는게 아니라 쓰는 것도 그렇고 읽는 것도 그렇고 그런 능력도 다 포함이 되니까 그렇게 생각하면 교회가 그렇게 별로 도움이 안될거 같아요. (Jinhyun, February 15, 2008)

Translation:

I don't think my Korean can greatly improve only by attending a Korean church. I may learn to carry out some basic conversations to a certain extent. However, I should be able to read and write well in the Korean language as well as speak Korean well. In that sense, I am not sure if attending church alone can have a dramatic impact on my Korean.

In addition, Yunju pointed out that the Korean language she learned in the Korean ethnic church is too religious to use outside the church.

한국교회 참석하면서 한국말이 느는 거 같아요. 계속 듣게 되었으니까요. 근데요 단점이 그거예요. 진짜 성경적인 그런 말씀이니까요. 이렇게 매일 사용할 수 있는 단어가 없다는 거죠. 바깥에 가서 친구 만나면 사용할 수 있는 그런 용어가 건 아니니까. 한국말은 느는 거 같아요. 하지만 밖에나가서 그렇게 많이 는 못 사용하죠. (Yunju, February 17, 2008)

Translation:

My Korean has noticeably improved since I started attending a Korean church on a regular basis. It is because I keep listening to the language spoken at church. However, most words and expressions heard at church are biblical terms, so there are not many words that I can use in my daily life with friends outside the church. Those words are not the ones that I can use with my friends outside. But it is for sure that my Korean improves, even though I cannot use the Korean language that I learn in the church with people who I meet outside the church.

With regard to the improvement in literacy skills of the students, most of the students have experience in learning Korean in the church HL school, which is specifically designed to teach literacy skills in Korean. All the students are either currently enrolled or were once enrolled in the HL school except for Hyunmi. However, only a few students responded that they learned a lot of Korean from the HL school. The others just felt that it might be better to attend the class than to do nothing. The students provided two main reasons why they could not learn Korean much from the church HL school. First, the HL class is composed of students of all different levels, since the class is normally determined based on students' age instead of their level. Second, class time is not enough, since the class is held only once per week on Sunday for less than an hour.

저희 반에는 저랑 수준이 맞는 사람이 없는 거 같아요. 다 저보다 한국말을 잘하는 거 같아요. 그래서 제가 따라가기가 힘들어요. 반 친구들이 늦게 이민온 아이거나 나머지는 다 유학생들이니까요. (Sumi, February 9, 2008)

Translation:

I can't find anyone who is on the same level with me in my HL class. Everyone is above my level. So it's difficult for me to follow the class, because they are either recent immigrants or Korean international students (Group D).

일주일에 한 번 이니까. 금방 금방 잊어버리죠. 지금 상태에서는 한글 학교가 **second generation** 애들이 더 한국말을 더 발전하게 하기 위해 있는 거라면 한글 학교를 좀 더 자주하는 게 좋을거 같아요. (Daeho, February 16, 2008)

Translation:

It is easy to forget what we learn in the class, because the HL school is held only once per week. If the HL class is for **second generations'** Korean language improvement, then the HL school should be held more often.

Students' perceptions of the relationship between their Korean ethnic church participation and Korean culture maintenance

Concerning the students' Korean culture maintenance in the church, they reported that they learned about Korean culture by sharing Korean food and Korean style religious practices, by celebrating Korean traditional holidays, and by respecting elders and parents. Yongjin said that the Korean atmosphere in the Korean ethnic church made him feel Korean.

교회안에 있는 한국의 **atmosphere**, 예를들면 돌잔치, 한국식 결혼식, 한국음식 이리건 때문에 더 한국 사람처럼 생각하구 그렇게 되죠. (Yongjin, February 13, 2008)

Translation:

I feel more Korean when I am in the Korean church, because of the Korean **atmosphere** such as Korean style *Dol* (the celebration event for a child's first birthday), Korean style wedding ceremonies, and Korean food in the church.

As another way of learning about Korean culture, Eunmi emphasized that she could learn about Korean culture through the Korean style religious practices.

한국 교회하구 외국 교회 비교하면요. 다른 점이 진짜 보여요. 그래서 한국 교회는 아 이게 한국의 영향을 받아서 이게 다르구나 느껴요. 먼저는 기도 같은 것도 되게 틀린 거 같아요. 한국은 뜨겁게 하는거 같아요. 그리고 여긴 대개 친구처럼 이렇게 대하잖아요. 저는 이런것이 한국의 영향을 받아서 그런 거 아닌가 하는 생각이 들어요. (Eunmi, February 15, 2008)

Translation:

I notice a number of differences between Korean churches and Canadian churches. I am certain that it is mainly because the Korean churches are influenced by Korean culture. In my opinion, the atmosphere is much more enthusiastic and passionate at Korean churches than it is at their Canadian counterpart.

Misun also pointed out that Korean culture was represented through the relationship among church members in the Korean ethnic church.

교회에서는 일단 인간관계에 있어서, 그 **ideal Korean relationship** 이 있는거 같아요. 뭐라고 말로 표현할 순 없어요. 일단 친교시간에 먹는 한국음식 하고 그리고 존댓말. 존댓말을 들으면요. 그게 한국 문화 같아요. (Misun, February 15, 2008)

I think that there is an **ideal Korean relationship** between the members of the church, which is quite indescribable. There is a certain sentiment shared over the Korean style lunch following the Sunday service; church members are treated with respect by the use of honorifics. I guess that is a typical picture of Korean culture.

However, some students have different ideas about Korean culture in the Korean ethnic church. In fact, Jinhee responded that she did not have any clear idea about Korean culture because of her lack of understanding of Korean culture. As a result, she just identified what she felt in the Korean ethnic church with Korean culture.

제가 한국문화에 대해서 많이 알면 한국문화와 캐나다 문화를 비교할 수 있겠지만 저는 잘 모르니까. 여기 한인교회 있는게 한국의 한국 문화라고 생각할 수는 있겠죠. 그러니까 아닐 수도 있지만. 저는 그냥 잘 모르니까 이게 한국 문화구나 라고 느끼는 거죠. (Jinhee, February 18, 2008)

Translation:

If I knew more about Korean culture, I would then be able to compare Korean culture with Canadian culture. Unfortunately, I do not know much about Korean culture except what I see at Korean churches. I could be wrong, but whatever I experience at a given Korean church, I interpret it as a part of Korean culture in general.

Furthermore, Jinsu expressed the view that the Korean ethnic church might not be enough for second-generation students to learn about Korean culture, because Korean culture in the church might be different from the one in Korea.

한인교회에서 한국문화에 대해서는 제대로는 못 배울거 같아요. 뭔가인지는 모르겠는데 뭔지 모르게 한국과는 다른걸 느껴요. 여기서 가르치는 거랑 제가 한국에서 느낀 거랑은 뭔가 다른거 같아요. 예를들면, 여기 한인교회 있는 사람들은 한국에 있는 문화를 약간 나쁜점들을 너무 많이 2 세 아이들한테 말해줘서요 2 세들은 한국문화를 좋다고 생각하지 않는 것 같아요. 그래서 교회 다니는 걸로는 그렇게 한국문화에 대해 제대로 배울 수 있을 거 같지 않아요. 오히려 부정적인 생각이 더 늘어나지 않을까 해요. (Jinsu, February 16, 2008)

Translation:

I do not think Korean churches in Montreal are a good place to learn Korean culture. I don't know exactly what the difference is; however, I feel the difference between Korean culture in Korea and Korean culture in Montreal. For example, it feels strange whenever I am engaged in some cultural discussion because the churches tend to only talk about the negative aspects of it. As a result, the second generations have a bad impression of Korean culture. Perhaps churchgoing may have an adverse effect on the second-generation students.

I have presented the results of student interviews and the group discussions focusing on students' use of the Korean language and experiences learning Korean, their perceptions of Korean language and cultural identity maintenance, and their perceptions of the relationship between their Korean ethnic church participation and their Korean language and cultural identity maintenance. In the next section, I shift my attention to the results of the interviews with adult participants (i.e., parents and teachers) with regard to their perceptions of their children's (or students') Korean language and cultural identity maintenance, and the linguistic and socio-cultural role of Korean ethnic churches in Montreal.

5.4.2 Results of Adult Members' Interviews

The results of interviews with 14 adult church members (i.e., 10 parents, 2 HL class teachers, and 2 Bible study leaders) were organized into the following three main categories:

- 1) Adult members' language practices and experiences teaching Korean to their children (or to their students);
- 2) Adult members' perceptions of their children's (or students') Korean language and cultural identity maintenance;
- 3) Adult members' perceptions of the linguistic and cultural obligations of the Korean ethnic church towards younger generations' Korean language and culture maintenance.

5.4.2.1 Adult members' language practices and experiences teaching Korean to their children (or to their students)

In this section, I present interview data related to adult members' proficiency levels in French and English, and frequency in use of both languages, and their language practices in and outside the home. Then, I present interview data related to their experiences teaching Korean to their children / students in and outside of the home and the church.

Parents' proficiency levels in French and English, and frequency in use of them

At the beginning of the interviews, all the parents were asked to characterize their speaking and understanding ability in French and English on a scale of 1 to 7 with 7 as

very fluent and as *understand everything*. In addition, they were also asked to rate their use of both languages in their daily life on a scale of 1 to 7 with 7 as *almost always*. They were not asked to comment on their proficiency levels in Korean, since they immigrated to Canada as adults. The results are shown in Table 5.7.

Table 5. 7

Parents' Reported Proficiency Levels in French and English and Frequency of Use of French and English

French	Speaking	Comprehension	Frequency
Mean	2.80	3.40	3.20
SD	1.75	1.58	2.15
English	Speaking	Comprehension	Frequency
Mean	4.20	4.30	3.30
SD	1.62	1.49	1.95

Table 5.7 shows that parents' reported proficiency levels in English are higher than their proficiency levels in French in both speaking and comprehension. Overall, the frequency in use of English in their daily lives is almost the same as their frequency of use of French, regardless of their different proficiency levels in the two languages. Parents responded that they used English or French mostly in their workplace. Some parents who did not work responded that they never used either English or French except for a few places where they had to use English or French such as in a hospital or in a government office.

Concerning the ten parent participants' language use with their children at home and in the church, nine parents responded that they spoke Korean with their children for the most part, while 1 parent spoke half Korean and half English with his children for

educational purposes. No parents spoke French with their children at home. One parent responded that she made it a rule to use only Korean at home.

아이들이 어려서부터 애들한테 한국말이 중요하다고 생각을 해서
집안에서는 ‘한국말만 써라’ 이렇게 규칙을 정해 놔있어요. 한국말을 알아야
외국에 이민 와서 살더라도 한국 사람이라는 것을 알아야 한다는 전제하에
그 교육을 했던 것 같습니다.

Translation:

I have a strict rule that prohibits my children from speaking any language other than Korean at home. I do it in order for them to continue to remember that they are Korean, even though they live in Canada as immigrants. (APM5, March 7, 2008)

In addition, all the parents responded that they spoke Korean in the church. Even the parent who spoke Korean and English at home also responded that he tried to speak only Korean with his children in the church as much as possible.

Teachers' proficiency levels in French and English, and frequency in use of them

The four teachers were also asked to characterize their speaking and understanding ability in French and English on the same scale as with the parents. The results are shown in Table 5.8.

Table 5. 8

Teachers' Reported Proficiency Levels in French and English and Frequency of Use of French and English

French	Speaking	Comprehension	Frequency
Mean	2.63	3.25	1.75
SD	2.63	2.63	0.96
English	Speaking	Comprehension	Frequency
Mean	5.50	6.25	5.50
SD	1.29	0.50	1.91

Table 5.8 shows that for English, the teachers' reported proficiency levels and frequency of use are higher than for French. The higher frequency of use of English can be attributed to the fact that three teachers are college students in English universities in Montreal. The other teacher responded that he spoke English for the most part in his workplace.

Concerning the four teachers' language use with their students and Bible study group members in the church, they all responded that they spoke Korean with their students and members for the most part, but they sometimes spoke English in a few cases where students or members could not understand difficult words or expressions in Korean.

Parents' experiences teaching Korean to their children in and outside the home

With regard to the ten parents' experiences teaching Korean to their children at home, only three parents responded that they taught their children how to read and write basic Korean at home and two parents responded that they had not taught Korean to their children at home. The other five parents responded that they used the Korean Bible or

family worship instead of directly teaching Korean to their children. Three parents encouraged their children to read and to copy from the Korean Bible every day. They responded that they held family worship including Bible reading, hymn singing, and prayer in Korean almost every day for a short time (normally less than 30 minutes) with their children.

With respect to teaching Korean (literacy skills in particular) to their children outside the home, all the parents had sent their children to the church HL school and five parents had also sent their children to the HL school outside the church before they sent their children to the church HL school. Concerning the reasons for their HL school change, one parent said:

몬트리올 한인학교에 애들을 보내려면 그러니깐 이제 그 여러 가지가 **involve** 되야 되는데 꼭 시간만 투자해야 되는 게 아니구 부모님들이 돌아가면서 뭐 음식두 해야 되구 뭐 액티버티도 많고 그게 엄마가 다 감당하기 힘들더라구요.

Translation:

Sending children to the HL school outside the church **involves** more than driving them back and forth: it includes taking turns preparing meals and light meals for the children, participating in a variety of activities, and so on. It is not an easy task for the parents, especially for the mothers. (APF8, March 2, 2008)

Concerning teaching Korean conversational skills to their children, the parents responded that they encouraged their children to watch Korean television dramas, Korean historical dramas, and Korean amusement programs on the Internet at home rather than directly teaching Korean conversational skills.

한국 드라마 같은거 보게 하는 거는 언어의 발달을 위해서도 그렇지만 정서상의 문제도 한국 사람이 한국 사람 보는 그 부분을 어느 정도는 인식하고서 자라가야 된다고 생각을 해요. 지금 직접적으로 가서 생활할 수는 없기 때문에. 그래도 알고는 있어야 된다고 생각하는 부분이 있어서 의도적으로 좀 보여주는 편이에요.

Translation:

I think parents should be encouraging their children to watch Korean films or dramas. It is an effective method for them to increase their recognition of Korean culture as well as to develop their language by listening and seeing such televised programs. Since they do not live in Korea at the moment, I intentionally encourage my children to watch such materials. (APM5, March 7, 2008)

5.4.2.2 Adult members' perceptions of their children's (or students') Korean language and cultural identity maintenance

In this section, I present data related to adult members' perceptions of their children's (students') Korean language maintenance and their children's (students') level of motivation for Korean language maintenance in Montreal. Then, I present data related to their perceptions of the relationship between their children's (students') Korean language maintenance and ethnic identity, and the role of Korean community institutions.

Adult members' perceptions of their children's (students') Korean language maintenance

In order to understand the adult members' attitudes toward their children's (students') Korean language maintenance, I asked the 14 adult members (i.e., 10 parents and 4 teachers) why they should encourage their children (students) to speak Korean. The following three themes were identified: (1) to maintain Korean ethnic identity; (2) to communicate with parents and relatives; and (3) to have practical benefits.

First of all, most of the adult members viewed their children's (students') Korean ethnic identity maintenance as the first reason for their Korean language maintenance.

다른 나라에서 산다고 하더라도 우리 뿌리가 바뀌진 않거든요. 그렇기 때문에 언어를 지키는 것은 참 중요하다고 생각해요. 그 외에도 일단은

저희가 (부모가) 한국어가 모국어이기 때문에 아이들이 한국어를 쓰지 않는다면 어느 시점부터는 부모 자식 간에 의사 소통이 단절 될 수 있다고 보거든요. (APM3, February 16, 2008)

Translation:

One's origin does not change regardless of her or his country of residence. Therefore, it is essential to regularly practice the mother tongue. It is especially critical between the first generation of immigrants and their offspring, for their communication could malfunction if the children neglect speaking Korean.

In fact, one parent strongly emphasized the need to teach Korean to her children for their Korean ethnic identity maintenance.

사실 애들이 한글을 안 가르치면 정체성을 몰라요. 캐네디언인 줄 알구 살지요, 아무도 인정 안 하는. 아무도 나가면 캐네디언이라고 안하거든요. **Orient** 혹은 **Asian** 이라고 그러지. (BPM9, February 12, 2008)

Translation:

Our children will never know their Korean ethnic identity if they are not given a chance to be taught Korean. They would go on considering themselves as Canadians even though nobody approves of it. It's sad, but true that they will be categorized as **Asian**, or **Oriental** instead of Canadian.

In addition, there was one parent who stressed the importance of multiple identities as Korean Canadian. He emphasized his children's multiple identities as Korean and Canadian at the same time. He also mentioned that his children would find their Korean identity easily if they maintained Korean language.

