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Study on the Experience of Heritage Language Education
by Chinese Married Immigrant Women in South Korea

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중국계 결혼이주 여성의 자녀 계승어교육 경험에 관한
연구

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Chinese Married Immigrant Women in South Korea**

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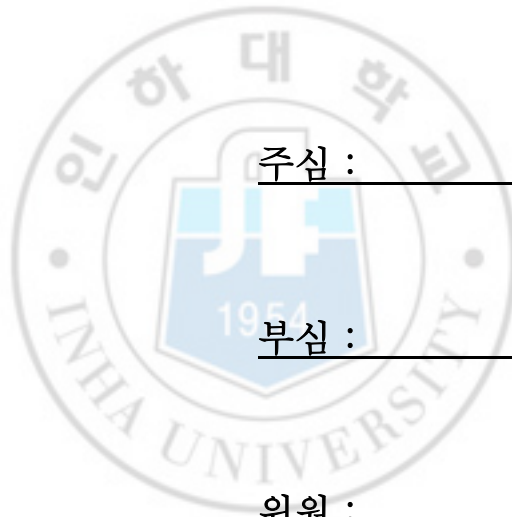
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Abstract

This study explores the experiences of FIMs (female immigrants by marriage) with heritage language education (HLE) for their children from international marriage families (IMF). For children from IMF, HL (heritage language) is a resource to be nurtured and promoted as an additional asset for their future life and career. In an environment of global integration, the HL ability of such children can also be regarded as an undeveloped resource and a national competitive advantage. Along these lines, this research took Han-Chinese FIMs, an immigrant group who actively engage their children in HLE, as a research subject. The main objective of this article is to examine how FIMs teach their children heritage languages and what the implications of doing so, are. Through detailed interviews of 8 participants between 2-3 times, this study obtained a deep understanding of their practical experiences in teaching their children HL. It also explores the various educational methods used in their educational practice (chapter 4), and analyzes the difficulties and challenges they face in HLE (chapter 5) as well as their cognition of the significance of HLE in its entirety and from different perspectives (chapter 6).

The fact that FIMs are the only HL speakers in their families decides that HLE must be developed through their personal practice. In addition, it has been less than 10 years since Korea implemented the bilingual language policy, so policy support in the sociopolitical environment for immigrants is not perfect. There is a lack of necessary social support in promoting HLE. In an educational environment absent of support, FIMs can only try to educate their children on HL through various personal education practices. The difficulties and challenges they face are great obstacles to their educational practice.

The finding also showed that HLE can be carried out in the absence of special educational motivations, as long as there are no negative attitudes. This is due to the significance of HL and the FIMs' own culture and language to the FIMs. However, continuous development of HLE needs a clear understanding of its educational significance to create continuing educational motivation. The

awareness of the educational meaning of HLE is important in promoting HLE, because HLE education is easy to start but challenging to sustain. Having a profound understanding of HLE's meaning will help form positive educational motivations that will enable FIMs to overcome these difficulties and promote the practical behavior of FIMs on children's HLE.

In order to promote HLE in multicultural families in Korea, based on the Capacity-Opportunity-Desire (COD) framework, the issue was analyzed and the results were presented in this study. Several policy suggestions are put forward as follows from the perspectives of constructing educational environment, guiding public opinion and providing developmental opportunities (chapter 7).

Understanding the experiences of HLE will provide practical information to immigrant parents, educators, scholars and policy-makers promoting HLE. For the FIMs who do not actively educate their children in HL, the education department should strengthen their understanding of HLE. In addition, the research results on educational meaning provide reference information for this work. For the FIMs who are devoted to children's HLE, the education sector can refer to educational practice and solutions to practical difficulties in HLE resources, to give them educational support that meets their needs. The education sector can also undertake general educational policy planning in the light of the policy recommendations in the section. This study focusing on the practices and meaning of HLE for Han-Chinese FIMs provides some valuable information for future research and practice of HLE.

Keywords:

Heritage Language Education, Chinese - Heritage Language, Immigrant by Marriage, Multicultural Children, International Marriage Families, Bilingual Education, South Korea

List of Abbreviation

BFLA	Bilingual First Language Acquisition
FIMs	Female Immigrant By Marriage
HL	Heritage Language
HLL	Heritage Language Learners
HLM	Heritage Language Maintenance
IMF	International Marriage Family
MOE	Ministry of Education
MOGEF	Ministry of Gender Equality And Family
OPOL	One Person One Language



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I . Introduction

1. Background

The Social Transition from Homogeneous to Multicultural

Traditionally, Korea was regarded as one of the monolingual and mono-cultural societies with shared ancestral lineage and culture in the world. With the impact of globalization on today's world, the traditional Korean society is strongly influenced by people from other cultural and linguistic backgrounds. According to the annual statistical report of Korea Immigration Service Statistics 2015 released by IT Strategy & Management Division of Ministry of Justice and Management Division of Ministry of Justice, the number of foreign residents in Korea has reached 1,899,519, for either short-term stay or long-term stay. By the end of 2015, the foreign residents have accounted for over 3% of the total population.

Heisler (2000) said that the new international migration movement is a direct consequence of globalization, in the form of economic markets, cultural transfer, and socialites. An increase in foreign population and the consequent cultural diversity are the most important indexes of a multicultural society (Hong, 2013). Oh (2007) argues that Korea can be switched to a multicultural society since its population composition has become diverse, so also its culture. Undoubtedly, the single nation-state has been influenced by globalization and has been gradually engaged in the process of transition to a multicultural society.

The Increasing Marriage Immigrants and Multicultural Families

Following the enforcement of Korean's tradition, international marriage became rare. However, recently, there have been an increasing number of

transnational ethnic marriages, especially in the rural area (Lee, 2013). The rate of international marriage is constantly increasing, as 3.5% of couples who got married in 2000 were transnational. This makes up more than 10% of all marriages in Korea by 2010, three times more than before. Immigrants by marriage who resided in Korea (including marriage for naturalization) amounted to about 267,000 in 2015, in which over 80% of which Korean males married foreign females. According to the act on the Treatment of Foreigners in Korea 2.3, the term "immigrant by marriage" means a non-ethnic Korean who used to have a marital relationship with a Korean national and/or who is in a marital relationship with a Korean national. A term frequently appearing in Korean multicultural society-related researches and news reports is female immigrant by marriage (FIMs) which refers to women who immigrated into Korea through marriage. These immigrant women are called FIMs even when they change their nationalities. A report estimated that FIMs in Korea would increase to nearly 350,000 in 2020¹. Among the 143,004 immigrants by marriage as of March 2011, Chinese constituted the largest group (with the half as Korean Chinese), accounting for 46.6% of the total international marriage population, followed by Vietnamese (25.1%), Japanese (7.4%) and the Philippines (5.4%).

Seol et al., (2005) indicated that, the process of immigrants by marriage entry into Korea could be divided into three stages. With the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Korea in the early 1990s, a large number of Korean-Chinese women flowed into Korea due to their homologous language and culture. The second stage was dominated by groups of particular religious followers, such as the Japanese, Filipinos and the Chinese, and females who got married to Korean males because they wanted to live a better life. The third stage came in 2000, when a surge of women from Southeast Asia

¹<http://grikr.tistory.com/1019> Retrieved April 28, 2016

such as Filipinos and the Vietnamese, married Korea men through marriage agency. The research argues that the fourth stage comes in 2006 when the number of females that married Korean men for love increased as Korea became active in international business and cultural exchanges. Particularly, with the depth of Sino-Korea bilateral cooperation, many Han-Chinese female immigrants by marriage entered Korea. However, this does not imply that they are poor or got married to live a better life. With the increase in international marriages, family structure in Korea has been deconstructed largely. One of the obvious changes is the increase in multicultural families. According to the data provided by the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family Republic of Korea, the number of multicultural families reached 750, 000 in 2013 and is expected to reach one million by 2020 (Park, Rhee, & Kim, 2014).

In the 1990s, under the operation of some intermediary and religious organizations, a large number of women from China and Southeast Asia were married into South Korea, in order to avert the problem they encounter with men of marriageable age in the rural areas. The marriage of the MIWs who married into South Korea is majorly based on some sort of bargain. The woman became Korean through marriage, and the men needed the women to birth and raise children, and take care of the household.