애들이 자라면서 자기는 누구냐고 물어요. 그러면 '너는 **Korean** 이면서 또 동시에 **Canadian** 이다' 라고 말해 줍니다. 그러니까 **Korean** 도 알아야 되구 캐나다에 살기 때문에, 또 퀘벡에 살기 때문에 **English** 와 **French** 도 해야 된다고 강조합니다. 그리고 또 한국어를 해야 되는 이유는 나중에 커서 아이들이 이민자로서 **identity** 를 찾기를 원할 때 한국말을 알면은 그 정체성을 금방 찾아요. 일단 언어를 갖고 있으면 나중에 자기가 내가 한국에 대해서 알아야겠다 라고 느낄때그 때 쉽게 거기에 접근할 수가 있죠. (APF7, March 9, 2008)

Translation:

My children ask me who they are as they grow up, and I tell them they are

Canadian as well as **Korean**. I emphasize the importance of being able to speak **English** and **French** as a Quebec resident, as well as Korean as children of Korean immigrants. It is essential for the Korean children to maintain their Korean so that they can find their cultural **identity** later on in life. So long as the language is there, they can easily find their way back into their ethnic background.

Second, some parents responded that their children should learn Korean in order to be able to communicate with parents and relatives in Korean. One parent mentioned that his children's loss of Korean may cause loss of connection with parents in the family, because the Korean language is the most important tool for communication in the family.

Lastly, the adult members also viewed children's Korean language maintenance as an important tool for practical benefits such as having advantages in their future job searches.

부모님 하구 커뮤니케이션의 문제라든지 아니면 한국 사람으로서 꼭 한국말을 해야된다는지 이런 걸 떠나서두, 앞으로 애가 컸을 때 영어, 불어만 하는 거 보다는 한국말까지 하는 게 애가 사회에 실력을 적용 시키는데 있어서 훨씬 유리하다고 생각해요. 직업을 갖는다는지 무슨 공부를 한다고 해도 한국어를 한다는 애한테 많은 도움이 돼요. 적은 도움이 아니고 많은 도움이 돼요. 지금 여기 (몬트리올)에 있었던 내 많은 친구들이 한국에 관련된 회사에서 일을 하고 있는데 그 이유는 영어나 불어를 잘 해서가 아니구 영어 불어를 잘 하지만 한국말도 잘하기 때문에 그런거 같아요. (APF8, March 2, 2008)

Translation:

Besides having to communicate with the parents or speaking the language simply because it is their mother tongue, my children should be fluent in Korean on top of English and French. They will have a clear advantage as they step into the real world upon completion of their education. A number of friends of mine who have studied in Montreal did not have trouble finding employments in Korea and in Korea-related companies, not only due to their ability to speak English or French but also due to their good ability to communicate in Korean.

Another parent also responded that it would be easier for their children to learn another language if they master the Korean language.

Adult members' perceptions of young members' level of motivation for Korean language maintenance in Montreal

When asked whether young Korean children of today were eager to learn and preserve the Korean language, half of the parents (i.e., five parents), responded that young Korean children were eager to maintain the Korean language.

몬트리얼 안에 있는 아이들은 부모의 영향을 받아서 그런지 아니면 영어하고 불어를 같이 해서 그런지 한국어를 배울려고 많이 노력하는 거 같아요. 그리고 본인들이 한국말을 할려고 노력하구요. (APM1, February 27, 2008)

Translation:

Korean children in Montreal, in general, strive to master Korean. This can be due to the influence of their parents or a personal goal to be fluent in three languages.

With regard to the reasons for children's eagerness for Korean language maintenance, the parents responded that young Korean children in Montreal are more eager to maintain the Korean language than those in other cities in Canada because of the multilingual environment of Montreal where there are two majority languages, French and English.

여기 몬트리얼에서는 일단 언어에 대해서 사람들이 민감하고 여러 언어를 쓰기 때문에 한국어에 대한 관심이 이민자에게는 참 높다고 생각해요. 꼭 자기가 사용하는 두세개 언어 뿐만 아니라 자기가 모르는 미지의 언어에 대해서도 훨씬 더 민감해 진다고 생각해요. 그리고 문화에 대해서도 좀 더 개방적이고 확실히 그런 거 같아요. (APM4, February 29, 2008)

Translation:

In Montreal, Koreans are particularly sensitive when it comes to languages as it is a multilingual city where there are two majority languages. They are also very interested in their mother tongue. In addition, they are more receptive to other languages than the ones frequently spoken within their community, thanks to the multilingual aspect of Montreal. Therefore, people are also very open to different cultures.

미국에 있는 도시와 비교해서 몬트리올은 다른 점이 있어요. 영어만 쓰는 곳에 가서 보면 토론토도 마찬가지이고, 영어만 하든지 한국말만 하든지 이런 애들이 많아요. 즉, 영어만 하는 애는 한국말은 잘 못하고, 한국말만 하는 애들은 학교를 다녀도 영어를 잘 못해요. 영어와 한국말을 편하게 그리고 영어와 불어를 자기 나라 말처럼 편하게 하는 애들이 많은 곳이 몬트리올인거 같아요. (APF8, March 2, 2008)

Translation:

One difference between Montreal and other cities such as Toronto, Vancouver, and ones in the U.S. is the existence of two majority languages in Montreal. Korean students who live in Anglophone cities speak either English or Korean unlike Montreal Korean students who are fluent in three languages.

In addition to Montreal's multilingual environment, one parent viewed the French-speaking environment in Montreal as another reason for his children's Korean language maintenance. He responded that parents' inability to speak French made parents speak only Korean with their French-speaking children at home. In this regard, he mentioned that children had to learn Korean in order to communicate with their parents at home, even though the children were not eager to learn the Korean language by themselves.

제가 애들한테 배워볼 겸 애들하고 친할려구 말도 안되는 불어 막 이렇게 하는데 애들이 제가 어떤 발음을 하는데 10 번 이상을 **try** 했는데도 애들이 계속 아니라고 하더라구요. 그래서 괜히 어설피게 애들하고 그렇게 불어를 하느니 내가 그냥 자신 있는 한국말로 하는 게 애들 한테도 더 나을 것 같다고 생각을 해서 집에서는 한국말만 해요. 불어권에 있는 2 세 아이들이 그나마 한국말을 영어권아이들 보다 잘 하는 것은 부모가 불어를 못하니까 무조건 한국말로 **push** 를 해 버리니까 그렇게 되는 거 같아요. (BPF10, March 22, 2008)

Translation:

I have **tried** speaking in French with my children but it was hardly a success. This led us to communicate in Korean instead at home not only for my sake but also for the benefit of my children. I believe those second generation teenagers who are fairly fluent in Korean in Montreal are probably urged (**pushed**) to only speak it at home by parents whose French or English is not up to par and whose French skills are not sufficient to communicate with their children in French.

However, the other half of the parents responded that young Korean children were not eager to learn the Korean language by themselves. In fact, one parent expressed a negative opinion of the other parents' assertion that Montreal's multilingual environment helped Korean children to maintain their Korean by emphasizing that two majority languages were a burden to them.

본인 자신은 그렇게 열심히 거 같지는 않아요. 우선 왜냐면 당면한 문제가 크기 때문에 당장 학교 가서 영어로 얘기해야 되구 불어로 얘기해야 되구 그러니까 그것이 (영어, 불어를 마스터 하는 것)이 더 중요하죠. 그러니까 어릴때는 그렇게 막 한국말을 해야 된다고 자신들은 못 느끼는 거죠. (BPM9, February 12, 2008)

Translation:

From a child's point of view, the immediate concern is being able to freely communicate in English and French in school. As a result, they may not recognize the importance of learning Korean yet at an earlier age.

The teachers' perspectives were different from the parents' perspectives with regard to their perceptions of young Korean students' level of motivation for Korean language learning in Montreal. In fact, the four teachers responded that young Korean students were not eager to learn and develop Korean. They mentioned that young Korean students were satisfied with their basic conversational skills with friends and parents and that the students were not interested in learning how to read and write in Korean.

2 세 애들은 한국어 배우는데 별루 관심이 없어요. 하려고는 해도 자연스럽게 유학생들이랑 어울려서 하게 되는 거지 자기가 자발적으로 배우려고 하진 않는 거 같아요. 그러니까 대화 정도만 할려 하는거구. 쓰는 거, 읽는 거는 그냥 안 해 버려요. (ATB4, February 17, 2008)

Translation:

The second generation in general is not really interested in learning Korean. They may be forced to pick up some expressions by hanging out with Korean students but will never study it voluntarily. They are just satisfied with their conversational skills in Korean, but they are not interested in learning Korean literacy skills.

일단은 아이들이 학과 공부하고 학교 공부하고 이렇게 하느라고 바쁘잖아요. 근데 거기에다 플러스 한국어를 따로 공부해야 하는데 시간을 더 투자하고 거기에 또 어떤 열정을 갖기에는 어떤 모티베이션이 없잖아요. 그래서 부모님하고 커뮤니케이션 할 때 그렇게 큰 불편 없을 정도, 그 정도에서 만족하는 거 같아요. (ATH2, February 10, 2008)

Translation:

Children have a lot of studying to do at school. So they may not be motivated enough to put aside some time to work on their Korean. They are satisfied with their level of Korean if it is sufficient to have decent communication with their parents.

Adult members' perceptions of the relationship between children's (students')

Korean language maintenance and ethnic identity

In order to understand the adult members' perceptions of the relationship between Korean language maintenance and ethnic identity, I posed the following question: "If someone does not speak Korean, can he (she) still claim to be Korean?". They were asked to rate their opinions on a scale of 1 to 7 with 7 as *he or she has every right*. Both the parents (Mean=3.40, SD=1.71) and the teachers (Mean=2.50, SD=1.91) felt that language was strongly tied to identity. The parents who chose very low scores (i.e., 1 and 2) related children's loss of the Korean language to their loss of Korean mentality.

혈통주의를 생각하면 한국은 혈통주의니까 완전히 한국사람이 아니라고는 할 수 없지만 그 아이의 사고 방식 속에 한국인으로서 정체성은 거의 없다고 보면 될 것 같아요. 외모에서 오는 거 외에는 없다고 생각하기 때문에 외모와 혈통 부분을 제외하면 사고 방식이나 정신적인 면에서는 거의 한국인이 아니라고 생각해요. (APM4, February 29, 2008)

Translation:

It is a complicated issue when tagging someone as being a Korean. One can be considered Korean so long as she or he is of Korean origin and looks the part; however, if their mentality is entirely void of the Korean nature, we cannot

realistically call that individual a Korean. Despite physical appearance, a given individual in my opinion is not Korean if she or he does not think or act like one.

한국 말을 못한다는 거는 한국을 의식하지도 못하는 거 아니예요? 그건 겉으루 한국 사람이구, 한국 부모를 가졌다구 해서 한국 사람은 아닌 거 같아요. 마인드 자체가 개네들은 한국 말을 못하기 때문에 한국적인 마인드는 아닌 거 같아요. (APM2, February 28, 2008)

Translation:

Those Korean Canadians that are unable to speak Korean, in my opinion, cannot recognize their true cultural identity. Having Korean parents and having Korean physical appearances do not mean they are truly Korean: they may not have Korean mentality.

Even the parent who chose a high score (i.e., 5) responded that it would be hard for the children to call themselves Korean because of their lack of communication with Koreans and indirect experiences with Korea.

한국말을 못할 경우에는 본인이 한국인이라도 생각은 해도 한국인답게 살 수가 없을 거 같아요. 한국 사람과 커뮤니케이션도 안 될 뿐만 아니라 한국어로 된 어떤 정보도 접해서 이해할 수가 없구 영어로 된 매체를 통해서 접해야 되기 때문에 상당히 간접적이지 않을 까 하는 생각이 들어요. (APF8, March 2, 2008)

Translation:

Inability to communicate in Korean will not enable one to fully adapt to the Korean way of life even if the individual believes she or he is a Korean. Everything has to be translated into English or French, and because it is indirect, nuances are lost.

The teachers also viewed the Korean language as the most important factor for their students' Korean ethnic identity identification. One teacher who rated 5 emphasized the importance of the Korean language for children's self identification with their Korean identity. She explained this by taking her niece's example.

우리 사촌 같은 경우에도 초등학교 때부터 미국 기숙사에서 혼자 컸거든요. 그 아이같은 경우도 겉은 한국인인데 이야기하거나 노는 것이나 이런 거 보면 완전히 미국 사람이라서, 사촌이지만 친밀감 그런게 별루 없는 거 같아요. 자주 안 봐서 그럴수도 있겠지만 일단 언어가 서로 소통이 되지 않으니깐 그런거 같아요. (ATH2, February 10, 2008)

Translation:

My niece has been raised in the U.S. since elementary school and attended boarding schools most of her school life. She may be Korean on the outside, but the way she acts or talks resembles an American and so there is no closeness between us. I think the language barrier obscures our relationship.

In addition, another teacher also pointed out that parents who used English with their children at home might make their children lose their Korean and cultural identity as Koreans.

저는 2 세를 생각하면은 우리나라에 대한 지식은 별루 없구 뭐 부모님이랑두 영어로 하는 그런 게 떠올라요. 한국말도 못하구 우리나라에 대해서 잘 모르구. 그리고 여기 Style 로 사는 아이들...개네들은 일단 부모님부터 개네들한테 가르키거나 뭐 이런 게 부족해요. 일단 언어가 제일 중요한 거 같아요. 그런 애들 보면 집에서 엄마 아빠가 영어를 잘 못해두 애들한테 영어루 해요. 그러니까 애들은 그게 습관이 되 가지구 이제 부모님들한테 영어로 하는 거구요. 부모님이 그런거를 얘기를 안해 주니까. 집에서도 영어만 하게 되구요. (ATB4, February 17, 2008)

Translation:

In my opinion, the second generation Koreans generally lack knowledge of their culture and only communicate in English with their parents. They probably cannot speak Korean and do not have a clue about their mother country. When it comes to the language, which I think is the most critical factor, their parents should be blamed for the outcome. Instead of forcing them to practice Korean, the parents might have been a little too lenient and allowed them to communicate in English even though their own English may not be sufficient.

Adult members' perceptions of the role of Korean community institutions for the Korean tradition and culture maintenance

With regard to the adult members' perceptions of the role of Korean community institutions for Korean tradition and culture maintenance for the next generations, they

were asked to rate their opinions on a scale of 1 to 7 with 7 as *are very capable*. The parents rated 4.56 (SD=1.79) and the teachers rated 3.38 (SD=1.38). The parents, in general, expressed a more positive view than the teachers on the role of such institutions as *Haninhoe* (The Korean Community of Greater Montreal) and Korean ethnic churches. Although the parents expressed a positive view of the cultural role of Korean community institutions, they also responded that Korean community institutions should put a great deal of effort into the maintenance of the Korean tradition and culture. One parent responded that the capability of these institutions to preserve the Korean tradition and culture depended on their own constant efforts.

한인공동체 기관들이 한국의 전통과 문화를 지켜나가는 것이 가능 하다고는
생각해요. 왜냐면은 이민자들이 한국어를 대하고 한국 사람을 만날 수 있는
기회가 이런 단체들이 있기때문에 가능하니까 없는 거보다 한결 낫죠.
대신에 그 단체들이 좀 더 신경을 써야 하지 않을까하는 생각을 듭니다.
(APM6, February 24, 2008)

Translation:

In my opinion, Korean community institutions in Montreal are capable of maintaining the Korean traditions as well as culture; otherwise, it would be difficult for the Korean immigrants to continue using their language or meet other Koreans. However, I believe that they need to make more efforts to preserve the Korean tradition and culture.

In addition, this parent mentioned that all the cultural activities of *Haninhoe* were focused only on Korean adults instead of the younger generations.

그런데 한인회 프로그램이 주로 어른들 위주인거 같아요. 어린 사람들을
상대를 하는 것들을 못 본 거 같아요. 자기네들이 다해요. 다 성인 위주로 해
가지구. 근데 애들은 사실은한인회에서 뭐를 하는 지를 모를거예요.
한인회에도 청소년을 위한 프로그램은 없구. 못 본 거 같아요. (APM6,
February 24, 2008)

Unfortunately, *Haninhoe* serves mainly the older generation of the community. It is rare that the institution deals with the younger Koreans; therefore, the younger

Koreans are most likely to have no idea what the institution does. Moreover, there are no programs organized by the institution aimed at Korean teenagers.

One parent also pointed out that Korean community institutions might have limitations due to the differences between Korean tradition and culture in Montreal and in Korea. In this regard, she responded that Korean community institutions might be capable of preserving Korean tradition and culture to a certain extent, but they would not be able to make sure that Korean tradition and culture would be alive and well in Montreal.

한인공동체가 한국의 문화나 전통을 지키는 것이 어느 정도는 가능하다고 봅니다. 하지만 제가 여기서 보는 현상이 하나 있어요. 그게 뭐냐면 이민자가 지속적으로 보존해 나가는 한국 문화가 사실 한국 내에서의 한국 문화와 동일하지 않다는 거죠. 예를 들면 사고방식이라든가 그런 습득되어 있는 어떤 전통에 대한 그 전통을 따르는 그러한 마음이라든가 그런 것들이 실제 한국에 현재 상황하구는 조금 다른거 같아요. 기성 세대들 이민 오셨을 때 기준에서부터 출발하기 때문에, 이 곳 문화와 섞여 가지구 좀 독특한, 어떻게 보면 조금은 동떨어진 동일하지 않은 문화를 형성한다고 생각해요. 오히려 한국은 변화의 와중에 있구 그 변화가 되게 빠르잖아요. 예를 들어서 호주제 변화라든가, 그런 남녀 평등문제라든가, 페미니즘 문제라든가 이런 것들이 한국 사회에서 지금 굉장히 많이 열려가고 있구 굉장히 서구 문화도 많이 받아들이구 있구요...그런데 오히려 굉장히 보수적인 그러한 경향을 저는 몬트리얼 한인사회에서 봐요. 몬트리얼 한인 문화 속에서. 대단히 남성중심. 그 답에 많은 것을 허용하지 않는...마치 한국 문화는 대단히 폐쇄적인 것이라는 인상을 심어줄 수 있고 오히려 잘못된 인상을 심어질 수도 있다는 생각을 해요. (APM4, February 29, 2008)

Translation:

It is fairly possible for Korean community institutions of Montreal to continue preserving the Korean culture and traditions; however, I think there is one flaw. I realize that the Korean culture which has been preserved by Korean immigrants in Montreal is not the same as the contemporary culture of Korea. For example, I think that Korean immigrants' way of thinking and their perceptions of keeping the Korean culture and traditions in Montreal are a little different from the ones in Korea. The people who immigrated to Montreal a number of years ago tend to formulate their own traditional values and ideals which have undergone a gradual change in the course of blending in with the local culture in Montreal. Most of those considered as the first generation have been away from Korea for a number of years and may not be aware of rapid changes taking place in Korea. Now I feel that their way of thinking may be a little conservative or outdated to younger

generations here today. For example, Korea as a nation is now more open-minded on issues such as equality of genders and feminism and is more receptive to the Western culture. On the other hand, the aging generation of Koreans in Montreal is still old-school, hardheaded, and patriarchal. This will lead to a biased impression of Korean culture as exclusive.

5.4.2.3 Adult members' perceptions of the linguistic and cultural obligations of the Korean ethnic church towards younger generations' Korean language and culture maintenance

In this section, I present interview data related to adult members' perceptions of the linguistic and cultural obligations of the Korean ethnic church towards younger generations' Korean language and culture maintenance. Then, I present the data related to their perceptions of the relationship between church-related activities, focusing on the HL school and younger generations' Korean language and culture maintenance.

Adult members' perceptions of the linguistic and cultural obligations of the Korean ethnic church

In order to understand the adult members' perceptions of the linguistic and cultural role of the Korean ethnic church, I asked whether the Korean church had an obligation to help Korean families make sure that their children would preserve the Korean language and culture. They were asked to rate their opinions on a scale of 1 to 7 with 7 as *very strong*. The results are shown in Table 5.9.

Table 5. 9

Adult Members' Perspective on Linguistic and Cultural Obligation of the Korean Ethnic Church

	Parents		Teachers	
	Linguistic obligation	Cultural obligation	Linguistic obligation	Cultural obligation
Mean	6.19	4.06	5.00	3.00
SD	0.92	1.90	0.82	0.82

Table 5.9 shows that both the parents and the teachers rated higher scores on the linguistic obligation of the Korean ethnic church (6.19 and 5.00, respectively) than on the cultural obligation of the Korean ethnic church (4.06 and 3.00, respectively); however, the parents rated the church's obligation higher for both linguistic and cultural obligation than did teachers. The relatively low standard deviations (0.92 and 0.82) for linguistic obligation of the Korean ethnic church indicate that there was little variation in the adult members' opinions. The relatively high standard deviation (1.90) on the cultural obligation of the Korean ethnic church means that there was considerable variation in the parents' opinions. However, the teachers showed a smaller variation (SD=0.82) on the cultural obligation of the Korean ethnic church. Overall, the adult members put more emphasis on the linguistic obligation of the Korean ethnic church than on the cultural role of the Korean ethnic church.

The adult members, in general, expected that the Korean ethnic church should help young Korean members' Korean language preservation.

시간이나 여건이 허락 한다면 어떤 사람이 한국어를 배울 때 한인교회가 도움을 줘야 된다고 생각합니다. (APM6, February 24, 2008)

Translation:

I believe that a given Korean church should help those who are interested in learning the Korean language as much as possible.

교회는 일주일에 한 번 최소한 한번 정도는 부모랑 같이 가는 장소잖아요. 근데 교회바깥의 한글 학교는 특별히 시간을 내서 가야 되는 데구. 그러면은 어떤 면에서 교회에서 아이들을 위해 한글을 가르쳐 주고 하면 더 좋지 않나 하는 그런 생각이 들어요. (BPF10, March 22, 2008)

Translation:

Korean children attend church with their parents at least once a week. Thus, it makes complete sense for the churches to offer Korean lessons at their facilities so that the parents will not have to make extra trips to other Korean school outside the church.

One teacher insisted that Korean ethnic churches should provide services for children's Korean language education regardless of their faith in Christianity.

여기는 한인교회가 아니면 다른 곳에서는 아이들 한국어교육을 도와 줄 곳이 많이 없다고 생각하거든요. 대부분의 이민 온 사람들은 다 교회를 다니드라구요. 그러니까 믿지 않던 믿던 교회에서 아이들 한국어 공부를 위해 어떤 서비스를 제공 하면 나올 거 같은데요. (ATB3, February 9, 2008)

Translation:

There are not many opportunities to provide our children with Korean education in Montreal. Naturally, Korean churches offer some courses as most members of the Korean community attend Korean churches. Regardless of their faith in Christianity, parents should take advantage of the service given by a number of Korean churches throughout the city.

On the other hand, the adult members did not think that Korean ethnic churches had a strong obligation to help Korean children's culture maintenance, even though they wished Korean ethnic churches to provide cultural contexts that would help Korean children maintain the culture to a certain extent. In addition, one teacher responded that churches did not have to have an obligation to help support Korean culture maintenance because children might be able to learn about Korean culture "naturally" in Korean

churches. Her following response seemed to suggest that she wanted this cultural transmission to be inductive, by example, not didactic, in a class or lecture in Korean ethnic churches.

한국문화를 지키는 것은 교회가 하진 않아도 그렇게 자연스럽게 만들어지는 상황이라든지. 예를들어 각자 어른들이 어떤 상황에서 어떤 문제를 해결하는 데 그런 걸 이용해서 애들한테 가르칠 때, “우리나라는 이렇게 이렇게 한다”라고 말로 가르치는 것 보다는 그런 걸 보여 주면서 그때 그때 상황에서 애들한테 그렇게 가르쳐 주는게 많은 거 같아요. (ATB4, February 17, 2008)

Translation:

Korean ethnic churches do not necessarily have to be responsible for the preservation of Korean culture, since children, for instance, can learn from the elders who are most likely to have better solutions to certain problems or issues. The adults, for their part, should not necessarily emphasize teaching children *Korean ways* but simply allow them to find suitable answers to specific situations.

However, one parent strongly emphasized the social role of Korean ethnic churches in immigrant societies. He claimed that Korean ethnic churches in Montreal should be more responsible for Koreans abroad than churches in Korea.

특히 외국에 있는 한인 교회는 내가 볼 때는 한국에 있는 교회와는 다르게 이런 사회적인 역할을 해야 된다고 봐요. 왜냐면 특수한 사회 성격의 교회인 것 같아요. 한국에 있는 교회보단 좀 더 많은 책임이 이민 교회 위에 있다고 봐요. 이민 교회는 특히나 교회는 많은 한인들이 모이기 때문에 한인들을 위한 사회적인 역할을 해야 된다고 생각해요. (APF8, March 8, 2008)

Translation:

Korean churches abroad should have different and more social roles compared to the ones in Korea. I think they have social roles as well as religious roles. In immigrant societies, Korean ethnic churches should function as a social institution where Koreans can gather and interact with one another.

Adult members' perceptions of the relationship between church-related activities focusing on the HL school and younger generations' Korean language and culture maintenance

To begin with, the adult members were asked about their perceptions of the HL school in the church, since the HL school was the only activity that was directly related to children's Korean language learning. Among the adult members, only two parents responded that they were satisfied with the HL school in the church. They mentioned that it provided opportunities for their children to learn Korean language as well as Korean culture.

집에서 부모하구 자식 간에 한국어를 쓰는 것은 대화 내용이 한정돼 있거든요. 아이들이 한국어 방송을 본다면 모르지만 그렇지 않다면은 쓰는 말이 한정돼 있기 때문에 아이들이 한국어를 습득할 수 있는 것두 그렇구 한국에 대해서 배울 수 있는 기회두 적구요. 그렇기 때문에 의도적으로라도 일주일에 한번씩 교회의 한국어 학교에 간다는 것이 아이들한테 한국어의 중요성을 느끼는 계기도 되고 실질적으로 배울 수 있는 시간도 된다고 생각합니다. (APM3, February 16, 2008)

Translation:

There is a limit to the conversation in Korean at home between the parents and their children. Unless they watch Korean television programs regularly, the diversity of their knowledge in the language or culture is very restricted. Therefore, the children benefit from going to the Korean language school at church once a week to broaden their views on their cultural background as well as to improve their mother tongue.

The other parents and the teachers also recognized the importance of the HL school for their children's Korean language development; however, they suggested that the HL school in the church should be changed in order to help young members' Korean language development practically. The parents mostly complained about three problems of the HL school in the church as follows: (1) lack of enough classes for

students of different levels; (2) lack of qualified teachers; and (3) lack of well organized programs.

The first problem pointed out by the parents was the lack of enough classes to satisfy students of different levels. One parent wished that the children could be placed in the proper class based on their Korean levels in order for them to learn the Korean language more effectively.

지금 일단 교회 내에 인원 구성원들 보면은 유학생과 이민자녀 두 부류로 볼 수가 있는데요. 저희 교회 같은 경우는 유학생이 많이 있고 또 이민온지 얼마 안 되는 학생이 또 많이 있잖아요. 그러다 보니까 아이들 한국말 실력이 다 틀리죠. 근데 레벨을 균등하게 나누기에는 애들 숫자가 너무 작구 이러니깐 그냥 같은 반에서 공부하고 있어요. 물론 관리하기가 쉽지 않은 부분이 있다는 것을 알지만 조금씩 체계화되서 좀 실질적인 어떤 효과를 볼 수 있도록 보충이 되아야 한다고 생각을 합니다. (APM5, March 7, 2008)

Translation:

In my church, students can be categorized into two different groups: those who come from Korea to pursue their studies and those who were born and raised in Montreal or who immigrated to Canada at early ages. It is virtually impossible to offer classes with different levels of Korean due to the small number of children as well as a limited number of teachers available. Thus, children who are quite fluent in Korean and others that are just beginners wind up being in the same class. It is no easy task, but if nothing is done to improve this situation, these classes will never be effective.

Second, one parent pointed out that the HL school needs more qualified teachers.

교회 한글학교는 너무 전문성이 결여되어 있는 거 같아요. 한국에서 고등학교나 대학을 나왔다구 해서 그냥 각자 마음대로 한글을 가르치는 이런 거는 좀 문제가 있다고 봅니다. 그리고 체계가 없고 그러니까 선생님이 안오면 한글학교 한 주 그냥 놀아버리고.

(APF8, March 2, 2008)

Translation:

The Korean language school in the church is desperately in need of more expertise. Having completed secondary and post-secondary educations in Korea

does not qualify someone to be a good instructor. In addition, since the HL school lacks system, the HL classes are often cancelled or postponed depending on teachers' personal schedules.

In addition, one parent also wished that the HL school in the church could provide well organized programs for children's effective Korean learning. He mentioned that the HL school in the church was seldom systematically organized. He also pointed out that a certain amount of expertise should be required in the HL school, even though it was free of charge and entirely voluntary.

그러니까 교회에서 너무 공짜루 한다구 하면서 프로그램의 질을 떨어뜨리느니 차라리 튜이션을 받더라도 좋은 선생님과 좋은 교재와 좋은 프로그램을 가지고 실시를 하면 그게 더 아이들의 한국어 교육에 의미가 있다고 봐요. (APF8, March 2, 2008)

The Korean ethnic church should not lower the quality of education at the Korean language school with some free sessions that are half-heartedly carried out. I would rather pay a certain amount of tuition for our children to learn Korean at the Korean language school in the church that offers a group of qualified teachers, good teaching materials, and good programs.

Even though two of the four teachers are Bible study leaders, one leader is also a Korean language teacher and the other leader used to be a Korean language teacher in the church. The teachers responded that they had a hard time managing different levels of students in one class. In this situation, the teachers had to teach students individually depending on their levels and within a very limited time.

교회 한글학교에 뭐 일단 애들이 별로 없으니까요 똑 같은 **level**의 아이들을 한 반으로 묶는 다는 게 어려운 거 같아요. 다 각자만의 **pace**가 있는데 한 명 한 명씩 맞춰 가야 되니까. 그게 좀 어려운 거 같구요. (ATB4, February 17, 2008)

Translation:

In the first place, there are not enough children enrolled in the Korean language class. So it is hard for the Korean language school to offer different **levels** of

classes. It is consequently a tough task for teachers to teach students effectively in the class, because teachers have to teach one student at a time to meet their individual **paces** depending on their levels.

On top of this problem, the most critical problem pointed out by the teachers was the lack of proper curriculum for them to follow. Accordingly, they did not have proper teaching materials, since there was no specific guideline or curriculum. One teacher responded that the current situation of the HL school in the church was very ineffective with respect to teaching materials and curriculum.

교회 한글학교는 되게 체계가 없어요. 지금 교회에 있는 책은 되게 옛날꺼구요. 그리고 교재 부분에 있어서도 단계별로 가는 게 아니라 교사에 따라서, 교사가 바뀌면 교재나 이런 게 확 바뀌는 거죠. 교재는 제가 인터넷이나 책 같은데나 이런 데서 뽑아서 좀 다르게 했어요. (ATB3, February 9, 2008)

Translation:

The Korean language school in the church is not well organized. Whichever texts are available at the church are very outdated and materials used for the course greatly vary from one instructor to another. I mainly obtained the class materials from the Internet.

In general, the teachers agreed with the parents' opinions about the problems of the HL school in the church. The teachers agreed that the HL school should be changed in order to make the class more effective. In addition, one teacher also stressed the parents' role in their children's Korean language learning. She asked the parents to help their children participate actively in the class by checking their children's homework at home, so that the teachers could check their students' progress during the class.

일단은 부모님이 관심을 가져 주셔야 될 것 같아요. 왜냐면 일주일에 한번 와서 하는 한글공부는 진짜 효과가 없잖아요. 그래서 부모님이 집에서 체크를 해주고 뭐 한국어를 그래도 조금이라도 할 수 있도록 도와주면

그래서 주일날 왔을 때 저희는 어떤 애가 얼마나 향상 되었는지 이렇게 확인 할 수 있는 있는 그런게 좋은 거 같아요. (ATB3, February 9)

Translation:

Parents need to take an integral role in their children's education of the Korean language. Participating in lessons once a week is not sufficient. The parents should help them with their assignments and constantly track their progress, so that we can check our students' progress during the class.

Adult members' perceptions of the relationship between church-related activities and younger generations' Korean language and culture maintenance

The most important factor pointed out by the adult members for younger generations' Korean language was the exclusive use of Korean in all the activities including worship services within the church. In addition, the adult members responded that children could learn Korean through frequent interactions with Korean adults and Korean friends within the church. In fact, the adult members stressed that children would be able to learn Korean by participating in several activities regularly provided by the church.

한인교회가 한국어를 지켜나가는 데 아주 중요한 역할을 하는 것 중 가장 중요한 건 모든 서비스가 다 한국말이라는 거예요. 또 한가지는 모임이 많다는 거죠. 애들두 일요일날 예배를 온다는 가정하에 금요일 토요일은 한번은 꼭 더 오구요. 그리고 한인 교회의 **official language** 가 내가 볼 때 100% 한국말이기 때문에 아이들 한국어 교육에 큰 도움이 되구요. 그리고 한국에서 유학을 온 애들이 계속 바뀌면서 한국어를 **update** 를 시킨다고 생각해요. (APF8, March 2, 2008)

Translation:

The main reason why the Korean churches should play a pivotal role in preserving the Korean language in Montreal is the fact that all the services are carried out entirely in Korean. In addition, the Korean church provides a lot of activities for its members including children. At my church, for instance, young members are involved in at least a couple of activities, meetings, as well as Bible study groups during the week. Young children can improve their Korean by attending church regularly, for the **official language** within the Korean church is

100% Korean. In addition, the continuous arrival of new students from Korea helps our young members **update** their Korean.

With regard to the use of Korean in worship services, one parent strongly insisted that these be conducted in Korean in order for Korean churches to play an important role in transmitting Korean culture and to maintain Korean language for younger generations.