Multicultural family refers to families formed by people of different nationalities, races, and cultures (Choi & Kim, 2014). Multicultural family has a narrow and broad concept and narrowly it refers to the international marriage families created through the union of different nationalities of which Korea is not left out (McCabe, 2014). According to support for multicultural families act, the term "multicultural family" means a family falling under any of the following terms:

- (a) *A family comprised of a married immigrant under subparagraph 3 of Article 2 of the Framework Act on Treatment of Foreigners Residing in the Republic of*

Korea and a person who acquired the nationality of the Republic of Korea by birth pursuant to Article 2 of the Nationality Act;

(b) A family comprised of a person who obtained permission for naturalization under Article 4 of the Nationality Act and a person who acquired the nationality of the Republic of Korea by birth pursuant to Article 2 of the aforesaid Act;

When broadly conceptualized, the term multicultural family includes the all-immigrant families as stated by McCabe (2014), which broadly refers to all families with non-Korean members or naturalized persons. However, with the increasing number of foreigners entering Korea through other forms (such as foreigner labors, North Korean refugees), the Korean society tends to accept the broader concept of multicultural family. The study case objects of this research are the multicultural families in the narrow Korean sense. From the perspective of the HL related researches, this family are also known as bilingual family (Harding-Esch, & Riley, 2003; Barron-Hauwaert, 2004), or inter-lingual family (Yamamoto, 2001). Considering IMF, if the foreign immigrants are completely assimilated into the social linguistic culture and do not speak their own HL, such families may become monolingual families, hence, this study uses international marriage family (IMF) which is a direct expression of family structure, which refers to the participants' family context.

The Children from Multicultural Families

Another group that has significantly contributed to the increasing ethnic diversity in Korea is the children from multicultural families, in short, multicultural children. Children from multicultural families are a group to which the cultural society pays attention. In Korea, different expressions of English are used in referring to them, such as multicultural family children (Choi & Kim, 2014), and multicultural children (Park & Han, 2010; Kim & Lim, 2013; Chang, 2015). Because of the negative meaning of "multicultural"

in the Korean society as well as the wrong usage of some expressions, the term “children with immigrant background” is used to refer to them (Yang, Shin, & Park, 2014). The Statistics on Foreign Residents by Local Governments in 2014 described the range of children with immigrant background. Children of 'marriage migrants' or 'naturalized residents' fall under the following three categories irrespective of their parents' current nationality.

Foreign-born parents: Both father and mother are not Korean by birth

Foreign-born-Korean parents: Either of the parents is not Korean by birth

Korean parents: Born to Korean parents by birth and either of the parents is remarried to a foreign-born spouse.

Though the term is often used in government statistics, when it comes to law, there is no definition for children from multicultural family. The widely used term in Korea is multicultural children. The children of the interviewees in this study were 2.5 generation immigrants. Based on the Rumbaut's (2009) description, 2.5-generation immigrant is regarded as an individual born in a family where one parent is foreign born and the other is Korean born. The term widely used in relative English studies is bilingual children. There are also scholars who call them mixed heritage children and mixed ethnic children (Park, 2006; Shin 2010). Nevertheless, "mixed" has a strong negative meaning in this context. This study will apply “children from IMF and bilingual children” to refer to the children of the target interviewee group according to the particular contexts.

According to the data provided by surveys carried out by the government in ‘the Present Situation of foreign residents in local governments’ from safety administration, multicultural children in Korea experience a surging increase tendency year after year (Figure 1).

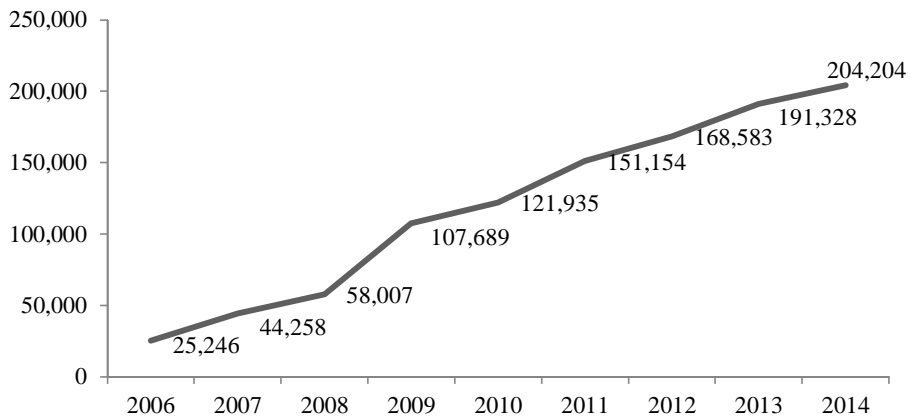


Figure 1. The Number of Multicultural Children in Korea

The population was not up to 30,000 in 2006 but it has increased to about 200 thousand in 2014. In the future of Korean development, the next generation of this group with immigration background will garner more attention.

2. Needs and Purposes

Language as a Resource

Apart from the native Korean children, one of the important characteristics of multicultural children is their bilingual and bicultural family background, and they have the opportunity to master two languages as their mother tongue. With respect to multiculturalism, the potential ability for acquiring language for multicultural children is considered as a resource at both individual and social levels (Nieto, 2009). Their bilingual competence can be measured through dominant languages, such as Korean language, and heritage language (heritage language), the mother tongue of one party of their parent(s). As they grow up and live in Korea, they often do not have problem with Korean language but their heritage language is different. Heritage language education (heritage language education) directly decides whether the multicultural children will become bilingual. Many researches reveal that it is common for immigrant

families not to educate their children on heritage language, especially when young members are in the early years of school. In the process of educating multicultural children with bilingual talents, the biggest challenge lies in the heritage language education.

Nieto (2009) also indicates that the children who have the potential of being bilinguals but only speak with one language tend to end up as monolingual speakers. At the same time, individually and collectively, we lose a great national resource. Brecht and Ingold (2002) indicated that heritage languages should be regarded as an untapped resource that is of great benefit as they provide language expertise, which is urgently needed, for a nation. It can meet the strategic needs of the nation using professional language skills to compete with the global economy. Considering the strong awareness of language ability as a resource, Korean government and various academia began focusing on the dual language education for multicultural children. However, the research found out that the current bilingual education is still dominated by Korean teaching. Due to the lack of language environment in the Korean society, heritage language should have been supported in the field of bilingual education, but it is fixed in a secondary position in policy support and academic research. Therefore, the paper argues that it is necessary to carry out research on heritage language education.

Mother-Adolescent Communication

On the other hand, heritage language education should be enhanced and based on the perspective of immigrant family harmony and social stability. Shin (2005) studied the development of bilingualism based on Korean American teenagers, and she states that as children become mature and have complex thoughts, parents find it more difficult to communicate effectively with their children using their limited English. Meanwhile, due to lack of opportunities to

practice the native language, children have lost the privilege of learning their mother tongue as it was during childhood and hence, they cannot communicate with their parents in another foreign language. Parents feel a deep sense of loss when they are unable to have heart-to-heart talks with their children who speak English. In this regard, there are often no feelings to share largely. If parents cannot communicate with their children, they fail to teach them what is right and what is wrong, nor passing down their values on how to live as a responsible member of the society. It is obvious that the lack of parent–child communication (caused surely or partly by a language barrier except other factors) can lead to societal problems like some criminal cases among Korean American teenagers.

According to the age distribution of multicultural children, at about 10 years of age, children enter the adolescence age, and suffer adolescent problems collectively. As the father of an adolescent, Hall (1904) indicated, adolescence is a period of ‘storm and stress’, as they would experience many changes concomitantly, including physical maturation, desire for independence, identity development, the increase of social and peer interactions, and brain development (Blakemore, 2008; Casey, Jones, & Hare, 2008). Adolescents are ridden with depression and intensity. Frequent negative effects have been hypothesized to explain the increased rates of affective disorders, suicide, and accidental death during this stage of life. In the course of adolescence, children from multicultural families suffer more problems, because they do not only need to confront normal age-related psychological, social, and biological changes, but also have to face acculturation-related challenges in light of their immigrant status (Casey, Jones, & Hare, 2008).

The adolescents tend to have a conversation with parents frequently about school performance and future career plans, especially with the mother, i.e. mother-child interactions are very common. However, those with daughter are

more likely to make father-child interactions. In contrast, mother-child interactions tend to be based on conversations about personal issues and practical matters, such as handling money and achieving school or athletic goals (Youniss & Smollar, 1985). Similarly, Collins and Russell (1991) states that adolescence's interactions with fathers tends to be limited to a relatively narrow range of topics, particularly associated with instrumental goals or objective social matters, whereas mother-adolescent interactions involve wider range of topics. In other words, in this particular period with intense physical and psychological changes as well as cultural expressions, the mother plays a very important role in adolescents' life.