한국말을 전혀 못하는 영어권 아이들한테는 영어가 필요하겠죠. 하지만 예배는 한국어로 드려야 된다고 생각해요. 아니면 한국어 예배를 하면서, 한국어를 전혀 이해 못하는 아이들한테는 통역을 하든지. 그렇게 해서 하는 게 낫고 전적으로 영어 예배를 드리는 건 원하지 않아요. 그래야 한인 교회의 역할을 하는 것이지, 그렇지 않으면 ‘한인’이라는 이름을 쓸 필요는 없다고 생각을 해요. 그래서 꼭 한인 교회가 해야 할 일은 한국어로 예배드리고 그 한국어와 문화를 다음세대에 이어가는 거라고 생각해요. (APM1, February 27, 2008)

Translation:

There is no point naming a church, for instance, *Montreal Korean Church*, if the service is carried out in English. A translation option can be considered for those who do not understand Korean sufficiently but that should be the extent of it. Church, without a doubt, is for a religion, but Korean churches have another important task that is to be at the forefront of transmitting Korean language and culture to our younger generations.

Concerning the adult members' perceptions of their children's Korean culture maintenance in the church, the adult members pointed out that children could learn about Korean culture by sharing Korean food, by celebrating Korean traditional holidays, and by respecting elders and parents. They also mentioned that children would be able to learn Korean culture naturally through attending the church regularly and participating in church-related activities with other Korean members.

자연스럽게 어차피 교회 가는 것 자체가 어떤 면에서는 한국의 언어나 문화를 지키는 역할을 한다고도 볼 수 있죠. 왜냐면 우리 이민 온 세대에서는 우리 자녀들이 볼 수 있는 어른이 부모뿐이 없으니까. 그렇지만 교회가면 부모보다 연장자, 즉 자기 아버지가 또 존경하고 머리 숙이는 그런 연장자가 있으면 그걸 애들이 보게 되잖아요. 제가 “안녕하십니까 장로님” 이렇게

공손하게 인사나 존경 표시 하는 걸 애들이 보게 되니까 그럼 뭐 자연스럽게 교과서처럼 이를 배우게 되는 거죠. (BPF10, March 22, 2008)

Translation:

Attending a Korean church frequently is a good habit in terms of learning the language and culture of Korea. For many immigrant children, other than their parents, they often do not interact with the elders, whom they have to treat with utmost respect. At church, they witness such scenes where their parents are seen bowing their heads and paying respect to the elders, and they pick it up as another formal gesture towards the elders.

In general, the adult members felt that the Korean church itself provided a Korean cultural environment in Montreal as a place where Koreans had social gatherings, shared food together, celebrated Korean traditional holidays, and interacted with each other in Korean through formal or informal forms of church-related activities.

I have presented the results of interviews with 14 adult church members (i.e., 10 parents, 2 HL class teachers, and 2 Bible study leaders) focusing on their language practices and experiences teaching Korean to their children (or to their students), their perceptions of their children's (or students') Korean language and cultural identity maintenance, and their perceptions of the linguistic and cultural obligations of the Korean ethnic church towards younger generations' Korean language and culture maintenance. In the next section, I present the results of the interviews with the pastors.

5.4.3 Results of pastors' interviews

The results of interviews with four pastors were organized into the following three main categories:

- 1) Pastors' language practices in and outside the church;

- 2) Pastors' perceptions of young members's Korean language and cultural identity maintenance; and
- 3) Pastors' perceptions of the linguistic and cultural obligations of the Korean ethnic church towards their young church members' Korean language and culture maintenance.

5.4.3.1 Pastors' language practices in and outside the church

At the beginning of the interviews, the four pastors, as with the students and adults, were asked to characterize their speaking and understanding ability in French and English on a scale of 1 to 7 with 7 as *very fluent* and as *understand everything*. In addition, they were also asked to rate their use of both languages in their daily life on a scale of 1 to 7 with 7 as *almost always*.

They were not asked to comment on their proficiency levels in Korean, since they immigrated to Canada as adults. The results are shown in Table 5.10.

Table 5. 10

Pastors' Reported Proficiency Levels in French and English and Frequency of Use of French and English

French	Speaking	Comprehension	Frequency
Mean	2.38	3.25	1.50
SD	1.50	2.22	1.00
English	Speaking	Comprehension	Frequency
Mean	4.75	6.25	4.25
SD	1.50	0.96	2.06

Table 5.10 shows that pastors' reported proficiency levels in English and frequency of use of English are higher than their proficiency levels in French in both fields and in use of French in their daily life. They responded that they often spoke English outside the church and that they rarely spoke French inside or outside the church.

Concerning the four pastors' language use with their young members in the church, three responded that they used Korean with them for the most part. The other pastor responded that he used English as well as Korean with second generation children who were not fluent in Korean in order to teach them the Bible.

5.4.3.2 Pastors' perceptions of their young church members' Korean language and cultural identity maintenance

In this section, I present interview data related to pastors' perceptions of their young members' Korean language maintenance, eagerness for Korean language maintenance, and possibility of future generations' maintenance of Korean in the church. Then, I present data related to their perceptions of the relationship between their young members' Korean language maintenance and ethnic identity.

Pastors' perceptions of their young church members' Korean language maintenance

When asked whether Korean parents should encourage their children to speak Korean, the pastors' responses fell into three categories: (1) to maintain Korean identity; (2) to communicate with parents and other Koreans; and (3) to have practical advantages with multilingual skills for their future career choices. These answers were almost

identical to the students' and the adult members' answers. This shows that all the participants had similar ideas about the reasons for their children's Korean language maintenance.

With regard to young members' level of motivation for Korean language maintenance in Montreal, all the pastors agreed that young Korean children were not eager to maintain the Korean language of their own accord. The first reason pointed out by the pastors is that the children do not need Korean in the wider society and school. The second reason is that the children have no extra time to learn Korean because they are busy learning the two majority languages, French and English.

당장에 학교나 사회에서 한국말이 필요하지 않기 때문에 거기에 대해서 정확하게 필요성에 대해 느끼진 않는 거 같습니다. (AM1, February 14, 2008)

Translation:

The exact need for the Korean language is not felt because Korean is not immediately needed in school or in society.

학생회나 대학부 애들한테 한국어를 더 배워야 되지 않겠어 이렇게 얘기하고 또 자기들도 인정을 하죠 더 배워야 한다고. 하지만 안 하죠. 왜냐면 프렌치 하기 바쁘데요 그리고 영어 하기두 바쁘구. (AM2, February 5, 2008)

Translation:

I ask my secondary and college students to learn more Korean. They agreed that they have to learn more Korean; nevertheless, they don't because they are busy learning French along with English.

Concerning the children's low level of motivation to maintain Korean, one assistant pastor pointed out that the Korean language would disappear in the fourth generation of Koreans in the Korean ethnic churches unless the Korean language were continuously taught and opportunities were provided for younger generations to realize the usefulness of Korean in Montreal.

지금 같이 만약에 한국말을 가르치는데 집중하지 않구 부모님이나 주변 사람들이 배워야 된다고 얘기하지 않으면 사실 한국어라는 거는 쓸 데가 없으니까 필요성을 못 느끼구 그러다 보면 한 4 세대까지 가면 자연스럽게 없어지지 않겠어요. (AM2, February 5, 2008)

Translation:

If parents and other members did not concentrate on teaching Korean to younger generations and they did not keep encouraging their children to learn Korean, our next generations would not realize the usefulness of Korean; then our fourth generations would not speak Korean naturally anymore.

As a way of encouraging young church members to learn Korean, the pastors emphasized young members' motivation to learn Korean on their own initiative. One of the most effective ways to motivate young members' Korean language learning suggested by the pastors was to provide young members with a chance to visit Korea.

여기서 태어났는데 한국을 한번 갔다오면 달라지더라구요. 부모님들이 여행을 한 번 보내 주세요. 그러면 한국말도 확 늘고 자기가 한국 사람인 걸 알구 자기가 한국 사람이라고 말하기 시작하더라구요. (AM2, February 5, 2008)

Translation:

Amongst those who were born here, they have greatly changed after they visited Korea once. Parents should send their children to Korea at least once. Then their Korean suddenly improves. They also accept the fact that they're Korean and then they start to say that they are Korean.

Pastors' perceptions of the relationship between young members' Korean language maintenance and ethnic identity

In order to understand the pastors' perceptions of the relationship between Korean language maintenance and ethnic identity, I posed the following question: "If someone does not speak Korean, can he (she) still claim to be Korean?" They rated their opinions on a scale of 1 to 7 with 7 as *he or she has every right*. The pastors' low scores (i.e., Mean=2.00, SD=1.15) showed that young members' Korean language

maintenance was not separable from their Korean ethnic identity maintenance. One pastor pointed out that people who could not speak Korean were less likely to claim that they were Korean.

저는 청년 사역하면서 그런 아이들 사실은 많이 만났어요. 캐네디언들 대학교 가보면 한국인 2 세가 참 많거든요. 여기 맥길에 있는 아이들하구, 미국서 온 아이들, 제가 만난 2 세들은 거의 다 한국말 못하는 아이들이에요. 뭐 걸으해보면 완전 한국인인데 자기 생각에는 미국인이나 캐네디언처럼 행동을 해요. 특히 언어를 모르면 모를수록 한국인이라는 생각을 거의 안해요. 그래서 저는 한국인이라는 생각하고 언어하구 비례한다고 생각해요. (BM4, February 13, 2008)

Translation:

In fact, through my ministry for young adults, I have met many individuals who lost Korean. When you go to a Canadian university, you will find many second generation Koreans. Whether they are students that go to McGill or students from the United States, most of the second generation Koreans I've met cannot speak Korean. Well, if you look only on the exterior, they look totally Korean but they act like they are Americans or Canadians. For the most part, if they don't know their language, they don't think they are Korean. Their Korean identity seems to be in proportion to their knowledge of the Korean language.

Another pastor also responded that young church members in his church felt themselves to be a 1.5 generation even though they were born and raised in Montreal, because they maintained Korean.

영어나 불어로서의 교회를 만들어 주지 않기 때문에 아이들이 아주 어렸을 때 이민 오거나 태어났어도 오히려 이들이 1.5 세라고 스스로 느끼는 경우가 더 많다고 생각합니다. 언어를 그대로 지키고 있기 때문에 스스로가 자신이 1.5 세라고 생각하지 2 세라고 생각하지 않는 거라고 생각합니다. 온타리오에 있을 경우에는 많은 2 세들이 전혀 한국말을 하지 못하는데 그 이유는 교회에서 어렸을 때부터 영어로만 가르쳤기 때문에, 그리고 부모들하고 예배를 절대로 같이 드리지 않고 따로 드리고 있기 때문에 그들은 자연스럽게 자기를 2 세라고 여기고 있습니다. (AM1, February 14, 2008)

Translation:

Since our church does not provide any services and activities either in English or French, there are many cases where young members personally feel themselves to be 1.5 generation whether they came at a very young age or were born here. I think they consider themselves 1.5 generation instead of second generation

because they have preserved language. In Ontario, many second generation children cannot speak Korean at all, because the church only taught them in English. They also never attended services with their parents. This separation caused them to naturally consider themselves second generation.

In the same vein, all the pastors responded that Korean community institutions including Korean ethnic churches would not be able to maintain Korean tradition and culture if the next generations no longer speak Korean.

5.4.3.3 Pastors' perceptions of the linguistic and cultural obligations of the Korean ethnic church towards their young church members' Korean language and culture maintenance

In this section, I present the pastors' perceptions of the linguistic and cultural obligations of the Korean ethnic church towards younger generations' Korean language and culture maintenance.

Pastors' perceptions of the linguistic and cultural obligations of the Korean ethnic church towards younger generations' Korean language and culture maintenance

I asked the pastors about the main goal of their churches in Montreal. All the pastors responded that Korean ethnic churches exist first and foremost in order to worship God, to spread the gospel, and to satisfy people's spiritual needs. In addition to the religious role of the Korean ethnic church, the pastors also named a variety of other goals of the Korean ethnic church in Montreal such as: (1) to help Korean people maintain their Korean identity; (2) to provide places where Korean people socially interact with other Koreans; (3) to help and guide new Korean immigrants to adapt

themselves to Quebec society; (4) to provide practical help (e.g., counselling and translation services, etc.); and (5) to transmit Korean traditional values and culture to the next generation.

우선 그들에게 영적이 서비스를 제공하는 게 교회의 중요한 일이라고 생각이 들고, 또 한인 교회는 넓은 의미에서 한인으로서 한인의 정체성 유지와 서로 교류하는 데 도움을 주는 사회적 기능을 또한 하고 있다고 생각이 들구요. (AM1, February 14, 2008)

Translation:

I think the church's major responsibility to them is to provide spiritual service. I also think the Korean church's broad purpose is to help a Korean maintain a Korean identity, and to play a social role in providing help in interacting with one another.

첫 번째는 예배고, 두번째는 자녀들에게 한국의 문화화 전통을 교육하는 장소고, 세번째는 사람들이 친목 할 수 있는 장소고 네 번째는 또 다른 새로운 이민자들을 도와주는 측면에서 우리 한인교회가 필요하지 않나 생각합니다. 조금 더 나아가서는 우리 Ethnic 그룹이 major society로 들어가기 위한 발판을 삼을 수 있는 도약의 장이 바로 교회가 아니겠는가 그런 생각을 해요. (BM3, February 12, 2008)

Translation:

Firstly, the Korean church is a place of service; secondly it is a place to educate the children in Korean culture and tradition, and thirdly it is a place where people can socialize. Furthermore, I believe the Korean church is needed to help new immigrants. Finally, I think that the Korean ethnic church might be the stepping stone for our ethnic group to fit into the majority society.

한인교회는 일단은 하나님 예배 하구 또 복음 전도하는 데 목적이 있는 거죠. 그런데 그게 이제 외국에서 있다보니까 아무래도 약간의 상담, 상담이나 위로, 이런 부분에서 좀 많이 차지를 하는 거 같아요. 처음 오시는 분들한테는 그래두 쉽게 다가갈 수 있고 도움을 요청할수 있는데가 교회인 거 같아요. (AM2, February 5, 2008)

Translation:

First of all, the Korean church's aim is to have service in worshipping God and to spread the gospel. However, since we are in a foreign country, the focus tends to be geared more towards consoling and comforting. Within the immigrant society,

the Korean church is a place where new immigrants can easily approach other Koreans and request help.

One pastor also mentioned that his church provided translation service in order to help Korean people who were not proficient either in English or in French in their daily life.

1 세대 중에 언어 때문에 어디 가기 힘든 분이 있거든요. 어디 병원에 간다든지 할때 교회에서 가주고 하죠. 그리고 예를 들어 뭐를 계약하는데 통역이 필요하면 통역 서비스도 제공하죠. 그러니까 언어에 관련한 거의 일상 생활하는 모든 것을 서비스 한다고 생각하면 되요. (BM4, February 13, 2008)

Translation:

Amongst the first generations, there are some people who have a hard time going to places where English or French is required because of their poor ability in both languages. When they have to go to the hospital, someone from our church goes with them. For example, if they need to sign a contract for something, then we provide many translating services. Basically we provide all kinds of services that are related to helping people in their daily activities that require English or French.

All the pastors emphasized that Korean ethnic churches should play an important role in helping younger generations maintain the Korean language and culture. Table 5.11 shows the pastors' perceptions of their churches' obligation to help Korean families make sure that Korean children continue to speak Korean. The scores are based on a scale of 1 to 7 with 7 as *very strong*.

Table 5. 11

Pastors' Perceptions of Their Churches' Obligation

	Church's obligation for Korean language maintenance	Church's obligation for Korean culture maintenance
Mean	5.63	4.13
SD	1.60	2.46

The lower mean score of the pastors' response on the church's obligation for Korean culture maintenance can be explained by the following response:

한국어 교육에 치중은 무지 하죠. 문화에 대해서는 언어가 문화라면 그렇게 얘기 하지만 언어를 빼고 얘기하면 그렇게 까진 안 가요. 언어에 매달려 있는 거예요 일단은. (BM4, February 13, 2008)

Translation:

We primarily focus on teaching the Korean language. If language is considered to be part of culture, then we can say we take care of culture too in the church; however, if not, we cannot say we take care of culture. We take care of only language for the present.

As presented in Table 5.11, the pastors think that the Korean church has a strong obligation to help young members maintain the Korean language. One pastor strongly insisted that Korean churches should provide a Korean linguistic environment for their young church members.

교회에서 적극적으로 한국어가 아닌 영어나 불어, 즉 자녀들의 언어로 예배를 드리고 모이도록 이끌어 준 교회에서는 자녀들이 한국말을 금방 다 잊어버렸습니다. 결과적으로 그들의 언어로 예배를 드리게 하고 활동하도록 하는 것이 한국 문화를 빨리 잊어버리도록 돕는 결과를 빚고 말았습니다. 이것이 제가 토론토에 있는 교회들에서 발견하고 있는 공통점 이었습니다. 부모들은 비싼 돈을 들여서 2 세 언어 교역자를 이렇게 청빙해서 그들에게 영적인 서비스를 제공하지만 결과적으로 볼 때는 2 세들이 한국어를 잊어버렸을 뿐만 아니라 부모와 자녀들의 문화적인 거리감도 더 멀도록 만들었습니다. 그래서 교회는 적극적으로 한국어로 모든 활동을 해야 된다고 생각하고, 그런 면에서 나름대로 최대한 역할을 해 왔다고 생각합니다. (AM1, February 14, 2008)

Translation:

Korean churches that hold services and gatherings, not in Korean, but in English or French, basically the language the children are familiar with, cause their young members to quickly forget how to speak in Korean. As a result, allowing them to attend services in their language and to work accordingly concludes with them forgetting about Korean culture. This is what I found in common with the churches in Toronto. Parents invest a lot of money for a second generation pastor who can speak English to provide second generation children with spiritual services in their language; however, when we look at the results, it makes the second generation children not only forget Korean but also widen the cultural gap

between parents and children. Therefore, I believe it is important for the Korean church to promote everything to be done in Korean. From that point of view, we've done our best to keep that role in our church.

Concerning the relationship between church-related activities and younger generations' Korean language and culture maintenance, all the pastors viewed the use of Korean in services and activities in Korean ethnic churches as the most important factor to help young members maintain the Korean language and culture. In addition, three pastors mentioned that they provided the HL school for their young members' Korean language maintenance. One pastor who did not have an HL school in his church also mentioned that he would like to provide one if circumstances permitted.

한글학교를 하고 한국말로 예배와 교회 모든 모임을 진행하고 있다는 이 사실 자체만으로도 한국 언어와 문화를 그들이 습득할 수 있는데 결정적인 역할을 하고 있다는 생각이 들구요. (AM1, February 14, 2008)

Translation:

I believe just the fact that there is a Korean school, and that service and all church meetings take places in Korean, is the ultimate role in allowing them to learn the Korean language and culture.

I have presented the results of interviews with four pastors focusing on their language practices, their perceptions of their young members' Korean language and cultural identity maintenance, and their perceptions of the linguistic and cultural obligations of the Korean ethnic church towards younger generations' Korean language and culture maintenance.

5.5 Summary

In this chapter, I provided a description of the linguistic and socio-cultural environment of the Korean ethnic church based on the results of participant observation.

Then, I presented the results of group discussions and of individual interviews with student participants focusing on their perceptions towards their personal and historical experiences learning Korean in and outside the home, their language use, their views about the Korean language and culture, their social relationships with other members in Korean ethnic churches, their cultural identity, and level of participation in community activities, including in the Korean ethnic church. In the latter half of this chapter, I presented the results of individual interviews with parents, teachers, and pastors focusing on their perceptions regarding their personal and historical experiences teaching Korean, their children's Korean language and cultural identity maintenance, and the linguistic and socio-cultural role of Korean ethnic churches in Montreal. In the next chapter, I discuss and interpret the results of the study according to my research questions.

Chapter 6: Discussion

6.1 Introduction

I begin this chapter with interpretations and discussions of the results of the study in light of the research questions. I first discuss factors that affect the Korean Canadian students' HL and cultural identity maintenance, and how the factors operate in a Korean ethnic church context. Then, I examine different social relationships and the sociolinguistic requirement to understand the honorific characteristics of the HL to determine how these factors affect the maintenance of the student participants' HL and cultural identity in the Korean ethnic church. I end with a brief summary.

6.2 The Interpretation and Discussion of the Results

The results of the study provide evidence that Korean ethnic churches play a role in Korean Canadian students' HL and cultural identity maintenance. The results suggest that students, parents, teachers, and pastors agree on the role and underlying significance of Korean ethnic churches for the younger generations of Korean families in a multilingual and multicultural society. They believe that Korean ethnic churches affect the younger generations' HL and cultural identity maintenance and development in several ways. These factors and the way they were observed to operate in a Korean ethnic church context are examined first. Then, an assessment of how social relationships in a Korean ethnic church affect the maintenance of the younger generations' HL and cultural identity is provided.

6.2.1 What Factors Affect Korean Canadian Students' HL and Cultural Identity Maintenance and How Do They Operate in a Korean Ethnic Church Context?

6.2.1.1 Linguistic factors

The three most important linguistic factors pointed out by the students, parents, and adult members for the younger generations' HL and cultural identity development are: (1) the use of the HL in all the services and organized activities; (2) the HL school; and (3) frequent interaction in the HL with other members of the Korean ethnic church.

The use of the HL in all the services and activities in the Korean ethnic church

The results show that in terms of the linguistic environment there are not many differences between the HOPE church and the other Korean ethnic churches in Montreal. The similarities extend to the language used in worship services (i.e., Korean) and weekly reports, as well as the style of worship services and sermons. Overall, all the Korean ethnic churches in Montreal seem to be consistent in their style of worship, use of language, and the use of the HL in all church-related materials such as the weekly reports, the Bible, and the hymns. These similarities in the HL environment of the Korean ethnic churches in Montreal may be attributed to the fact that the majority of worshippers are first generation Koreans. In line with this result, Ro (2004) claims that most Korean American churches also maintain the similar linguistic environment to Korean churches in Korea.

As has been mentioned in Chapter 5, the use of the HL in services is common to most Korean ethnic churches in Montreal. What remains unclear, however, is the

effect of such use of the HL on the younger generations. Specifically, how does the use of the HL in the Korean ethnic church affect the younger generations' HL maintenance? How do the perceptions of the student participants differ from those of the adult participants concerning the relationship between the use of the HL and the students' HL development? Is the use of the HL in the services and activities really helpful for the student participants' HL maintenance?

In terms of the effects of the services and church-related activities conducted solely in the HL on the maintenance of the student participants' HL, the results reveal that the student participants' continuous exposure to the use of the HL during the services, and their participation in the services and activities which are suited to their levels, may indeed enhance their HL development.

Among the various services and church-related activities, the student participants found the sermon during the Sunday worship service to be the most difficult activity for them to understand. These responses may be explained by the fact that since the sermon during the Sunday worship service mainly focuses on adult members, the content of the sermon or the HL expressions might be difficult for the student members of the congregations to comprehend. This finding finds support in Chai (1998), who claims that the content of the sermon may not be appropriate for second generation members, since it is geared mainly for the first generation adult members in most traditional Korean churches in the United States. In this regard, Chai argues that the second generations' spiritual needs may not be satisfied by first generation-oriented traditional Korean churches, not only because of the use of the HL but also because of the content of the sermon. As a result, Chai maintains that Korean churches in the United States have

become more first generation-oriented churches due to the gradual disappearance of second generation Korean Americans from church attendance.

However, the results of this study are not consistent with the argument presented by Chai. Instead of the HL and the inappropriate contents of the sermon driving the second generation members away from Korean churches, the present study found that the continuous exposure to the HL during the services helped the student participants develop their understanding of the sermon preached in the HL and strengthen their HL vocabulary skills, as shown in the following excerpts.

솔직히 말하면 처음에는 설교를 이해를 못했지만, 계속 듣다 보니까 한 작년 9 월부터가 제대로 이해하기 시작된 거 같아요. (Yongjae, February 16, 2008)

Translation:

To be honest, I did not understand the pastor's Sunday sermon at the beginning, but I continued to listen to it and since last September, 2007, I have a clear understanding of them.

새로운 표현들이 나오면 약간 이해가 안되지만 어렸을 때부터 들었으니깐요, 목사님 설교는 거의 다 이해가 되요. (Misun, February 15, 2008)

Translation:

Even though there are some new expressions that I don't understand, I can understand the pastor's sermons for the most part, since I have listened to his sermons from early childhood.

The above excerpts indicate that the student participants' HL development is positively affected by the use of the HL in the worship services in the long run, even though they might have a hard time understanding the services at the beginning.

The adult members' responses are not different from the students'. The results reveal that the parents and teachers also firmly believe that the Korean ethnic church should make more efforts to enhance their young church members' HL maintenance.

The respective high scores from the parents ($M=6.19$ on a seven point scale) and

teachers (M=5.00 on a seven point scale) on the linguistic obligation of the Korean ethnic church support this idea. Furthermore, the adult members do not want the Korean ethnic church to provide French or English worship services to their younger generations, as shown in the following excerpt from one of the parents.

불어 영어를 교회에서 해야 된다는 생각은 없구요. 학생들이 불어 영어는 다하는데 지금 문제는 한국말루 뭔가를 못하는 걸 교회에서 해줘야 되는데 그것 조차도 못하고 있다는 생각이 들어요. (APF8, March 8, 2008)

Translation:

Since most Korean teenagers and young adults do not have difficulty with the two majority languages of Montreal, the Korean ethnic church does not need to take further steps in enriching their use. I think that the Korean ethnic church should help them improve their Korean language skills; however, I feel that more can be done to improve their Korean in the Korean ethnic church.

In accordance with the parents and teachers' positive idea about the use of the HL in the Korean ethnic church, the pastors are also very enthusiastic about the use of the HL in worship services for their young church members' HL and cultural identity maintenance. The pastors view the use of the HL in worship services as one of the most important factors for the maintenance of second generation members' HL and their cultural identity. This result is supported by the pastors' high score (M=5.63 on a seven point scale) on the linguistic obligation of the Korean ethnic church as presented in Chapter 5.

The student participants' development of their understanding of the sermon preached in the HL may also be explained by the scaffolding help of the students' version of the sermon in Youth-Congregations and their participation in activities which are suited to their HL levels. With regard to the use of the HL in other church-related activities (i.e., other than worship services), the Korean ethnic church provides

the students with worship services all in Korean that are geared to their age group. These include Bible study on Saturday for secondary students and on Friday for college students. Furthermore, the Korean ethnic church also provides a monthly activity which is organized and conducted by the student members themselves (i.e., Praise and Worship service). Overall, the results show that these activities are a lot easier for the students to understand, not only because of language but also because of content, since everything in these services fits with their needs and levels. In addition, these results also indicate that the adult members are aware of the students' HL levels; therefore, they tend to use easier Korean in these non-adult services or activities in order to satisfy the students' needs and levels. Accordingly, the adult members' use of the simpler or easier Korean in these non-adult services seems to indicate that these services may have a scaffolding effect for the student participants' HL development in general and the development of their understanding of the sermon during the Sunday worship service in particular.

This result indicates that the use of the HL in the Korean ethnic church may actually keep second generation members in the church. Therefore, as long as the Korean church provides services and activities suitable for younger generation members it will not need to create a separate congregation for its second generation members, where services are held in one of the majority languages. In fact, the results of the group discussions of the present study reveal that some of the students view the use of the HL in the church as a vehicle to develop their HL skills as well as to promote a strong sense of cultural identity. The following excerpts from the group discussions show how the

students feel about the relationship between the HL environment of the Korean ethnic church and their HL and cultural identity maintenance.

Misun: 제 생각에는 우리교회에 다니는 학생들이 여기서 자랐을 지라도 되게 한국적인거 같아요.

Jinhyun: 우리교회 애들은 되게 **lucky** 한거 같아요. 아무래도 주변에 보면 있거든요, 한국말도 아예 못하고 완전 여기 문화에 젖은 아이들...

Misun: 우리 학교에도 있어요. 그런애들 자세히 보면은 캐네디언 사이에 같이 맴돌긴 하는데 같이 뭉쳐지진 못하고, 거기다가 한국말도 못하니까 한국애들하고도 못놀고. 그런 애들이 좀 있어요, **Identity** 가 없는 애들. 완전 자기가 뭔지 모르는 애들이라고 생각해요. (GD-1, January 25, 2008)

Translation:

Misun: In my opinion, the students in my church seem to have a strong sense of cultural identity as Koreans, even though they have been raised here in Montreal.

Jinhyun: Compared to those Korean children that have been westernized to the point where they have completely forgotten about their mother tongue as well as heritage, our children at church should consider themselves **lucky**.

Misun: I also notice a lot of Korean-Canadians at school: they may hang out with their fellow Canadian students but they are not quite members of the circle; they have a hard time interacting with Korean students due to their inability to speak Korean. Their **identity** is questionable.

This result is also consistent with findings from previous studies (Feuerverger, 1991; Cho, 2000; Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2001; J. S. Lee, 2002; Pak, 2003) which support the positive interrelationship between HL development and ethnic identity development.

However, some of the student participants in this study brought up two interesting issues about the relationship between the HL use in the Korean ethnic church and their HL development. The first issue raised by one student is that the use of the HL in the Korean ethnic church is limited only to the development of conversational skills in the HL. She remarks that the students' participation in service and activities is not directly related to the students' literacy skills. However, the results

of the participant observation reveal that the students' active participation in services and activities, in fact, requires them to use both their literacy skills and conversational skills in the HL, since all the materials including the Bible, hymn songs, weekly reports, and biblical study materials are written exclusively in the HL and all the discussions during the Bible study are in the HL. In line with this result, Tse (2001) also supports the usefulness of various religious texts used in ethnic religious institutions for the development of second generation students' literacy skills. The results, however, show that her argument is only partially true when it comes to the students' writing skill development. This is because they are never required to write in the HL as part of any service or activity other than those done in the HL school. As such, the Korean ethnic church should provide more opportunities and activities for the younger generation students to enhance their writing skills in the HL.

The second issue raised by a student participant is the practicality of the HL learned in the Korean ethnic church, since the HL used in the Korean church is too religiously oriented. The following excerpt shows how deeply she considers that her use of the HL is related to her participation in religious activities.

저는 평생요 모든 이렇게 신앙적인 건, 모든 걸 한국말로 배웠기 때문이에요 기도할 때두요 한국말로 해요. 그게 더 편해요. 영적인 표현들 그런 거를 한국말로 익숙해져 가지구요. 영어로 기도하라 그러면 뭘 뭐라 해야 할지 모르겠어요. (Yunju, February 17, 2008)

I have found God through the Korean language. It is more comfortable to pray and express my opinions in Korean; I am just accustomed to the use of religious expressions in Korean. So I would not find it easy to come up with a prayer in English.

This shows that her HL use is deeply related to the activities she is engaged in at church (e.g., praying, singing hymns, reading the Bible, and learning about God). This result

indicates that the use of the HL in religious services and activities alone may not be enough to enhance the students' HL skills in non-specialized contexts outside the church, even though these services and activities can encourage them to perceive the HL as a vital and useful language. This finding coincides with Tse's (2001) results.

The HL school

The results reveal that most Korean ethnic churches in Montreal provide their own HL schools for the younger generation members' HL development. Among the 13 Korean ethnic churches in Montreal, seven churches provide a Korean language school for their younger generations on Sunday either before or after the Sunday worship service. In fact, the HL school in the Korean ethnic church is the only service offered that is not related to religious activities and that teaches the students how to read and write the HL. The results show that parents prefer the HL school in the church to the HL school outside the church, since they attend church with their children on Sunday anyway. They therefore do not have to make an extra effort to send their children to the HL school outside the church on Saturday. However, the findings from this study show that the students' expectations regarding the HL school in the church are different from the adult members' expectations. The students in this study do not seem to be enthusiastic about learning the HL in the church HL school, while the parents rely heavily on the church HL school for their children's HL maintenance, especially when it comes to HL literacy skills. The parents' heavy reliance on the HL school in the Korean ethnic church may be explained by the fact that only three out of ten parent participants have had experiences teaching HL literacy skills to their children at home,

while all the parents had (or have) sent their children to the church HL school.

Concerning the children's HL conversational skills, the results indicate that the parents tend to use more indirect ways to teach the HL conversational skills to their children such as family worship, interactions with parents, Korean television dramas, and Korean amusement programs on the Internet.

The results also revealed several problems experienced by the church-run HL schools. These are: (1) insufficient number of classes; (2) lack of qualified teachers; and (3) inconsistency of the curriculum. This result is consistent with Rincker's (1991) findings that community-sponsored HL programs in Canada are not successful for similar reasons. In addition, this study has also pointed to three other problems raised by the parents, students, teachers, and pastors.

First of all, the parents's high expectations are not in accord with their actual behaviour and support for the HL school. The results of the participant observation show that most of the HL classes normally start at around 10:00 a.m. and not at 9:45 as scheduled. This was because the students would arrive with their parents, who have regular choir practice that commences at around 10:00 a.m. This practice of late arrivals limits the HL class hours to less than 30 minutes before the worship service is scheduled to begin. This may be explained by the fact that the parents arrive at church on their own schedules instead of the one set up by the HL school.

Second, the student participants who are secondary or CEGEP level students regularly play multiple roles depending on their participation in other church-related activities. Most of the student participants serve as members of the choir, Sunday school teachers for kindergarten and elementary students, or as members of the praise

team. Their multiple roles in the church hinder their regular attendance in the HL class. As a result, the HL school is mostly composed of lower grade elementary students. The situation of the teachers is not that different. Some of the teachers also play other roles in the church, and this practice often leads them to cancel or postpone their own lessons.

Third, the results show that the teachers often feel that they have no support from the church. For instance, the church provides a library for children and the HL teachers. This library is mainly used by the HL teachers for their teaching preparation. However, even though there are more than 300 books in this library, the teachers often complain that they cannot find proper teaching materials, since most of the books are very outdated and new books are rarely purchased. In addition, the results show that this library has no specific checkout system, indicating that this library has not been properly managed.

To sum up, the results indicate that the HL school in the Korean ethnic church should work in closer partnership with students, parents, teachers, and pastors in order to make the HL school more effective for the younger generation church members' HL maintenance and development.