Moreover, we need to digress to the heritage language education for children from multicultural families. For parents whose marriages are influenced by immigration, no matter how hard Korean language study is, they would not be able to speak as good as their children in the native level. If the children cannot speak their heritage language, they would not be able to communicate important issues with their mothers using their native language; such issues could be about depression and confusion that accompanies maturity. As a result, they have to suffer more distress during adolescence. If this happens, it would be a serious family and social issue. In order to overcome the barriers of communication between mother and child, the heritage language education will be surely an effective way and this is the main reason why there should be a research on it. Korea has become a multicultural society since 1990s and the international marriage has become very popular since 2000, hence, children with multicultural family backgrounds are rather young. The data shows that 60% of these children are preschoolers, and that indicates that they are less than 12 years old. The age range reminds us of two important stages: critical period of language acquisition and the period of Adolescence.

The Critical Period of Language Acquisition

The critical period hypothesis (CPH) is a period in which language acquisition is easy to complete and beyond which is difficult to cultivate. Based on the hypothesis put forward by Lenneberg in 1967, the advantages of children language acquisition were attributed to physiological factors. During the critical period (from age two to adolescence), due to the effect of Language Acquisition Device, children can easily attain the language ability like native-speakers. In this period, the brain's hemispheres participate in the language learning; hence, children can easily understand and acquire the language. However, when children enter the puberty stage, due to the lateralization of brain, the nervous system is no longer flexible like the former stage, hence; there would be loss of the language acquisition mechanism. Language learning has become more difficult for children. Most Korean children are at CPH stage, so it is critical to provide them with quality language education. If the government does not take actions immediately, it may lose a large number of potential bilingual talents.

3. Motivation and Questions

It is necessary and urgent to study heritage language education in the current Korean society. Nonetheless, the research motivation for the subject comes out of my own experience. I am a marriage immigrant in Korea. I have taught my five-year-old daughter Coco, Chinese patiently for 5 years. My family value and support Chinese education I provided Coco and my economic strength is modest. Moreover, I have excellent knowledge and advanced philosophy on education. In other words, Chinese education for Coco is supported by adequate economic capital; cultural capital and family back up. However, after 5-year attempts, I discovered this was not as easy as I thought.

Frankly, before she was born, I never doubted that teaching my child Chinese would be a challenge. However, up until now, I am worried that Chinese education I provide her would amount to nothing because I have encountered too many challenges and difficulties during this process.

Children who grow up in a bilingual environment from an early age do not necessarily learn to speak the two languages they hear and may speak only one, even with a parent who speaks another language to them (Sirèn, 1991; Lyon, 1996; Yamamoto, 2001). This can be quite a baffling experience for parents and educators, who often take it as a matter of course that children will learn to speak the languages spoken to them. Except the problems and difficulties I encountered, I also have many confusing questions. I want to know how other marriage immigrants teach Chinese, but successful cases for Chinese education under similar backgrounds have not been discovered. Some suggestions have been expected, but often times, controversial voices are heard, because many people do not agree with the significance of Korean, English or Chinese language learning. For this reason, I started to retrieve literatures.

I discovered that this type of research started late in Korea. Relevant researches are rare and mainly conducted from the perspective of researchers. There is no report on the actual demands, motivation or situation of immigrant women in the education of heritage language. The existing views are swinging between Korean education and heritage language education. However, researches outside Korean language started earlier. Heritage language education has been gradually valued in recent decades as language maintenance is in the hotspot. Meanwhile, regarding the special lingual environment in international marriage families, children's bilingual education has become a unique research field -- bilingual first language acquisition (BFLA).

However, as a monoculture and monolingual country with a short history, the Korean society is unique, while many Western countries are multicultural

and multilingual with long history. Due to the differences in language diversity, culture and politics, the problems facing the heritage of language education are different, such as marriage immigrants' motivation for their children's heritage language education, the experiences in education, and even the meanings of education. Therefore, theories and experiences from other countries are infeasible alternatives to the Korea language. During the literature review, I strongly felt the need for research of heritage language education of this special group in Korea. In particular, it is urgent to study the current positions with similar education experiences.

Through my own experience, I believe there are many difficulties and challenges that have made people give up on the quest and I understand why the ratio of HL education is not high. For this reason, I have developed a strong desire to study immigrants in Korea who are trying to teach their children HL. This research is targeted at Han-Chinese female immigrants by marriage and two major problems are covered,

Q1: What are the experiences of female immigrants by marriage who are concerned about the heritage language education of their children?

Q2: What is the meaning of teaching children heritage language?

Question1 is about how marriage immigrant women teach their children using heritage language, and it aims to find out about the impact of the family-related language education practices, parental attitude and goals of the heritage language education, including the difficulties, plight and concerns they may meet. Question 1 provides the information about their current educational situations, from which we can gain some understanding of what promotes language education and what blocks its success.

Question2 is aimed at investigating the reasons why they teach their children with heritage language, the meaning of such type of education, and what benefits they expect to get in heritage language education. Question 2

explores some underlying reasons and benefits of the heritage language education, which drives parents to devote themselves in the heritage language education and helps them set attainable goals during the process.



II. Theoretical Discussion

1. Heritage Language Education

1.1 Heritage Language and Heritage Language Education

Definition of Heritage Language

The term heritage language (HL) is gaining currency, although one major issue in HL research is language maintenance or loss. Most studies about issues around language maintenance and loss have focused on children of immigrant families, especially those whose parents are both from the same minority ethnic groups and speak a minority language at home exclusively or to some degree (Kim, 2006). The question arises of whether the language of the foreign parent is an HL to a child in inter-lingual families from international marriages.

There is much debate over what constitutes a heritage language (Wiley & Valdés, 2000). For instance, Wiley, (1999) stated that, as with any attempt to apply a single label to a complex situation, defining HL is problematic, and providing an adequate definition of the term “heritage language” is difficult to do. In this study, the definition of HL is summarized from relevant research. Some definitions of HL are applied in specific social contexts and should be interpreted in the Korean context. Valdés (1997) limited the definition of HL to “the language someone learns at home as a child”. Yet, not all definitions insist on the same criteria. Cho, Cho, and Tse (1997) defined a heritage language as “the language associated with one’s cultural background and it may or may not be spoken in the home” (p. 106).

After analyzing the definitions described in existing research studies, the definition scopes can be divided into three levels. Viewed in a broad scope, HL is defined as all languages other than the dominant language(s) (Cummins,

1991; Clyne et al., 1997), or all languages in a social context (Cummins, 2005). Cummins (2005) stated that in principle, this refers to all languages including English, but in practice, it refers to all languages except English (in the North American context). From this perspective, HL mainly refers to all languages other than the dominant language(s) in each social context. In an intermediate scope, HL is limited to specific social group relations, and possible links between cultural heritage and linguistic heritage (Polinsky & Kagan, 2007). The HL definition according to most scholars is in this range. Fishman classified HL as immigrant languages, indigenous languages, and colonial languages (1991) and later (1999) defined HL as a language of personal relevance other than English, in the U.S. context. Cho, Cho, and Tse (1997) regarded HL as the language associated with one's cultural background and that it may or may not be spoken in the home. Wiley (2005) defined HL as an immigrant, indigenous, or ancestral language that a speaker has a personal relevance and desire to (re)connect with. Valdes (2005) broadly referred to non-societal and non-majority languages spoken by groups often known as linguistic minorities. Skutnabb-Kangas, and McCarty (2008) regarded HL as indigenous or minority mother tongues. Shin (2010) indicated that it was the minority language spoken natively by the immigrant parent. In a narrow scope, the HL definitions are limited by the learning period: learned as a child, and in particular, the definition by Valdés (1997) stressed the restraint condition of “at home”. Macmillan Dictionary defined HL in English-speaking countries as a language other than English that is the main language someone learns as a child.

The terms “heritage language” and “minority language” are used to identify languages other than the dominant language (or languages) in a given social context. Two reasons explain why the use of the term “heritage language” has increased. On one hand, the term “minority language” has many negative

social connotations. On the other hand, in a particular community or social setting in the host country, a language other than the dominant language may in fact be spoken by the numerical majority (Kelleher, 2010). For instance, the majority of people in Chinatowns of Incheon speak Chinese. The name “HL” reveals the social attributes of the minority-status language. Alternative terms have been and are being used in the United States and other countries, including “community language” (Baker & Jones, 1998; Corson, 1999; Wiley, 2001, 2005) and “home language” (Yeung et al., 2000).

In addition, the definition scopes of HL are difficult to determine owing to the increasing diversification of international migration methods. Unlike the conventionally-conceived foreign immigrant families where parents both come from the same country, there are a growing number of interracial families (Kim, 2006) in which the family members have different language and culture backgrounds. Children from interracial families are labeled as mixed-heritage adults (Kim, 2006; Shin, 2010). Kim (2006) indicated that the problem with current researches on HL is that there is less known about the linguistic trajectories of non-traditional heritage language learners, such as adoptees, children of interracial families, and the later generation of immigrants.