Interactions with other members in the HL in the Korean ethnic church

Findings from this study reveal that the student participants' interaction with other members in the HL in the Korean ethnic church is one of the most important factors for supporting the maintenance of the students' HL. In particular, the results show that the student participants' HL development is positively affected by the interactions they have

with non-immigrant Korean student members. Roughly 20% of the Korean ethnic church population is composed of non-immigrant Korean members from gose families (see Chapter 5) who are mostly elementary or secondary students, along with a small number of college students. The results show that the Korean Canadian student participants' HL skills are improved and updated through interactions with these non-immigrant Korean members. Furthermore, the continuous arrival of new students from Korea provides the student participants with a lot of opportunities to be exposed to modern and contemporary age-appropriate Korean and with more sources of HL input. This finding thus differs from Ro's (2004) claim that the use of outdated and old versions of the Korean language might be one of the reasons to make second generation members leave Korean ethnic churches. Even though Ro referred to the case of Korean American churches, the United States, followed by Canada, has been the most preferred destination for Korean parents and their children to study English (Korean students flocking to Canada to study English, 2006). This indicates that the continuous arrival of new Korean students may not be a phenomenon unique to Korean churches in Canada.

With regard to the interactions with adult members, the results reveal that there are not many activities which require active interaction between the student and adult members. This finding suggests that more activities and opportunities (e.g., regular intergenerational meeting) would ideally be provided by the church, so that the student participants have more chances to interact with a diverse group of Korean people for their HL development.

Another interesting finding in this study is that the student participants preferred English instead of French as their language of communication among themselves and

with their younger counterparts in the Korean ethnic church. This was regardless of the fact that most of them have learned French through the French school system. The following excerpt from one of the pastors clearly shows why the student participants prefer English to French for their communication language in the church.

아이들 자체도 그렇구 부모님들도 영어에 대한 동경이 있는 거 같습니다. 가능하면 부모님들이 아이들을 영어 학교에 보내려고 하는 경우가 더 많은 거 같구요. 그리고 고등학교까지 불어 고등학교를 나왔어도 세쩍부터는 영어학교로 옮기는 경우가 거의 95%라고 생각합니다. 그러기 때문에 결국에는 그들은 불어 학교 다니지만 영어를 준비해 왔고 또 영어를 말하고 싶어 한다고 생각이 들구요. 또 한가지는 이 곳에서 불어 학교를 다닌다 할지라도 영어 문화권이 너무나 깊숙히 이곳에 이렇게 물들어 있기 때문에 불어로 고등학교까지 자란다 할지라도 영어가 자연스럽게 문화적으로 습득된다고 하는 생각이 듭니다. 그 예중에 하나가 TV를 틀면 채널에 거의 반은 영어, 반은 불어로 나오구. 또 미국 문화권에 있는 채널들이 많기 때문에 제가 보기에 이곳 한인 아이들이 영어를 불어보다 많이 말을 한다고 생각이 듭니다. (AM1, February 14, 2008)

Translation:

It is quite apparent that the children as well as parents possess a far stronger aspiration to master English than French. First of all, many parents would prefer sending their kids to English-speaking schools: approximately 95% of students who have completed their secondary education in French wind up attending English CEGEPs. Thus, children always prepare themselves to be able to speak the English language even if they are receiving their education in French at the moment. Secondly, the bilingual aspect of the city certainly helps especially young students to naturally pick up both languages; for example, children can choose from a wide variety of TV programs in either French or English. However, there are far more channels in English due to the influence of other provinces as well as the U.S., so the viewers are more frequently exposed to English.

This result is consistent with Bourhis' (2001) claim that allophone children in Montreal preserve their HL as their ethnic language, maintain French as an educational and majority language in the province of Quebec, and use English as the social and economic lingua franca in North America. In addition, the fact that the student participants rarely use French in the Korean ethnic church may be explained by the adult members' inability

to communicate with them in French. The following excerpt from another pastor shows why the student members do not use French in church.

그게 2 세들의 특징입니다. 특히 제가 볼 때는 아시아 아이들, 특히 중국 아이들이나 한국 아이들 2 세들은 불어 학교를 가도 영어 써요. 우리 딸이 불어 학교 다녔거든요. 다 불어 쓰잖아요. 그런데 노는 시간에는 영어로 얘기해요. 친구들과하구. 집에 와서도 자기들 끼리 영어만 써요. 제가 한번은 물어 봤어요. 아빠한테 불어로 얘기해. 아빠 불어 잘하는 데. 그러니까 아이들이 이렇게 말하더라구요. “아빠 불어 모르잖아.” 불어를 안해요. 집에서 아예 안해요. 지들끼리 급하면 불어 해요. 부모 있으면 불어 안해요. 교회 와서도 불어를 안해요. 교회 어른들 불어 못하는 것을 알기 때문에. (BM4, February 13, 2008)

Translation:

That is the special characteristic of the second generation. Generally when I see Asian children, especially Chinese and Korean second generation children, they use English even though they go to a French school. My daughter goes to a French school. Everyone uses French. But during the break, everyone speaks English with friends. Even at home, my daughter uses English with siblings. So I asked once, “Why don’t you speak to me in French? I can speak French pretty well.” Then, she replied by saying, “You don’t know French.” My daughters don’t use French with me. When they come home, they never use French. Only amongst themselves, they use French if it’s urgent. When parents are there, they never use French with their parents. Even when they come to church, they don’t use French. It’s because they know the adults can’t speak French.

The above excerpt also shows that the younger generations of Korean immigrant families in Montreal do not seem to use French with their parents at home either. This indicates that the French-speaking environment in Montreal makes the students speak the HL with their parents, whose French is not sufficient for communication in French. This is also true for the parents whose English is not up to par in Montreal, where fewer opportunities exist for exposure to English, since the majority language is French, as compared with parents who live in Ontario or in the United States, where more opportunities exist for exposure to English as the majority

language. This may also be attributed to the fact that second generations in other Canadian provinces or in the United States, where English is the majority language, are more likely to choose English for its perceived social and economic power in North America over their HL. Second generations in Montreal, on the other hand, are more likely to choose the HL as their home language over French, for French does not seem to give the same power as English does in North America, except in the province of Quebec. Furthermore, the majority of the student participants in this study identified themselves either as Korean or as Korean Canadian rather than as Quebecers. This choice may be supported by Bourhis' (2001) suggestion that "allophones and immigrants do not need to identify only as Francophones or only as Anglophones when multiple group identification including the Heritage one remains a viable option especially in multicultural Montreal" (p. 123).

The results of this study also show that the student participants' ethnic identification may be different depending on the social context. Recall that one student's ethnic identification would vary, depending on who asked the question. Hence, she claimed to be Canadian when asked by a Korean, but insisted on being Korean when questioned by a Canadian. She explained this difference by saying that Koreans most likely wanted to know her legal status, while Canadians wanted to know about her ethnic origin. This indicates that social context may be a factor in ethnic self-identification, which will not necessarily be constant. In line with this result, Pavlenko and Blackledge (2003) also claim that "individuals often shift and adjust ways in which they identify and position themselves in distinct contexts" (p. 16).

6.2.1.2 Socio-cultural factors

Both the student and adult participants pointed out three important socio-cultural factors for the younger generations' HL and cultural identity maintenance in the Korean ethnic church. These are sharing Korean food, celebrating Korean traditional holidays, and sharing Korean traditional values. The results reveal that the first two factors may reinforce the student participants' cultural identity. This is in line with Cavallaro's (2005) claim that sharing common cultural traditions such as food, clothing, and holidays may contribute to a sense of ethnic group membership. With regard to sharing Korean traditional values in the Korean ethnic church, most adult participants were of the opinion that the younger generations may naturally pick up Korean values within the cultural context where the younger generations can observe their parents' proper interactions with other members in a Korean way (e.g., parents' bowing and paying respect to elders). As shown in the following excerpt, one parent viewed the Korean ethnic church as another big family for her children where they can learn Korean traditional values and culture.

저는 부모가 자녀를 키우는 것도 맞지만 이 교회 안에서 다른 어른 분들도 또 하나의 큰 가정이라고 생각을 하고 직접적인 진짜 부모가 하는 부분 이 외에 더 큰 것들을 교회 안에서 배울 수 있다고 생각을 합니다. 그렇기 때문에 교회 안에서 잘 자라다 보면 예의 범절이나 한국적인 어떤 많은 부분들을 습득 하면서 자라고 있는 것이라고 생각을 합니다. (APM5, March 7, 2008)

Translation:

Parents are obviously the primary caretakers of their children, but the young ones can learn much more from other adults at church, such as how to respect the elders. A Korean church truly resembles a big family, and by being in that comfortable atmosphere the children can pick up quite a bit of Korean traditional values and culture.

This shows that adult members think that the church itself provides Korean cultural environment for the younger generations' acquisition of Korean traditional

values and Korean culture. However, one parent was very skeptical about the cultural role of the Korean ethnic church for the younger generations due to the differences between Korean traditional values in Korea and the Korean culture in Montreal. She mentioned that Korean people who immigrated to Montreal a number of years ago seemed to have preserved a more conservative, hierarchical, and patriarchal way of thinking than people who live in Korea. This may mislead younger generations into having a wrong impression of Korean culture. Since the majority of members in the Korean ethnic churches in Montreal are first generation Koreans, this phenomenon has manifested itself here. In the same vein, Ro (2004) argues that Korean culture practiced by first generation Korean American Christians in the church is characterized by “authoritarianism, conservatism, male chauvinism which have been superficially associated with Confucianism” (para. 19). Ro strongly argues that “this is a very unfortunate misunderstanding of Confucianism” (para. 19). The results of the present study indicate that the cultural environment of the Korean ethnic church in Montreal may not be enough to make the younger generations learn about and understand Korean culture as it is currently practiced in Korea. These results also seem to suggest that it might be beneficial for younger members’ Korean culture learning to be not only inductive through a natural exposure to Korean culture within the church but also didactic, through direct teaching in a class within the church. The following excerpt from one of the teachers clearly shows how she perceives the conservative environment of the Korean ethnic church.

한국 문화는 제 생각으로 봤을 때 일단 어른들에 치우쳐 있는 거 같아요. 즉, 어른들의 말이 너무 중요해요. 솔직히 그거는 조금 별루예요. 그리고 또 부모님과 자식 사이에서 의견이 다르다 그러면 무조건 “니네는 한국

사람이야” 혹은 “니네는 한국 사람이기 때문에 그렇게 생각하면 안 돼” 뭐 이런식으로 강요하시는 거. 그런 거는 아니거든요. (ATB4, February 17, 2008)

Translation:

Korean culture stresses excessive importance on seniority and teaching that adults' words and opinions should always be considered first over those of the younger generation. I do not entirely agree with this. Korean parents tend to be the dominant force when they and their children have a conflict of opinions, insisting that “You are Korean” or “You should not think in that way, because you are Korean”. I think that is not right.

Similarly, one of the pastors acknowledged the importance of educating the younger members of the Korean ethnic church about Korean culture, so that they can accurately learn Korean culture and values instead of fostering negative or false impressions about their cultural heritage. However, the results also seem to indicate that the younger generations may learn about Korean cultural evolution back home due to the continuous influx of contemporary Korean speakers (i.e., new Korean immigrants and international students from Korea) to the Korean ethnic church.

With regard to the relationship between the younger generations' Korean ethnic church participation and the transmission of culture, Min and Kim (2005) argue that the younger generations' participation in Korean ethnic churches does not always ensure the transmission of culture. Their argument seems to indicate that the transmission of ethnic culture will not automatically take place, unless Korean churches actively emphasize Korean cultural values.

The results of this study also show that the student participants' ethnic identification may be affected by their physical or racial difference from the host society. This is in line with Tse's (1998) claim that physical or racial differences are likely to hinder minority groups from being integrated into the host society. This result is also

supported by Roman and Stanley's (1997) claim that racial minority students are still struggling with their sense of belonging to the host society due to their racial differences "despite the prevalence of official multiculturalism" (p. 224) in Canada. Cummins and Danesi (1990) also claim that there is still intolerance against minorities' culture, language, and race in Canada. Concerning the relationship between race and ethnic identity among second generation Korean Americans, Chong (1998) points out that these younger generations' ethnic identity is deeply tied to their race as "a form of defensive ethnicity against their perceived marginal status within American society as a non-white minority group" (p. 262). In addition, Chong also argues that younger generations' Korean ethnic church participation is strongly related to their ethnic identity maintenance, since Korean ethnic churches "provide a kind of refuge from this sense of marginalization" (p. 262). Overall, these results seem to indicate that Korean Canadian students' racial differences as non-white Canadians may help them maintain their ethnic identity and their Korean ethnic church participation may also strengthen their ethnic identity maintenance.

6.2.2 How Do the Types of Social Relationship in the Korean Ethnic Church Context

Affect the Maintenance of the Korean Canadian Students' HL?

The results of this study revealed that the types of social relationships fostered in the Korean ethnic church context may affect the development and maintenance of the students' HL. This section focuses on how different social relationships in the Korean ethnic church affect the maintenance of the student participants' HL.

6.2.2.1 How do different social relationships in the Korean ethnic church consisting entirely of Korean people affect the maintenance of the Korean Canadian students' HL?

The results show that when in church, the student members use Korean to speak with other church members for the most part and that their use of the HL is affected by different social relationships within the church. Two major factors that make the student participants use the HL in the Korean ethnic church that emerged from the findings are: (1) the social structure of the Korean ethnic church; and (2) the steady influx of new Korean immigrants as well as international students to the Korean ethnic church.

First, the results indicate that the social structure of the Korean ethnic church, which consists entirely of Korean people, encourages the students' use of the HL. The Korean ethnic church is composed of five main groups that vary according to their immigration status, age, preferred language of communication, length of residence in Canada, and language of schooling. It is just this diverse social structure prevalent in the Korean ethnic church that makes the students speak Korean in lieu of English or French with the other members. One exception to this is with students who immigrated to Canada in early childhood who tend to use English or French, but they do so only with each other. The student participants use only Korean when they speak with adult members, recent immigrant students, and Korean students who are staying in Canada temporarily (i.e., international students). This may be explained by the fact that the student participants may feel obligated to use the HL in order to communicate with other members who might not feel confident enough about their command of either English or French. For this reason, if in a group of church members there is only one person who

cannot communicate in English or French, the rest of the group tends to automatically switch to Korean. This social context of the Korean ethnic church, which requires student participants to use the HL, may positively affect the student participants' HL maintenance and development. This result is consistent with Park and Sarkar's findings (2007) that emphasized the use of the HL as "a common language of communication" (p. 230) in the specific Korean ethnic church context in Montreal, where the two majority languages (i.e., French and English) and the HL co-existed.

Second, the steady influx of new Korean immigrant and international students to the Korean ethnic church may enhance the student participants' HL skills, especially their conversational skills. In fact, the student participants' responses on interactions with Korean students who have recently arrived in Montreal as international students, show that the presence of Korean international students greatly affects the development of the student participants' HL conversational skills. The results show that the use of contemporary Korean by Korean international students with the student participants in the church is positively related to the improvements the student participants make in their HL conversational skills. Furthermore, the student participants' HL use with new Korean immigrant and international students can also be interpreted based on the social distance between them. In her case study of fluent Korean-English bilingual speakers in the United States, Yoon (1996) found that "the social distance" between interlocutors may affect their code choices (p. 400). She claims that "the more distant the conversational partners are, the more they use Korean during conversation. Conversely, the closer the relationship they have, the more they use English" (pp. 405-406). She points out that the Korean language does not allow speakers to be neutral in regard to the social context,

which makes them consider the relationship among interlocutors at all times. This characteristic of the Korean language makes it more comfortable for Korean-English bilinguals to use Korean with people they are not in close relationships with. This is done to respect their differences as a function of the social distance between them.

The results of my study agree with Yoon's finding and extend it in a different direction, since in this study there are two majority languages (i.e., English and French) along with the HL. The results of this study show that the student participants who have relatively close social relationships with each other because they have known each other from early childhood use either English or French among themselves. On the other hand, the student participants use the HL with new Korean immigrant and international students who have either recently immigrated to or are staying in Canada on a temporary basis. In this regard, this study indicates that social distance may affect the student participants' HL use and maintenance through interactions with new Korean immigrant and international students in the Korean ethnic church.

6.2.2.2 How does the sociolinguistic requirement to understand and use the honorific characteristics of the Korean language affect the maintenance of the Korean Canadian students' HL, depending on the type of social relationship in Korean ethnic churches?

As previously mentioned, the student participants use only Korean when they speak with adult members. As such, the student participants' use of the HL in the church should also be examined in terms of the honorific characteristics of the Korean language. Korean does not provide a neutral choice linguistically. This is because, unlike English

which does provide a neutral choice, Korean emphasizes the relationship hierarchy which, in accordance with Confucian values, is based on age and social status (Yoon, 1996; Chung, 2006). Since the students cannot avoid this Confucian rule in their conversations with adult members, they must use their HL in order to meet this sociolinguistic requirement. Findings from the present study indicate that there are three main factors that affect the student participants' use of honorifics when speaking Korean: (1) age; (2) social status; and (3) social closeness as can be seen in the following two excerpts.

저는 존댓말을 어른들한테 써요. 그러니까 결혼하신분이나 30 이 넘으신분. 그리고 제가 처음 본 사람들한테 존댓말을 써요. (Eunmi, February 15, 2008)

I use honorifics with adult members who are married or over 30 years old and with people I have just met.

저는 저보다 나이 많은 분들, 처음 본 사람, 그리고 나이에 관계없이 직분을 가지고 있는 사람들한테는 다 존댓말을 써요. (Yongjin, February 13, 2008)

I use honorifics with people who are older than me, with new people, except for very young children, and with people who hold high positions, regardless of their age.

The results of the observations echo the same pattern for the student participants' use of honorifics in their conversations. In general, people are required to use honorific expressions in formal situations when they use Korean, regardless of age differences, social status, and/or social closeness. The results also show that honorifics are used in worship services and formal meetings in the Korean ethnic church. However, during informal interactions, the student participants' use of honorifics is determined in accordance with differences in age, social status, and social closeness of the person with whom they are speaking.

The student participants emphasized the use of honorifics with adult members. In Korean culture, young people are expected to show respect to older people. This tradition is deeply rooted in Confucian values that emphasize a clear hierarchy in status based on age. Thus, the students need to choose the HL since it provides honorific expressions to show respect to adult members. Findings of this study indicate that the student participants' linguistic knowledge in the HL and their awareness of cultural values may be enhanced through their use of honorifics with adult members in the Korean ethnic church. However, the results also reveal that some of the students still maintain traditional Korean cultural values which are slightly outdated when compared with the contemporary cultural values of Korea. For example, three student participants defined an adult in accordance with the person's marital status as well as age. This is probably because Korean people used to be considered and accepted as adults only after they were married (Korean marriage customs, 2001). This way of defining an adult changed a while ago in Korea and currently marital status is not a defining factor for people to be considered adults (Korean marriage customs, 2001). So the result might be attributed to the fact that the students acquired an outdated idea about Korean culture from the old immigrant church members who arrived in Montreal a number of years ago.

Second, the results show that social status is another important factor for the student participants to use honorifics when they speak Korean in the Korean ethnic church. With the rapid growth and change of Korean economy and society, the influence of Confucianism seems to have become less visible in Korean society. However, social hierarchy defined in accordance with Confucian values still plays out in every aspect of Korean society as well as in the Korean immigrant community in Canada. In terms of the

hierarchical situation that exist in the Korean ethnic church in Montreal, lay members who hold positions such as deacons and elders are perceived to be in a higher position than students or lay members who hold no significant positions. In this situation, the younger members are expected to use honorifics in order to show their respect to people with higher social status.

Third, the results indicate that the student participants use honorifics with new people, regardless of differences in age, except for very young children. In Korean culture, it is not unusual for people to use honorific expressions with one another when they are not socially close enough to use casual expressions, even if they are of the same age. The findings imply that the student participants are very well aware of this factor (i.e., social closeness) when they use honorifics.

To summarize, in this section, the type of social relationship was examined to account for the use of the HL by the student participants in the Korean ethnic church. The results reveal that their use of the HL varies depending on the social context, the type of social relationship between interlocutors, and the honorific characteristics of the Korean language. Overall, the student participants seem to have acquired a general understanding of the honorific characteristic of the HL and of cultural values associated with the HL from the use of honorifics with adult members, people who are in higher positions, and newcomers to the Korean ethnic church. Furthermore, the results also show that the social relationships among church members in the Korean ethnic church may enhance the student participants' cultural identity through the proper use of honorifics in the HL. These results are in agreement with Yoon's argument (1996) that "a person must be constantly aware of his or her place in relation to others in any given situation in the

Korean speech community” (p. 402). However, the results also reveal that some students may have a “false sense” of hierarchy taught to them by the older generations who still maintain a somewhat outdated, more traditional Korean way of thinking.

6.3 Summary

In this chapter, the factors that affect the Korean Canadian students' HL and cultural identity maintenance, as well as the way they operate in a Korean ethnic church context were examined. Furthermore, the effects of social relationships on the maintenance of the Korean Canadian students' HL and cultural identity were discussed. In particular, different social relationships and the sociolinguistic requirements to understand and use the honorific characteristics of the HL were examined in order to find out how these factors may affect the maintenance of the Korean Canadian student participants' HL and cultural identity in the Korean ethnic church. The next chapter will deal with implications this study holds for Korean ethnic churches, pastors, parents, and Korean Canadian students.

Chapter 7: Implications and Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I conclude the thesis with some practical implications for pastors, parents, HL teachers, and Korean Canadian students for enhancing the linguistic and cultural role of the Korean ethnic churches for the development of younger generations' HL and cultural identity. Then I outline some limitations of the research as well as providing directions for future research, along with concluding remarks. I end with a brief summary.

7.2 Implications for Practice

This study shows that Korean ethnic churches in Montreal do indeed play important roles for the maintenance of the HL and cultural identity for the younger generations of Korean immigrant families, well beyond their original religious role. As discussed in the previous chapter, this study suggests that all the members of the Korean ethnic churches would benefit from being more aware of their responsibility in upholding the linguistic and cultural role of the Korean ethnic churches for Korean Canadian students' HL and cultural identity maintenance. This involvement is vital to make the Korean ethnic churches more active and successful ethnic community institutions in the development and maintenance of the Korean Canadian students' HL and cultural identity. As Lynch (2008) claimed, "local churches represent an important cluster of resources for the HL program at the level of community associations" (p. 327). In this regard, the implications of this study could usefully and seriously be considered by various categories of members of Korean ethnic churches such as pastors, parents, HL teachers,

and Korean Canadian students, in order to make the best use of current resources in Korean ethnic churches for Korean Canadian students' HL and cultural identity maintenance, rather than turning to a search for new resources outside the church, because this institutional infrastructure is clearly in place and would not need to be re-created.

7.2.1 Implications for Pastors and Korean Ethnic Churches

This study shows that there is a lack of active interaction between the younger generations and adult members in the Korean ethnic church other than at Sunday worship services and fellowship time. Due to this lack of communication, Korean Canadian students are likely to join their preferred language groups in the church, which may limit their use of the HL. Therefore, it is suggested that pastors should provide more formal and/or informal activities (i.e., regular open dialogue between first and second generation members and a Korean culture class) which foster active interactions between the students and adult members, so that Korean Canadian students may have more chances to learn the proper use of honorifics. This would also benefit Korean Canadian students' cultural identity maintenance.

As I have previously mentioned in Chapter 5 and 6, the younger generations in Montreal may also feel that Korean culture is too hierarchical and strict, while adult members may be unaware of younger generations' negative impressions about Korean culture. As a result, adult members just expect younger members to learn the Korean culture through a natural exposure to Korean culture which is practiced by first generation members within Korean ethnic churches. In this context, the pastors should

recognize two important issues. First, they have to understand how their younger generation members perceive the Korean culture in the church and what kind of culture is currently being practiced in the church. Second, the pastors need to recognize what is being taught and how the Korean culture should be transmitted to the younger generation members in an appropriate manner, which includes the active and direct teaching of Korean culture rather than over reliance on a natural exposure to Korean culture within the church. This is crucial, since this study shows that the cultural environment of Korean ethnic churches itself may not be enough for the maintenance of the Korean culture presented to the younger generation. This is in line with Min and Kim's (2005) claim that the younger generation members' simple participation in Korean ethnic churches may not be enough to ensure the automatic transmission of ethnic culture within the church.

Following this, there are two implications for pastors and Korean ethnic churches. First, pastors and Korean ethnic churches should provide more activities which require a diverse group of members in order to revitalize intergenerational communication. In fact, some Korean ethnic churches in Montreal have tried to provide an open dialogue between first and second generation members, but most of the attempts do not last long or happen only periodically as far as I know. In this regard, the Korean ethnic churches should make the intergenerational meeting a regular activity (e.g., once or twice a month) so far as circumstances permit. This will help bridge linguistic and cultural gaps between first generation adult members and younger generation members. Next, pastors and Korean ethnic churches should provide appropriate education to ensure that the younger generations maintain an unbiased perception of their heritage culture, so that they can have pride in their cultural heritage and cultural identity. For instance, it might be

necessary for Korean ethnic churches to invite experts who may advise them how to teach their children the Korean culture; in addition, they could ask their recent immigrant members or non-immigrant Korean members to share their experiences and perceptions of the contemporary culture of Korea which is currently practiced in Korea with the younger generations. If the church HL school is not up to this task, then the church can provide a Korean culture class during the summer for a short period (e.g., for a week or so) when the HL school has its summer vacation. Such a clear approach may prevent Korean Canadian students from leaving Korean ethnic churches, by creating mutual understanding between generations, which could support the maintenance of their cultural identity and HL as well.

Another implication of this study for the pastors is that they need to consider the development of Korean Canadian students' HL literacy skills through church-related activities in which they could be motivated to develop their literacy skills as well as conversational skills in the HL. According to Tse (2001), ethnic communities can provide literacy environments and experiences for younger generations, so that they can be exposed to HL literacy and realize the importance of the HL literacy outside of the home. Therefore, pastors need to incorporate more HL literacy activities, HL writing activities in particular, in pre-existing church-related activities such as Bible classes and the HL classes, so that Korean Canadian students can not only develop HL conversational skills, but also improve their HL literacy skills. For example, it might be possible for the pastors to make a summary section in the weekly report and ask the students to summarize the sermon during the service in the HL. Then, the students can use it both in the Bible study class and in the HL class. First, the students can share their summaries and check their

understanding of the sermon with other students and teachers during the Bible class.

Second, the students can also ask their HL teachers to check grammars and to explain difficult words or expressions with their summaries during the HL class. The HL teachers can make this activity a part of their curriculum. In addition, it might also be possible for the pastors to encourage the student members to make their own weekly reports for their congregations in the HL. Through these ordinary church-related community activities, the pastors can provide the student members with more chances to be extensively involved in HL literacy activities other than through the HL classes.

On top of these activities, the church could also publish a church periodical (perhaps monthly or bi-monthly) and encourage all the members including the younger generations to contribute to this magazine with their essays or poems all written in the HL. In order to increase the younger generation members' participation of their own accord, the church does not have to start with a large budget. The church could provide a small gift card (e.g., a movie ticket or a book gift card) to contributors. In addition, the church can collect all the periodicals into a single volume and publish it in book form, so that the younger generation contributors can have a book which includes their own works written in the HL at the end of the year. This small effort may encourage Korean Canadian students to realize the importance of the HL literacy in the church as well as in the society. Furthermore, pastors need to show a keen interest in the improvement of the library for the children and the HL teachers, since most of the books and materials in this library are outdated and inappropriate. Hence, pastors need to improve this library either by encouraging adult members to donate books or by purchasing more recent books or teaching materials, so that this library can play a role as a good resource center for the

younger generations' development of HL literacy skills and for the HL teachers' efficient HL teaching.

7.2.2 Implications for Adult Members (Parents in particular)

This study shows that parents' actual behavior and support for their children's HL maintenance in the church are not often in accord with their high expectations. The implication of this study for parents is that they need to support their children's HL learning by arriving at the church HL class on time with their children, checking up on their children's homework and progress of HL class work at home, and supporting their active participation in church-related activities, rather than just leaving all the responsibilities entirely to the church.

Another implication for parents is that Korean Canadian students' cultural identity as Koreans should not be forced one-sidedly by the parents, since they do not have to choose to be either a Korean or a Canadian in Montreal. According to Lambert (1975) and J. S. Lee (2002), younger generations' HL development may help them define their cultural identity more positively in multicultural and multilingual societies, since being bi- or multi-lingual may promote their acceptance of both the majority culture and their heritage culture. Therefore, parents need to encourage their children to maintain the HL and culture as well as the majority language and culture, instead of forcing them to choose just the Korean identity, so that they can develop a positive cultural identity.

7.2.3 Implications for Korean Canadian Students

Eunmi: 저는요 여기 이민 왔기 때문이에요 부모님이 이민 왔기 때문이에요, 한국말을 다 이렇게 전체적으로 한국인처럼 해야 한다고 생각한 적이 별로

없었어요. 아, 그냥 읽고 쓰고 말을 하기만 하면 된다고 생각했었어요.
 지금은 좀 다르지만...(GD-1, January 25, 2008)

Translation:

Although I have a different perspective now, I once felt no pressure to be able to speak Korean fluently like native Koreans. I would have been satisfied being able to read, write, and talk just basic (or enough) Korean.

As described in this excerpt from one of the student participants, many Korean Canadian students seem to be satisfied with their basic level of the HL skills. In this study, most of the adult members feel that younger generations seemed to be satisfied with their basic conversational skills with other Koreans. According to Cummins' (1989, 2000) linguistic interdependence principle, linguistic minority students' strong HL literacy skills may enhance their majority language learning and academic performance. In this regard, one implication for Korean Canadian students is that they need to make more efforts to develop their balanced HL skills, including HL literacy skills in order to improve their academic achievement as well as majority language learning. Therefore, they should participate more actively and voluntarily in the HL school in which they can improve their HL literacy skills in particular. The HL writing activities proposed in the previous section of this chapter may enhance Korean Canadian students' awareness of the usefulness of the HL literacy skills outside the home and may encourage more active and voluntary participation in the church HL school.

7.2.4 Implications for HL teachers and the church HL school

This study shows that the church HL school is not as effective in its role in developing Korean Canadian students' HL skills as I expected. Unfortunately, though, the findings show that parents and pastors depend almost exclusively on this school for

their children's HL literacy development. The church HL school is run by volunteers from among adult church members. There are several problems with the HL school, including lack of teachers, lack of enough classes for students of different levels, inconsistent curriculum, and lack of proper teaching materials. Therefore, the implication of this study for the church HL school is that the school needs to make the best use of non-immigrant Korean adult members who have recently arrived from Korea (i.e., goose family mothers and Korean adults who pursue their post secondary education) as teachers or assistant teachers, since they may help Korean Canadian students to learn the contemporary culture and language of Korea. In addition, the improvement of the library for children and the HL teachers should be required. The results of this study reveal that there is no specific checkout system and no regular update in the books in this library. On the other hand, the library for adult members is well managed by two adult members. In this regard, the library for children and the HL teachers can be improved either by integrating with the library for adult members or by more support from the church.

Another implication of this study for HL teachers is that they need to be more committed to the development of professionalism and expertise for their HL teaching for the younger generations' HL development, rather than playing multiple roles in the church, since their role as HL teachers alone requires a lot of time and effort in order for their offerings to be effective for the younger generations' HL development. This might also be possible by an increase in participation of non-immigrant Korean adult members, who normally do not play multiple roles in the church, as teachers or assistant teachers in the HL school.

Furthermore, the HL school could increase time spent in class. However, this may not be possible without parents' strong support, since parents' late arrivals with their children limits the HL class hours as has been previously mentioned in Chapter 5. Once again, the results of this study suggest that pastors, parents, and HL teachers should work together to make the HL school more effective for the younger generations church members' HL maintenance and development.

7.3 Limitations of the Research

This study confirms the positive linguistic and cultural influence of Korean ethnic churches on HL and cultural identity maintenance among Korean Canadian students in Montreal. However, there are some limitations which emerged from the current study.

One limitation of this study is that most of the participants were recruited from only two churches among 13 Korean ethnic churches in Montreal. It would be desirable to have data from a larger number of participants from all the 13 Korean ethnic churches in future studies, so that the studies could provide more comprehensive findings related to the linguistic and cultural role played by all the Korean ethnic churches in Montreal.

Another limitation pertains to the exclusion of younger members who are elementary and kindergarten students, since the main focus of this study was the development of adolescent Korean Canadian students' HL and cultural identity. Hence, future studies need to consider younger members' HL and cultural identity maintenance, since different age groups may have different perceptions of their HL and culture learning in the church.

The third limitation in this study is in regard to my role as a researcher and my insider position in the church. My own experiences growing up in the church as well as my faith might have influenced my views of the participants' experiences or actions and the significance of Korean ethnic churches for the maintenance of Korean younger generations' HL and cultural identity. Even though the possible effects of my own status as someone who cares so deeply about the Korean ethnic church as an institution and about mother-tongue maintenance as an issue might have affected the interpretation and discussion of the results, I consider that this limitation has minimal effects, for the following two reasons. First, I continuously reminded myself of my role as a qualitative researcher throughout the processes in this study, so that I could check and control my biases through ongoing self-reflection. Second, I presented and interpreted the results as transparently as possible by the direct use of the participants' own words and by the detailed account of the linguistic and socio-cultural environment within the Korean ethnic church. However, this limitation points to the need for future research focusing on Korean immigrants outside the church in order to provide more wide-ranging findings related to the linguistic and cultural situation beyond the churches in Montreal. In addition, a broader scope of research would complement the findings of the present study with perspectives from Korean immigrants outside the church on the Korean younger generations' HL and cultural identity maintenance.

7.4 Directions for Future Research

Some directions for future research have emerged from this exploratory study.

First, the present study's findings have provided insights into the linguistic and cultural role played by Korean ethnic churches for Korean Canadian students' HL and cultural identity maintenance. This study examined multiple factors which affect Korean HL and cultural identity maintenance and investigated how these factors really work within the Korean ethnic church. Therefore, future studies should focus more on developing efficient ways to make full use of these factors to make Korean ethnic churches serve as linguistic and socio-cultural contexts for the younger generations of Korean immigrant families in multilingual and multicultural societies.