Heritage Language Learners

In many studies on heritage language education (HLE), researchers satisfy students’ needs by constructing heritage-language learner (HLL) profiles, but defining heritage language learners is difficult because of the complexity and idiosyncrasy of HLL themselves (Wiley, 2001). The term “HLL” refers to a large heterogeneous population in a society with various historical and cultural backgrounds (Yu, 2015). Van Deusen-Scholl (2003, p. 221) expressed a broader view and characterized HLL as “a heterogeneous group ranging from fluent native speakers to non-speakers who may be generations removed, but who

may feel culturally connected to a language.” She made a distinction between “heritage learners” who have achieved some degree of proficiency in the home language and/or have been raised with strong cultural connections, from “learners with a heritage motivation” who “seek to reconnect with their family’s heritage through language, even though the linguistic evidence of that connection may have been lost for generations” (Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003, p. 222).

This research study suggests that the definition which best describes HL of multicultural families in today’s South Korea, is the one proposed by Shin (2010) in the study on Heritage-Language Learning and Identity of Mixed-Heritage Adults. HL is indicated as the minority language spoken natively by the immigrant parent. HHLs are regarded as individuals who have a partial connection to a minority language through an immigrant parent but range from minimal to high proficiency in that language.

Multicultural families in South Korea proliferated during the most recent 20 years. Married immigrant women include all of the first-generation immigrants who are fluent in their mother languages. Thus, children from multicultural families are inevitably influenced by and inseparably connected with the language and cultures of their foreign parent(s). For this reason, the language of the foreign parent in transnational marriage families is undoubtedly their HL, even if they are not completely familiarized with this language. As long as they intend to inherit this language, children from multicultural families are HHLs, since they have a personal relevance with HL.

Heritage Language Education and Bilingual Education

Bilingual education involves teaching academic content in two languages—a native and a secondary language—in varying amounts according to the program model. Given that HL is a non-dominant language in a society,

the HLLs, as members of the society, must learn the dominant language while also learning HL. In view of this, the HLE cannot be separated from bilingual education which belongs to part of the latter category.

When it comes to bilingualism, Weinreich (1953) interpreted it as “the practice of alternatively using two languages”. “Since bilingualism is a relative concept, we are naturally forced to face the question of degree, that is, how well an individual knows the language in question” (Fantini, 1985) The concepts of balanced bilingualism and semilingualism are often mentioned contrastively when people discuss bilingualism and bilingual education (Baker, & Jones, 1998; Baker, 2001). In this study, the additional term of incipient bilingualism is listed with both concepts in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Different Levels of Bilingualism

Terms	Description
Balanced Bilingualism	Bilingual who have complete mastery of two languages.(Baker , 2001)
Incipient Bilingualism	The initial stages of contact between two languages. (Diebold, 1961) It allows people with minimal competence in a second language to squeeze into the bilingual category. (Baker, 2001)
Semilingualism	Bilingual whose languages are both under-developed. (Baker, 2001)

Balanced bilingualism (also ambilingual, or full bilingual) refers to having equal and strong competence in two languages (Baker, 2011) which is close to Bloomfield’s (1935) description of bilingualism as native-like control of two languages.

Diebold, in 1961, used the term “incipient bilingualism” to describe the initial stages of language contact leaving open the quest on the minimum proficiency. MacNamara’s (1967) definition was even more general; he defined

a bilingual as “anyone who possesses a minimal competence in only one of the four language skills: listening, speaking, reading or writing, in a language other than his mother tongue”.

Semilingualism, or double semilingualism, was first described in the 1920's by Bloomfield and later defined in the 1960's by Hansegård. When acquisition of the first language is interrupted and insufficient or unstructured language input follows from the second language, as sometimes happens with immigrant children, the speaker can end up with two languages mastered below the monolingual standard.

Baker (2011) indicated that balanced bilinguals are “important when discussing the possible thinking advantages of bilingualism”. Theresa Deussen (2014) discussed four perspectives in her article “Treating Language as A Strength: The Benefits of Bilingualism”. Cognitive benefits mean that bilingual preschoolers have greater cognitive flexibility. Cultural benefits mean that immigrant families and communities raising bilingual children who can speak the language of their family and friends back in their country of origin preserves important relationships, traditions, and identity. Regarding economic benefits of bilingualism, Portes and Rumbaut (2001) found that fully bilingual Hispanics earn more per year than their peers who speak only English, and that corporations cannot find enough fully proficient bilingual employees. Academic benefits mean that children who started bilingual education early read and write as well or better than children who started learning in English-only programs. Lambert (1997) asserted that developing one's HL in addition to the dominant language is an “additive” form of bilingualism. It is additive in the sense that the HL is being added to children's language repertoire at no cost to their dominant language proficiency. HLE is within the category of bilingual education, and HLE in Korea is now closer to an earlier bilingual education in childhood.

Korean domestic research studies in the field of HLE are mainly focused on overseas Korean HLE. The concept of HLE was only examined by a few scholars (e.g., Kwon, 2009; Won, 2014; Park, 2014; Yoon, S. 2015; Park 2016) in research studies about HLE for multicultural families in Korea, and HLE is placed under the bigger theme of bilingual education (Chen & Huang, 2016). In addition, analysis of existing Korean domestic research studies shows that the terms “bilingual” or “bilingual education” point to different contents in different articles. “Bilingual education” is defined in some articles as a certain bilingual education program launched by the government or a local institution, or in some articles as the practice of bilingual education within the family, or in other articles as HLE. Thus, ambiguity in conceptions and categories causes some confusion in comprehending the views of some studies. The present study suggests that the concept stating that the foreign parent's language is heritage language should be popularized, and that the education of foreign parent's language should be emphasized through HLE rather than bilingual education. Chen and Huang (2016) studied research trends through the end of 2015 of bilingual education for children from multicultural families which focused on the foreign parent’s language education. The amount of research focused on foreign parent’s language education in Korea has been increasing yearly since 2009. Research topics are mainly divided into four fields: current bilingual education programs, bilingual education, interaction related to bilingual education, and suggestions for policy improvement (Table 2).

Table 2. Categorization of the topics and contents of relevant studies

Research topics	Research contents	Specific studies
Studies targeted at bilingual education programs (11) 31%	Needs, perception and preferences on bilingual education programs	Lee, S. Y., 2011; Park, H. S. et al., 2010; Park, J. S. et al., 2011; Ko, U., 2010
	Current status of bilingual education program implementations	Park, H. S. & Han, S. K., 2014; Song, Y. B., 2010; Park, S. J. et al., 2013
	Evaluation of concrete program implementations	Rhee, C. W., et al., 2014; Jung, Y. S., et al., 2015
	Improvement schemes of programs	Won, J. S., 2014; Mo, K. H., et al., 2015
Studies on bilingual learning and teaching (11) 31%	Research on bilingual learning acquisition	Chang, N. H., 2015; Lee, S. S. et al., 2013
	Research on concrete acquisition methods	Kwon, K. S., 2015; Choi, H. J., 2014; Kim, J. Y. et al., 2013;
	Comparison of acquisition characteristics among difficult groups	Lee, J. H. et al., 2013; Choo, H. S., 2014 ^a ; Lee, E. K. et al., 2012
	Current status of family-related bilingual education	Yoo, H. S. et al., 2011; Lee, S. S. et al., 2014; Choo, H. S., 2014 ^b
Studies on Interactions and mutual effects with bilingual education (8) 22%	Effects of external environment on bilingual education	Huh, C. A. et al., 2015; Park, S. W. et al., 2013; Hong, J. M., 2012; Park, S. H., 2014
	Effects after bilingual education	Park, H. S. et al., 2014; Cho, S. S. et al., 2013; Park, H. S. et al., 2012; Park, J. S. et al., 2015
Proposals on bilingual education and bilingual education program (6) 17%	Necessity of bilingual education and policy proposals	Kwon, S. H., 2009; Lee, J. D., 2010; Woo, Y. H., 2014; Lee, D. H., 2014; Kim, O. S., 2012b; Lee, J. B. et al., 2011

The research contents and topics vary greatly, such as the importance of bilingual education and the provision of policy encouragement; the institutions related to the current government, bilingual education activities carried out during learning, proposals for improvement suggestions; current status of bilingual education for multicultural children; characteristics of bilingual acquisition, education methods. However, there is scant research on understanding HL education practices and experiences through case studies.