In addition, this study focused on the linguistic and cultural role of Korean ethnic churches in Montreal. In this regard, future studies need to include other Korean ethnic community institutions in Montreal such as *Haninhoe* (The Korean Community of Greater Montreal) and the HL school outside the church, in partnership, to ensure fluent community trilingualism in the next generation of the Korean ethnic community in Montreal.

The present study's findings have provided insights into Korean Canadian students' HL and cultural identity maintenance. Hence, a third direction for future research is a focus on cultural differences that may exist among other ethnic communities in Montreal, so that the importance of HL and culture maintenance in other ethnic communities will be understood and strengthened based on the findings of this study unique to the Korean ethnic community in Montreal.

Lastly, this study focused mainly on the community function of Korean ethnic churches for the Korean younger generations' HL and cultural identity maintenance. However, recall that one student's (i.e., Sangtae) reason to maintain the Korean language

was that he would like to spread the gospel as a Christian missionary in North Korea. This result supports the idea that Korean Canadian students' religious faith can also play a role in their HL and ethnic identity maintenance. In addition, this result might be attributed to the fact that I have chosen a religious site (i.e., Korean ethnic church) and population (i.e., Christians) for this study. It can also be supported by Noll's (1994) claim that "personal faith in Christ is a necessary condition for Christian intellectual life" (p. 250). Overall, this result seems to suggest that the original religious role of Korean ethnic churches should also be explored in order to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the Korean younger generations' HL and ethnic identity maintenance within religious institutions. In this regard, it might be good to explore in further research the religious role played by these churches and how this affects HL and ethnic identity among the younger generations of Korean immigrant families in Montreal.

7.5 Concluding Remarks

This research has implications for Korean ethnic churches, Korean Canadian students, Korean immigrant parents, and church HL schools in Montreal. Insights from this research may help improve Korean Canadian young members' HL skills, healthy sense of ethnic identity and culture, rapid acquisition of the majority languages, and better academic performance. This improvement may increase the likelihood of Korean Canadian students' eventual socio-economic integration into the Quebec society, where their trilingual language skills are needed in response to the global reality of the twenty-first century for Quebec's prosperity, given the context that South Korea has become

increasingly important as a major trading partner for Quebec (Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada, 2006).

7.6 Summary

In this concluding chapter, I outlined some implications for pastors, parents, HL teachers, and Korean Canadian students in order for them to work together to make Korean ethnic churches serve as valuable linguistic and socio-cultural contexts for Korean Canadian students' HL and cultural identity development. Then, I pointed out some limitations of this study and suggested some directions for future research. I ended with concluding remarks.

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Appendix A

Observation Checklist

Date: _____ Place: _____

Time commenced: _____ Time completed: _____

Name of activity: _____

Classification		Results
Setting	Physical context	
	Description of activity	
Participants	Number of members	
	Number of participants	
Activity	What's going on? - Pay attention - Involvement - Understanding	
Interactions during the activity	With adults (teachers)	
	With friends	
Interactions before/after the activity - Greetings - Use of honorific expressions - Non-verbal interactions (e.g., properly bow to adults)	With adults (teachers)	

- In what context and why	With friends	
Use of language during the activity	With adults (teachers)	
	With friends	
Use of language before/after the activity (in what context and why)	With adults (teachers)	
	With friends	
Materials - Weekly report - Syllabus - Curriculum		
<p style="text-align: center;">Special comments</p> <p>- What kinds of preparations are needed for the activity?</p> <p>- Do they practice the activity?</p> <p>- Do they get help? What kinds of support do they get and from whom?</p>		

Appendix B

Discussion guide for the group discussion

- Introduction
 - The purpose of the study will be explained
- Individual approval for audio-recording the interview
 - Permission to record the interview
 - For the protection of the identity and rights of the participants, all the participants will be assured that their real names will not be revealed in any published documents and the results of the study will be used for a research purpose only
- Opening question
 - What do you think about the Korean language and culture?
- Questions
 1. What language do you speak inside your home? What about outside the home?
 2. Do you speak Korean outside the home? If so, in what contexts do you speak Korean? Why do you use Korean in these contexts?
 3. Can you tell me about your personal experiences in learning Korean in and outside the home?
 4. Have you ever attended the Korean language class in the church? If so, what do you think about the class? What about the teachers? What about the materials used? What about the time it is held? What do you think of the instructions?
 5. Why did you choose to attend the class in the church?
 6. Why did you choose to join the ethnic church?
 7. How much do you participate in church-related activities? Do you think you are participating enough in these activities?
 8. How do you feel about your Korean language and culture?
 9. Do you think your participation in church-related activities affect your Korean language and culture?
 10. If so, how do you think your participation in church-related activities affect your Korean language and culture?
- End
 - Reconfirm confidentiality agreement
 - Thank you for participating

Appendix C

Questionnaire for demographic information (for students)

1. How old are you?
2. In what country and city were you born?
3. How long have you been in Montreal?
4. How long have you been involved in the Korean ethnic church? Were you involved in church activities before you immigrated to Canada?
5. What grade are you in?
6. What is the language of instruction in your school?
7. How many brothers and sisters do you have in your family?
8. How old are they? What grades are they in?
9. What language does your mother speak to you? What language do you speak to your mother?
10. What language does your father speak to you? What language do you speak to your father?
11. What language do you use with your brothers and sisters?
12. What language do you speak to your grandparents?
13. What language do you speak with your aunts, uncles, and cousins? What about with friends of your family?

Interview questions for studentsLanguage type questions

1. Do you speak French? How well do you speak French? From a scale of 1-7 with 1 as very poor and 7 as *very fluent*, how would you characterize your ability in French?
2. Do you understand French? How well do you understand French? From a scale of 1-7 with 1 as *cannot understand at all* and 7 as *understand everything*, how would you characterize your ability in French?
3. Do you speak English? How well do you speak English? From a scale of 1-7 with 1 as *very poor* and 7 as *very fluent*, how would you characterize your ability in English?
4. Do you understand English? How well do you understand English? From a scale of 1-7 with 1 as *cannot understand at all* and 7 as *understand everything*, how would you characterize your ability in English?
5. Do you speak Korean? How well do you speak Korean? From a scale of 1-7 with 1 as *very poor* and 7 as *very fluent*, how would you characterize your ability in Korean?
6. Do you understand Korean? How well do you understand Korean? From a scale of 1-7 with 1 as *cannot understand at all* and 7 as *understand everything*, how would you characterize your ability in Korean?
7. Do you understand your mother or father when they speak to you in Korean? How much do you understand?
8. Do you speak to your grandparents when they speak to you in Korean? How often do you speak with them?

9. What language do you speak at home and outside the home? If so, with whom do you speak Korean (e.g., with siblings, friends, and pastor)? In what contexts do you speak Korean and why?
10. Can you tell me about your experiences in learning Korean in and outside the home?
11. Do you want to keep your Korean? If so, what does keeping the Korean language mean to you in Canada, especially in Montreal?
12. When you grow up and get married, would you like your children to learn Korean?

Cultural type questions

1. How do you feel about your Korean identity and ethnicity? Are you proud to be Korean? How proud?
2. How do you identify yourself (in terms of your ethnic background, language, religion, or culture: e.g., Korean, Korean-Canadian, Canadian, Christian, Quebecer etc.)?
3. If someone does not speak Korean, can he (she) still claim to be Korean?
4. Have you ever participated in cultural activities outside the church? If so, can you tell me about your experiences about those activities?

Korean church-related questions

1. Do you go to the Korean church in Montreal? How often do you attend services at Korean church?
2. Why do you go to Korean church?
3. Do you feel good when you go to church? Why?
4. Do you improve your Korean when you go to church?

5. Does the Korean church help you get to know your culture better?
6. Have you ever participated in the Korean language class in the church? If so, can you tell me what you think about the class (e.g., teachers, materials, time, and instruction etc) and why did you choose to attend the class?
7. Do you participate in any church-related activities? If so, are these activities related to your Korean language and culture?
8. When you participate in Sunday worship service, how much do you understand? Do you understand the whole service? If not, can you tell me which part you don't understand?
9. How about other church-related activities? How much do you understand?

Questionnaire for demographic information (for adult participants)

1. How old are you?
2. In what country and city were you born?
3. How long have you been in Montreal?
4. When did you immigrate to Canada?
5. How long have you been involved in the Korean ethnic church?
6. Were you involved in church activities before you immigrated to Canada?
7. What is your position in the church?
8. What is your native language?
9. What is your occupation?
10. How many children do you have?
11. What language do you speak to your spouse?
12. What language do you speak to your children?
13. What language do you speak to your Korean friends?

Interview questions for adult participants (parents and teachers)

Language type questions

1. Is Korean your native language?
2. Do you speak any other language?
3. Do you speak French? How well do you speak French? From a scale of 1-7 with 1 as *very poor* and 7 as *very fluent*, how would you characterize your ability in French?

4. Do you understand French? How well do you understand French? From a scale of 1-7 with 1 as *cannot understand at all* and 7 as *understand everything*, how would you characterize your ability in French?
5. On a scale of 1-7, with 1 as *never* and 7 as *almost always*, can you tell me how often do you use French in your daily life?
6. Do you speak English? How well do you speak English? From a scale of 1-7 with 1 as *very poor* and 7 as *very fluent*, how would you characterize your ability in English?
7. Do you understand English? How well do you understand English? From a scale of 1-7 with 1 as *cannot understand at all* and 7 as *understand everything*, how would you characterize your ability in English?
8. On a scale of 1-7, with 1 as *never* and 7 as *almost always*, can you tell me how often do you use English in your daily life?
9. What language do you use with your children (students) at home and in the church?
10. Do you think you should encourage your children to speak Korean?
11. Can you tell me about your personal experiences in teaching Korean to your children (or to students) in and outside the church?
12. If a person who was born and raised in a Korean home no longer speaks Korean, do you think this person still has a right to call himself a Korean? On a scale of 1-7, where 1 says *he or she has no right at all* and 7 says *he or she has every right*, how much right does this person have to call himself or herself a Korean? Can you explain your answer?
13. Do you think that young Korean children of today are eager to learn and preserve the Korean language?

14. Can you tell me about your personal experiences in teaching Korean in and outside the home for your children?

Cultural type questions

1. Do you think that Korean community institutions are capable of making sure that the Korean tradition and culture is alive and well in Montreal on a scale of 1-7, where 1 means *are not capable* and 7 means *are very capable*? Can you explain your answer?

Korean church-related questions

1. How big do you think the Korean community in Montreal is?
2. What do you think of the Korean language school in the church? Can you tell me more about materials, curriculum, and instructions?
3. Do you think the Korean church has an obligation to help Korean families make sure that Korean children continue to speak Korean? How great is this obligation on a scale of 1-7, with 7 as *very strong*?
4. Do you think the Korean church has an obligation to help Korean families make sure their children preserve Korean culture? How great is this obligation on a scale of 1-7, with 7 as *very strong*?
5. What is your church doing to make sure that children continue to speak Korean and to preserve Korean culture?

Questionnaire for demographic information (for pastors)

1. How old are you?
2. In what country and city were you born?
3. How long have you been in Montreal?
4. When did you immigrate to Canada?
5. How long have you been involved in the Korean ethnic church?
6. Were you involved in church activities before you immigrated to Canada?
7. What is your native language?
8. How many children do you have?
9. What language do you speak to your spouse?
10. What language do you speak to your children?
11. How long have you been a pastor?
12. Is this your first ministry? If not, where did you work before?
13. How long have you been a pastor here?

Interview questions for pastors

Language type questions

1. Is Korean your native language?
2. Do you speak any other language?
3. Do you speak French? How well do you speak French? From a scale of 1-7 with 1 as *very poor* and 7 as *very fluent*, how would you characterize your ability in French?

4. Do you understand French? How well do you understand French? From a scale of 1-7 with 1 as *cannot understand at all* and 7 as *understand everything*, how would you characterize your ability in French?
5. On a scale of 1-7, with 1 as *never* and 7 as *almost always*, can you tell me how often do you use French in your daily life?
6. Do you speak English? How well do you speak English? From a scale of 1-7 with 1 as *very poor* and 7 as *very fluent*, how would you characterize your ability in English?
7. Do you understand English? How well do you understand English? From a scale of 1-7 with 1 as *cannot understand at all* and 7 as *understand everything*, how would you characterize your ability in English?
8. On a scale of 1-7, with 1 as *never* and 7 as *almost always*, can you tell me how often do you use English in your daily life?
9. What language do you use with your second generation members in the church?
10. Do you think Korean parents should encourage their children to speak Korean?
11. What proportion of 4th Korean families in your congregation do you think wants their children to continue speaking Korean?
12. If a person who was born and raised in a Korean home no longer speaks Korean, do you think this person still has a right to call himself a Korean? On a scale of 1-7, where 1 says *he or she has no right at all* and 7 says *he or she has every right*, how much right does this person have to call himself or herself a Korean? Can you explain your answer?
13. Do you think that young Korean children of today are eager to learn and preserve the Korean language?

Cultural type questions

1. Do you think that a community institution such as yours can make sure that the Korean tradition and culture is alive and well in Montreal if the second generation no longer speaks Korean? On a scale of 1-7, where 1 means *cannot be maintained* and 7 means *can be maintained*, please indicate whether the culture can be maintained without language.

Can you explain your answer?

2. What Korean tradition and culture would you like to be maintained in Quebec?

Korean church-related questions

1. Do you like your job as a pastor of this church?

2. How big is your congregation? How many families do you take care of?

3. How big do you think the Korean community in Montreal is?

4. What proportion of this community is part of your congregation?

5. What proportion of the Korean families who are members of your congregation are active in church affairs?

6. What services do you offer in your church?

7. What would you say is the main goal of your church, the rationale for existing?

8. Do you think you are successful in reaching this goal? On a scale of 1-7 with 7 as *very successful*, can you indicate how successful you think you are?

9. Do you think the Korean church has obligation to help Korean families make sure that Korean children continue to speak Korean? How great is this obligation on a scale of 1-7, with 7 as *very strong*?

10. Do you think the Korean church has obligation to help Korean families make sure that Korean children should preserve Korean culture? How great is this obligation on a scale of 1-7, with 7 as *very strong*?

11. What is your church doing to make sure that children continue to speak Korean and to preserve Korean culture?

Appendix D

Letters of Informed Consent (Pastor – English version)

Title of study: The linguistic and cultural influence of Korean ethnic churches on heritage language (HL) and identity maintenance among Korean-Canadian students in Montreal.

Purpose of the research: Within this study, we will try to understand the linguistic and cultural influence of Korean ethnic churches in our lives in general and in particular in helping us maintain our language and culture.

What is involved in participating: In this study, you will be asked to complete a questionnaire, be interviewed and/or be observed while participating in church activities (attending church service, attending the Bible study group, Sunday worship, etc.). The researcher will take notes during the observation and interviews by himself. Individual interview (approximately 1 hour) will take place where and when the participants feel comfortable. These interviews will be audio-recorded. General observation during services will not be recorded in any way and photographed. Only group discussions and some church-related activities which are participated in by second generation students (e.g., Korean language classes, Bible study classes) will be photographed and video-recorded. Data collection will extend from January through May 2008.

Risks and discomforts: I do not foresee any risks or discomfort in your participation in the research.

Voluntary participation: Your participation is entirely voluntary. You can withdraw from the study any time. You have the right not to answer any question that you are uncomfortable with.

Confidentiality: The information will be reported in such a way as to make direct association with yourself impossible. All information and data will be coded and stored in such a way as to make it impossible to identify them directly with any individual (that is, they will be organized by number rather than by name). All information and data from this study will be kept safely in a locked filing cabinet in a locked office at McGill University and electronic information will be stored on a password protected computer. The audio and video tapes and photos will be used only for the purpose of data analysis. However, some photos may be used for my dissertation, research presentations, conferences, and publications with participants' written consent. Completed questionnaires, notes, and audio-video recordings, photos from the study will be destroyed once the final report has been written and accepted. Only the researcher and the research supervisor will have access to all information and data.

Anticipated disposition of results: The results of this study will be used for my PhD dissertation, research presentations, conferences, and scholarly publications.

If you have any further questions about the study, you may contact me directly by phone or email.

Sincerely,

Student researcher, Seong Man Park,
PhD candidate in DISE, McGill University
T) 514-659-0610, E-mail: seong.m.park@mail.mcgill.ca

Supervisor: Dr. Mela Sarkar
T) 514-398-2756
E-mail: mela.sarkar@mcgill.ca

Consent Form

I agree to be audio-recorded during the course of this study: ____ YES ____ NO

I agree to be video-recorded during the course of this study: ____ YES ____ NO

I agree to be photographed during the course of this study: ____ YES ____ NO

I authorize the uses of photographs of me for general-interest publications or print media, academic publications, researcher's dissertation, presentation at scholarly conferences: ____ YES ____ NO

I have read and understand the above information. I voluntarily agree to offer the church as a research site and to participate in this study. My signature below indicates that I agree to participate in this study.

Participant's signature _____ Date _____

Researcher's signature _____ Date _____