Studying the concrete education experiences of foreign parents and the concrete influencing process of events or conditions that caused failed education is very necessary, as it is practically meaningful for policy support of HL education and bilingual education for multicultural children. Moreover, the identification of the driving force and the meaning of HLE that promoted foreign parents to teach children HL under the social atmosphere in Korea with strong assimilation should be further explored.

1.2 Teaching Methods of HLE

Foreign Language Education

HLE began as part of foreign language education (FLE) in the United States, first introduced in a Statement of Philosophy by the National Standards in Foreign Language Education Projects (1999). Language and communication are at the heart of the human experience. The United States must educate students who are equipped linguistically and culturally to communicate successfully in a pluralistic American society and abroad. This imperative envisions a future in which ALL students will develop and maintain proficiency in English and at least one other language, modern or classical. Children who come to school from non-English-speaking backgrounds should also have opportunities to develop further proficiencies in their first language (p. 7). With the development of HLE, it was found that HLE is different from foreign language education since HLE has a lot of its own particularity. Both research and personal experiences have pointed to the significance of the speaking skills for language proficiency as a whole and to the necessity to lay a good foundation from the beginning (Xiao, 2006; Baker, 2008; Liu, 2010) rather than wait until the HL learners have grown up and learn a HL as a foreign language at college (Kono & McGinnis, 2001).

Bilingual First Language Acquisition

The study of children's bilingual acquisition extends over a hundred-year period, beginning with Ronjat's study of his son acquiring French and German in 1913, followed by Leopold's extensive documentation of his daughter's acquisition of English and German between 1939 and 1949 (Ronjat, 1913; Leopold, 1939-1949). It was not until the late 1980s that BFLA (Bilingual first language acquisition) was described as the simultaneous acquisition of more than one language from birth (Meisel, 1989; De Houwer, 1990). The term BFLA became preferred to bilingual acquisition because it emphasized the acquisition of two first languages from birth. Years later, Wei (2010) defined bilingual and multilingual first language acquisition to include who acquired more than two language from birth. Some education perspectives related to BFLA worth to be noted here.

Regular input Input in the linguistic context is defined as "all words, contexts, and other forms of language to which a learner is exposed, relative to acquired proficiency in first or second languages". De Houwer (1990) emphasized the importance of input frequency in BFLA and the term of regular input that refers to daily or almost daily contact with a language through interpersonal interaction or overhearing a language.

OPOL approach The "one person, one language" approach is a popular method adopted by parents attempting to raise simultaneous bilingual children. With the "one person, one language" approach, each parent consistently speaks only one of the two languages to the child. For instance, the child's mother might speak to him or her exclusively in French, while the father might use only English. There is agreement that the 'one person-one language' principle is not a sufficient condition for a child acquiring the minority language. Lanza (1997) argued that the 'one person-one language' principle is not actually a strategy, but a language choice framework. It provides a

macrostructure, which needs to be realised through micro-structure moves. The various strategies which this framework promotes constitute a continuum between monolingual and bilingual

While the 'one parent–one language' principle is not a sufficient condition for the simultaneous development of two languages, in families where only one of the parents represents the minority language, it appears to be a necessary condition (Döpke, 1998). Döpke (1998) create the richest and most varied input possible under the OPOL conditions. Firstly, consistent language choice on the side of the minority language speaking parent suppresses competition between the languages and affords the child the maximum quantity of exposure to the minority language that this parent is able to provide single-handedly. Secondly, unconditional use of the minority language will ensure that the child has the chance to experience the full range of parent–child interactions in the minority language. Thirdly, under clear language choice conditions, the minority language input will naturally change from simple to increasingly complex because the parent will adjust his/her language to age–appropriate content and complexity. Lastly, but very importantly, the parent who expects the child to speak the minority language will quickly detect areas of gaps between the minority language and the dominant language through the child's mixing.

The 'one parent–one language' principle at the more rigid end of the monolingual–bilingual continuum is superior to less rigid language choice patterns. To ensure a rich minority language context for the children it is easiest to advise parents with respect to their overall language choice decision. The parent who has made an unequivocal choice in favour of the minority language will automatically utilize such activities for the benefit of the development of the minority language.

(Early) Second Language Acquisition

De Houwer (2009; 4) indicated that BFLA is defined in terms of a particular learning context. Certainly, it is a different context from Monolingual First Language Acquisition (MFLA), in which children hear just one language from birth (their L1), and Early Second Language Acquisition (ESLA) occurs when monolingual children's language environment changes in such a way that they start to hear a second language (L2) with some regularity over and above their L1. Often this happens through day care or preschool. Each of the three main language learning contexts (MFLA, BFLA, and ESLA) has quite distinct effects on early language development. MFLA children learn to understand and speak only one language. BFLA children learn to understand two languages concurrently, and when start to speak they usually say words and sentences in each of their two languages. ESLA children learn first to understand one language and start speaking in one language only, their L1. Subsequently, they learn to understand a second language, their L2, which they may also start at some point. However, if children's introduction to L2 coincides with literacy programs, even if children are only five years old, we can speak of formal second language acquisition (SLA) rather than ESLA.

Second language acquisition is the process by which people learn a second language. Comprehension, language output, and interaction are at the core of communication, which are generally considered to promote language acquisition (Lightbown and Spada, 2006). One influential theorist in the area of second language acquisition has been Stephen Krashen whose Monitor Theory (Krashen, 1982) included a series of hypotheses which taken together are intended to account for the process of SLA.

Input hypothesis If i represents previously acquired linguistic competence and extra-linguistic knowledge, the hypothesis claims that we move from i to $i+1$ by understanding input that contains $i+1$. Extra-linguistic

knowledge includes our knowledge of the world and of the situation, that is, the context. The +1 represents new knowledge or language structures that we should be ready to acquire. The comprehensible input hypothesis can be restated in terms of the natural order hypothesis. For example, if we acquire the rules of language in a linear order (1, 2, 3...), then i represents the last rule or language form learned, and $i+1$ is the next structure that should be learned. It must be stressed, however, that just any input is not sufficient; the input received must be comprehensible. According to Krashen, there are three corollaries to his theory.

Acquisition-learning hypothesis Modern linguistics, there are many theories as to how humans are able to develop language ability. According to Stephen Krashen's acquisition-learning hypothesis, there are two independent ways in which we develop our linguistic skills: acquisition and learning. This theory is at the core of modern language acquisition theory, and is perhaps the most fundamental of Krashen's theories. Acquisition of language is a subconscious process of which the individual is not aware. One is unaware of the process as it is happening and, when the new knowledge is acquired, the acquirer generally does not realize that he or she possesses any new knowledge. According to Krashen, both adults and children can subconsciously acquire language, and either written or oral language can be acquired. This process is similar to the process that children undergo when learning their native language. Acquisition requires meaningful interaction in the target language, during which the acquirer is focused on meaning rather than form. Learning a language, on the other hand, is a conscious process, much like what one experiences in school. New knowledge or language forms are represented consciously in the learner's mind, frequently in the form of language "rules" and "grammar", and the process often involves error correction. Language learning involves formal instruction and, according to Krashen, is less effective

than acquisition.

Monitor hypothesis The monitor hypothesis asserts that a learner's learned system acts as a monitor to what they are producing. In other words, while only the acquired system is able to produce spontaneous speech, the learned system is used to check what is being spoken. Before the learner produces an utterance, he or she internally scans it for errors, and uses the learned system to make corrections. Self-correction occurs when the learner uses the Monitor to correct a sentence after it is uttered. According to the hypothesis, such self-monitoring and self-correction are the only functions of conscious language learning. The Monitor model then predicts faster initial progress by adults than children, as adults use this 'monitor' when producing L2 (target language) utterances before having acquired the ability for natural performance, and adult learners will input more into conversations earlier than children.

Natural order hypothesis The natural order hypothesis states that all learners acquire a language in roughly the same order. This order is not dependent on the ease with which a particular language feature can be taught; some features, such as third-person "-s" ("he runs") are easy to teach in a classroom setting, but are not typically acquired until the later stages of language acquisition. This hypothesis was based on the morpheme studies by Dulay and Burt(1974), which found that certain morphemes were predictably learned before others during the course of second-language acquisition.

Affective filter hypothesis The affective filter is an impediment to learning or acquisition caused by negative emotional ("affective") responses to one's environment. It is a hypothesis of SLA theory, and a field of interest in educational psychology. During the process of SAL, certain emotions, such as anxiety, self-doubt, and mere boredom interfere with the process of acquiring a second language. They function as a filter between the speaker and the listener

that reduces the amount of language input the listener is able to understand. These negative emotions prevent efficient processing of the language input (Krashen, 2003). The hypothesis states further that the blockage can be reduced by sparking interest, providing low-anxiety environments, and bolstering the learner's self-esteem. There are two prime issues that prevent the lowering of the affective filter. The first is not allowing for a silent period. The second is correcting their errors too early-on in the process (Krashen, 1982).

According to Krashen (1982) mentioned, language learners best acquired a second language when receiving messages they understood in the target language called comprehensible input (referred to as "i"). Two additional conditions were necessary for language acquisition to occur: (1) the input should be slightly more complex than the current learner's interlanguage (or "i+1") the form of the second language in the mind of the learner at that point in time (Selinker, 1972); and (2) the learning context must be free of debilitating anxiety. Thus, Krashen noted that receiving comprehensible input was not sufficient in and of itself. Other researchers and theorists took issue with Krashen's view that comprehensible input at the "i+1" level in an emotionally supportive environment would be sufficient for language acquisition to occur. Swain (1995) introduced the Output Hypothesis and claimed that language learners not only needed comprehensible input to acquire language, but also that the learners' linguistic output played a major role in their language acquisition. Swain (1995) further pointed out that speech modifications making output comprehensible to language learners were also deemed important for second language acquisition. Furthermore, Long (1983) framed this process in terms of interactions, so that over several turns learners had the opportunity for modifications of the structure of conversation and information to help their language develop. In the context of the home environment of bilingual families, parental language input in HL, which is

often the children's main source of HL input, may not be sufficient to enable them to acquire language and become proficient HL speakers. Indeed, children may only acquire receptive skills in HL. Dörnyei (2007) mentions that, in second language learning, besides, the quality and quantity of L2 input the nature of the language learning tasks, the teaching methodology applied, and various learner traits and strategies, motivating classroom environment is essential for achieving long term goals.

Family-based Education Methods for HLE

Shin (2005) summarized and listed the family-based education methods of HLE in her study. She indicated that protecting the minority language at home is of vital importance. In order to pass on the heritage languages to children, parents need to do at least the following:

- Speak the heritage language (HL) at home and insist that children respond in that language.
- Encourage children to speak the HL and do not criticize incorrect grammar or pronunciation.
- Teach older children to encourage younger siblings' attempts to speak the HL and to not ridicule incorrect productions (Shin, 2002).
- Emphasize the value of learning the HL and instill pride in the heritage language and culture.
- Acquire age-appropriate HL reading materials and TV programs that are interesting and comprehensible to children.
- Read often to children in the HL.
- Teach children how to read and write the HL.
- Send children to heritage language schools and be actively involved in children's HL education.
- Provide opportunities for children to use the HL in meaningful contexts with peers who value the HL.
- Take children on trips to the country of origin.

Shin (2005) argued that HLE cannot just rely on family education, the support from school and community is necessary. To improve HLE, Shine also summarized and proposed the suggestions for HL programs. As Shine said,

much of what we know about effective second- and foreign-language learning and teaching practices applies to HL programs, which should do at least the following:

- Provide cognitively challenging instruction that encourages active language use to connect input with students' prior experience and with thematically-related content (Chamot et al., 1996; Cummins, 1996).
- Create comfortable learning environments where students are given opportunities to use the HL in situations they consider useful but are not required to do so until ready (Tse, 2001).
- Avoid overemphasis on the grammatical accuracy of student speech or writing.
- Acknowledge and value dialectal variations (Jo, 2001; Tse, 2001).
- Provide continuous professional development for teachers and staff to give HL teachers a sense of their professional identity and importance (Compton, 2001; Feuerverger, 1997).
- Form partnerships between HL teachers and regular teachers (Feuerverger, 1997).
- Form partnerships with parents and local community (Compton, 2001; Corson, 2001).
- Teach heritage cultures along with HLs (Feuerverger, 1997).
- Educate teachers about the facts and myths of bilingualism and bilingual education.

1.3 Conditions Contributing to HL E

Researches concerning HL acquisition and instruction have become a sub-discipline in the field of applied linguistics, a sub-discipline where the researchers examine the linguistic, pedagogical, social, and political issues related to HL learners (e.g., Brecht & Ingold, 1998; Krashen, Tse, & McQuillan, 1998; Valdés, 1995, 2005; Davis, 1999; Webb & Miller, 2000; Lynch, 2003; Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003; Brinton & Kagan, 2008). Lambert and Taylor (1990, 1996) outlined three major factors that contribute to language maintenance or loss: parents' commitment to the heritage language, the size and cohesiveness of the immigrant language group, and the openness of the host community to the arrival of the immigrants and to a multicultural ideal. Baker

(2011) has combined a comprehensive list of the factors that may create language maintenance and shift in three dimensions: political, social and demographic factors, cultural factors, and linguistic factors, while he also emphasized that power dimension missed from the list. Nesteruk (2010) noted that the factors contributing to bilingualism among children of immigrants were namely the HL use at home, neighborhood language diversity, institutional support, and more generally the national language policies. Based on the existing research results, this study considers that the influencing factors on HLE classified from three aspects: family education environment, linguistic environment and sociopolitical environment.

Family Education Environment

“Family is an important socializing agent for bilingual language learning of children, even though its influence seems to decrease with the increase of age of the child. (Kuo, 1974, p. 181)” Various strands of research have alluded to the important role parents can play in HL learning and maintenance (Li, 2006). Parents are the main agents of heritage language maintenance. They expose their children to HL and provide a context in which the language is encouraged to be used. The relation between parental home language practices and children’s bilingual language acquisition has been well established (De Houwer, 2007; Portes & Hao, 1998).

Harding & Riley (1986) considered parental attitude towards their own languages as an influential factor on children’s bilingual development and differences in parental attitude between the two languages may influence language use and bilingual development. In addition to those attitudes, De Houwer (1999) also claims that parental beliefs regarding the way children acquire language and parents’ role in the acquisition process affect parental language choices. Moreover, Parents’ understanding of HL development,

support for HL maintenance, and efforts to generate opportunities for children to acquire and use the HL are instrumental in children's HL maintenance (DeCapua & Wintergerst, 2009; Li, 1999; Nesteruk, 2010). Parents' role includes but is not limited to choosing a language or making a language policy for interactions with children. Parents, in the family they organize, provide the most basic elements for a child to function successfully in the self-identity, group identity, sense of responsibility to self, family, and community, the understanding of success and failure, and so on – each and every aspect of a person's first years of development (Fillmore, 2000).

Fishman (2001) more exactly pinpointed women of child-bearing age using their ethnic language to their children as the critical moments of intergenerational language transfer. Luo and Wiseman (2000) examined 245 first- and second-generation Chinese American children. They concluded that parents, especially mothers, were a very important influence for heritage language retention. Kondo (1998) also indicated the importance of the role of mothers because the mother's language choice can transfer and influence children's preference in language use. Through the above mentioned we can be found that parents' attitude toward HL and HLE, parents' beliefs and parents' understanding of HLE play a vital role in HLE. To improve HLE, it is necessary to study the parents' ideas about HLE firstly, especially mother's.

Besides parents, there are another familial factors include family mobility and the need or desire for communication with the extended family, both of which influence the parents' language use (Harding & Riley, 1986). Having siblings is thought to influence the bilingual development of children (Döpke, 1992; Hoffmann, 1985). Other researches (Luo & Wiseman, 2000; Cho, Shin, & Krashen, 2004; Wu, 2005) have identified various personal and social variables that influence the maintenance of HL by Chinese immigrants' children in the US. The four main factors: HL proficiency, parents' behaviors

and attitudes toward HL behaviors, family cohesion, and peers' influence.

Linguistic Environment

Yamamoto (2001) indicated that among the salient factors in the linguistic environment, those deemed influential to children's bilingual development are: the quantity and quality of exposure to the given languages (Döpke, 1992); the pattern of language use by parents (Döpke, 1998; Hoffmann, 1985); the language of formal instruction (Döpke, 1992); the style and quality of parent-child interaction (Döpke, 1992); and parental discourse strategies towards child language mixing (Lanza, 1997). Parental language choice was found to have an effect on the children's language choice (Harrison & Piette, 1980) and to further their bilingual development (De Houwer, 1999).

In addition to these, Sociolinguistic environment has been shown to be effective in promoting HLE. Sociologists go as far as to propose that heritage language maintenance requires the language to have a separate function and its own context of use (Fishman, 1971). A very important sociolinguistic environment on HLE is the community. Home and the world a little beyond it – the larger family, neighborhood, and immediate community – are where the set of daily processes and interactions happen when the children grow up (Wang, 2012). A major asset of a large ethnic community is the number of practical opportunities to use and to learn the HL (Roceric, 1982; Zecker, 2004). Celebration of cultural traditions, religious occasions, or the use of the HL in ethnic stores and restaurants provides the children with a diversified language input, including vocabulary that would not be typically used in a home setting (García, 2011).

Sociopolitical Environment

Education is always influenced by the social, political, historic, and economic context in which it takes place (Nieto, 2009). Edwards (1997) suggested a typology (Figure 2), in which there are two major interrelated types of factors that influence HLM: one tangible and one more subjective.

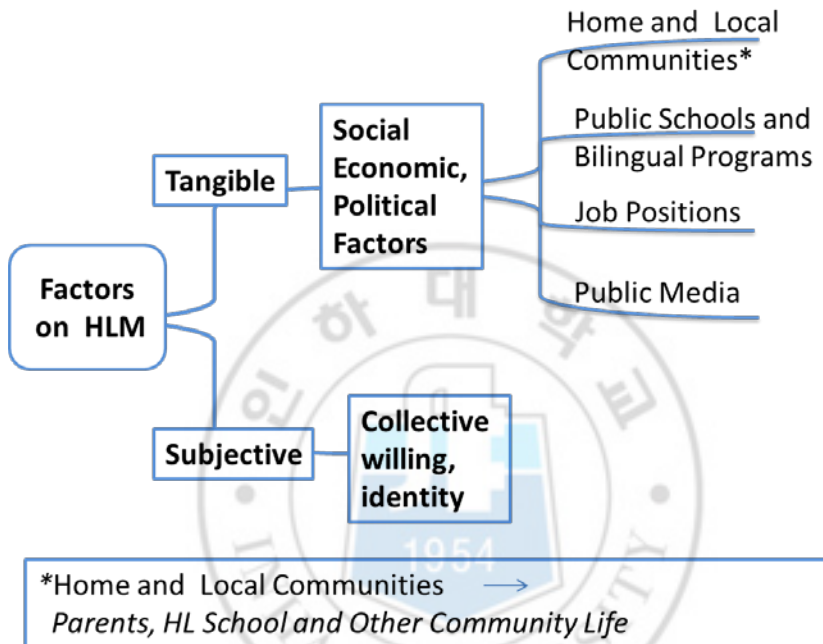


Figure 2. A Typology of Factors Influencing HLM --Summarized by Wang (2012) Based on Edwards’ (1997) Descriptions.

The first type includes the continuing existence of important domains within which the use of the language is necessary. These domains further depend upon social, political, and economic forces. “Although the details will clearly vary from case to case, of general relevance are issues of linguistic practicality, communicative efficiency, social mobility, and economic advancement.” This typology seems to serve the purpose of HLM at the macro-society level, aiming at maintenance of “the language” that is “small” and weaker compared to the dominant language. The subjective type of factors

refers to attitudes towards HLE demonstrated by parents, children and society, as well. The home and communities factor is classified as linguistic environment for this research study, and other factors are classified as sociopolitical environment which includes public schools and bilingual programs, job positions and public media.

2. Significances of Heritage Language Education

2.1 Language Loss and Language Policy

Language Shift, Loss and Maintenance

Language shift is the replacement of one language by another as the primary means of communication and socialization within a community. The pattern of language shift is prevalent among various immigrant groups and is described as a three-generation process (Fishman, 1966; Veltman, 1983). Wu (2007) described this process from language shift to language loss in immigrant families. The first generation, immigrant parents, speak their original ethnic language most of the time while learning English for a job or survival purposes; The second generation, immigrant children, speaks little heritage language but use English more after entering American schools. English replaces the primary language spoken by these immigrant children, and few of them become truly bilingual. After the immigrant children grow up, their children, the third generation, may possess no knowledge of the heritage language. Gradually, individuals lose their heritage language ability all together and later the whole community might experience language shift to English and total language loss over time. Language loss can occur on two levels. It may be on a personal or familial level, which is often the case with immigrant communities in a country, or the entire language may be lost when it ceases to be spoken at all.

Rumbaut (2009) analyzed the HL use, proficiency, and preference by generation, showing the decline in the use of the HL at home, the dropping proficiency in the HL, as well as the growing preference for English across generations. He used the concepts of 2.5 generation to refer to children with only one foreign-born parent, and 3.5 generation to refer to children with only one or two foreign-born grandparents. Larger differences in HL proficiency were found also between 1st and 1.5 generation, between 2nd and 2.5 generations, and between 3rd and 3.5 generations (Table 3).

Table 3. Heritage Language Competency across Generations (Rumbaut, 2009)

Generation	Growing up spoke a non-English language at home (%)	Speaks non-English language very well (%)	Prefers to speak only English at home (%)
1.0 (arrived 13 or older)	97.4	86.9	17.7
1.5 (arrived 0-12)	92.9	46.6	60.7
2.0 (2 foreign-born parents)	83.5	36.1	73.4
2.5 (1 foreign-born parent)	46.5	17.3	92.5
3.0(3-4 foreign-born grandparents)	34.3	11.9	97
3.5(1-2 foreign-born grandparents)	18.7	3.1	98.3

The opposite side of language loss is language maintenance, meaning that immigrants attempt to preserve their HL. The research literature on heritage language maintenance (HLM) is considerably less and not widely studied compared to language shift as McKay and Wong (1988) stated. The sociolinguist Joshua Fishman was among the earliest educators to pioneer research in language maintenance of minority languages. Fishman (1966) described how most ethnic groups have gone through the process of language shift and introduced some examples of immigrants' language maintenance

efforts and accomplishments. Later Fishman (1991) advocated reversing language shift by presenting twelve successful case studies of language maintenance from different cultural groups, such as Irish, Yiddish, and Maori in New Zealand. Other educators followed Fishman's proposal and organized activities for this purpose, such as the Center for Applied Linguistics' First National Conference on Heritage Language in America in Long Beach, California, in 1999. Peyton and other scholars at this conference proposed that everyone should become more concerned with the issue of heritage language and language maintenance as the United States is becoming culturally and linguistically diverse (Peyton, Ranard, & McGinnis, 2001, p. 6). HLM has been an interdisciplinary topic for decades with roots in a range of disciplines such as linguistics, education, psychology, sociology, political science, and anthropology (Fishman, 1992). The topic of how to help immigrant children develop HL proficiency now is demonstrated in the rising field of HLM (Wang, 2012).

Language policy

The exercise of language planning leads to, or is directed by, the promulgation of a language policy by government (or other authoritative body or person). A language policy is a body of ideas, laws, regulations, rules and practices intended to achieve the planned language change in the societies, group or system (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). A national Language Policy is what a government does either officially through legislation, court decisions or policy to determine how languages are used, cultivate language skills needed to meet national priorities or to establish the rights of individuals or groups to use and maintain languages.

Many countries have a language policy designed to favour or discourage the use of a particular language or set of languages. Although nations have

historically most often used language policies to promote one official language at the expense of others, many countries now have policies designed to protect and promote regional and ethnic languages whose viability is threatened (Arzoz, 2007). The American government has recently begun to recognize HLs as national resource (Peyton et al., 2001) because HL speakers can meet certain specialized needs of a country in the global economy (Wu, 2008). Canada and Australia are far ahead of the US with respect to the formulation of multilingual policies (Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003). A New Agenda for Multicultural Australia (1999) stressed the reasons to teach languages other than English. It stated that in a multicultural society such as Australia, proficiency in a language other than English is more than desirable; it can even be a business or social imperative. It further went on to say, to engage the global marketplace and derive maximum benefit from it, Australia must maintain expertise in languages other than English, particularly the major languages of our region and the world. It is therefore very important that teaching languages other than English continues to be a priority and that the value of a multilingual community is better appreciated.

The Chinese government has made many efforts to promote bilingualism, in Chinese and ethnic languages; for example it has established ethnic minority schools and implemented special National College Entrance Examination for minority students, in order to promote the development of minority languages. Similarly to many other multiethnic regions in the world, China has a bilingual education policy. But in China's bilingual education system, ethnic languages are the teaching language and Mandarin is the second or foreign language (Tang, 2015). In addition to encouraging ethnic minorities to develop their languages in China, the language policy in China is also developing overseas Chinese language education outside China to promote Chinese HLE of overseas Chinese. From the perspective of the Chinese government, the starting

points of this policy are as follows: shaping the national cultural quality of overseas Chinese youths; promoting the friendly relations between the host country of overseas Chinese and China; spreading Chinese culture, and promoting world cultural exchange. The development of Chinese language education is based on the needs of the national cultural identity of overseas Chinese (Qiu, 2010).

Korean language policy

The Korean government's immigration policy guidelines started to transform into multiculturalism in 2006 (Kim & Lee, 2012). On April 26, 2006, the Korean government passed two pieces of legislation regarding migrant incorporation: The Act on Social Integration of Mixed-Race Koreans and Immigrants and The Act on Marriage Migrant Integration. Both policies were designed to create an environment in which non-ethnic Koreans can live a comfortable life in Korea (Kim, 2012a). In 2007, the Basic Act on Treatment of Foreigners Residing in the Republic of Korea was passed by the National Assembly (Table 4). The purpose of this Act was to establish a framework for incorporating migrants and to create a social environment in which Korean nationals and foreigners in Korea understand and respect one another, thereby contributing to the development and social integration of Korea. In 2008, the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family promulgated the Multicultural Families Support Act. The purpose of this Act was to help multicultural family members enjoy a stable family life, and therefore contribute to the improvement of the quality of life of multicultural family members and to their integration into society.

Table 4. Bilingual Education Policies Launched by Korean Government

	Period	Department	Policy or Program	Goal and Meaning
Beginning Phase of Implement Multicultural Policies	2006	Twelve of government departments	Act on Social Integration of Mixed-Race Koreans and Immigrants The Act on Marriage Migrant Integration	A symbolic event that opened up a multicultural era in south Korea
	2007	Ministry of Justice	Basic Act on Treatment of Foreigners Residing in the Republic of Korea	Formulated five-year plan period of policies based on multiculturalism
First 5-Year Plan for Immigration Policy	2008	MOGEF	Multicultural Families Support Act	To achieve social integration for marriage immigrants and their children; to establish stable life environment for them
		MOE (Seoul)	Plan of training bilingual teachers for multicultural families children	Began to attach importance to bilingual education for multicultural families children
	2009	MOE	Bilingual Teacher Program	Marked the start of Bilingual Education for multicultural children
		MOGEF	Talented Language Classroom	Committed to cultivate international talents and promote the communication between the members of the family
	2010	MOE	Bilingual Teacher Program	Expanded the bilingual teacher program to kindergarten
	2011	MOGEF	Talented Language Classroom	Targeted objects of multicultural bilingual education were explained to general students
2012	MOE	Education Promoting Program For Multicultural Students 'Improvement of Bilingual Education'		
Second 5-Year Plan for Immigration Policy	2013 ~ 2017		To implement the program of understanding parents' language and culture for supporting the healthy growth and development of multicultural family children	

In 2010 and 2011, the purpose of this Act was revised and stressed achieving social integration for immigrants through marriage and their children and establishing a stable life environment for them. Noticeably, the multicultural policies in Korea include policies targeted at foreigners in Korea and the policies targeted at multicultural family members. There are some differences between the target populations. The immigrants by marriage and multicultural family children are both enrolled in these two types of policies.

The language policies promoting HL development among multicultural

children mainly proceeds in two directions: KSL education for immigrant family children with two foreign parents, and bilingual education for multicultural family children with only one foreign parent. Some representative bilingual education programs include: the bilingual teacher program from the Ministry of Education (MOE), and talented language classrooms in multicultural family support centers from the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family (MOGEF). Table 4 shows the developing trend of language policies targeted at multicultural children since 2006. To answer the call of the Basic Act, the First Basic Plan for Immigration Policy (2008-2012) was implemented (Kim et al., 2012). In its first five years, Korean society realized the importance of language and cultural education for both parents and started the bilingual education programs for multicultural children since 2009.

The MOE launched school-centered programs through the Seoul Ministry of Education in 2009 and aimed to transform female immigrants into bilingual teachers. After completing the programs, these female immigrants were distributed as bilingual teachers into different schools to teach multicultural classes. They also would introduce and teach their mother language and home country cultures to students, cultivate the bilingual ability of multicultural children, and assist multicultural children with courses. These programs were expanded to kindergartens in 2010 and the target objects of bilingual programs were extended to preschool children. The MOE launched a series of multicultural child education policies, including a policy named Improvement of Bilingual Education, and the targets of bilingual education were expanded from multicultural children to children from average Korean families.

MOGEF has conducted bilingual education programs targeted at children from multicultural families since 2009. This activity is aimed at enhancing the communication among members of multicultural families and to cultivate international talents with two fluent languages. Bilingual classrooms, or

talented language classrooms, were opened in Multicultural Family Support Centers at all levels of administrative areas. Multicultural Family Support Centers were set up to help multicultural families live a stable family life, and offer various programs which focus on education, counseling, and culture, including Korean language education at 217 local centers nationwide². According to the compositional characteristics of multicultural family members in Korea, seven commonly-used foreign languages including Chinese, Japanese, Vietnamese and Russian were selected as the target languages of bilingual education in these talented language classrooms. At the start, the targets of talented language classrooms were preschool children above age three and pupils from multicultural families, but were expanded to include ordinary students in 2011. This change was made to promote the language ability of children from multicultural families, and to enhance the social consciousness of multicultural and the social integration.

During the first five-year period, the bilingual education programs were focused on the language and culture of the foreign parents, but there appeared to be insufficient comprehension or knowledge about the importance of education. The bilingual education programs stressed education in the Korean language and cultures in the beginning. The second five-year period, starting in 2012, was aimed at implementing the program of understanding parents' language and culture to support the healthy growth and development of multicultural family children. During this period, bilingual education programs were reinforced and the focus of bilingual education was changed from Korean education and Korean cultures to "valuing mama's language education and culture comprehension". Attention was given to the creation of bilingual and bicultural circumstances within the family.

² <http://liveinkorea.kr/homepage/en/multicenter/familyCenter.asp?mc=M0025> Retrieved June 21, 2016

2.2 Significances of Heritage Language Maintenance

Language Maintenance and Personal Benefits

Having developed one's HL, in addition to dominate language, is an "additive" form of bilingualism (Lambert, 1997). A great deal of research has shown that there are many individual and societal benefits of bilingualism. For example, bilingualism develops cultural diversity in societies; it promotes ethnic identity and intergenerational relationships; it leads to social and cultural adaptability and adds to the mental health of the child (Baker & Jones, 1998; Crystal, 1987). HL proficiency is positively related to an individual's psychological development as well as to higher self-esteem and confidence (Cho, 2000; Lee, 2002; Tse, 1997). Garcia (1985) used 1,500 Chicano college students as a sample and confirmed that heritage language maintenance has advantages in helping students grow confidence for achieving goals, ambitious plans for the future, positive self-esteem and more control over one's life. As researches in Korea showed, bilingual education facilitates the psychological and emotional development of multicultural children, and enhances "happiness" (Cho & Kim, 2013) and "self-esteem" (Park, Rhee, & Park, 2014; Park, Ko, & Han 2015). The improvement of mental health thereby helps multicultural children to create positive interpersonal relationships with other children, especially peer relationship, and contributes to their "school adaptation" (Park, Rhee, & Park, 2014).

Becoming bilingual has cognitive advantages for the learner and results in superior scholastic achievement (Cummins, 1996; Krashen, 1998). A large number of studies (Bialystok, 2001; Cummins & Swain, 1986, 2014; Hakuta & Diaz, 1985), most of which investigated children's explicit knowledge about the structure and functions of language itself, have reported that bilingual children exhibit a greater sensitivity to linguistic meanings and may be more

flexible in their thinking than monolingual children are. Bilingual individuals possess more cognitive flexibility than those who are monolingual (Bialystok, 2007, 2010), and they acquire a new language more quickly with a heightened awareness of language forms (Galambos & Goldin-Meadow, 1990).

Heritage and identity may relate to broader educational and life outcomes for a community and its members and thereby contribute to their life chances and 'success' in gaining access to the benefits of participation and citizenship that the society has to offer. Those who have developed their HL have greater understanding and knowledge of cultural values, ethics, and manners; this further enhances their interactions with HL speakers. Moreover, HL development has been shown to contribute positively to the betterment of the society (Cho, 2000). Cho (2000) described the social advantages students had for better relationships with other heritage language speakers. One participant reported that "his Korean proficiency helped him to strengthen ethnic identity by overcoming his identity crisis and later to interact with other Korean students".

Developing HL competence, in addition to dominant language, also represents an advantage in the job market, where bilingualism is increasingly becoming a sought-after qualification. Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco (2001) noted the demand for professionals and managers who can operate within more than one cultural code in the global economy. Bilingual speakers are needed in business, science, education, diplomacy, and many other social realms.

In addition, "children who learn the language and culture of their new country without losing those of the old have a much better understanding of their place in the world" (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001, p. 274). HL development appears to provide advantages to HL speakers in multiple ways of psychological development, linguistic ability, interpersonal relationship, and

possibly better job opportunities.

Language Maintenance and Family

It is clear that many of researchers believe that improving their HL ability will improve their family relationships. As Wong Fillmore (2000) and Unum, et al (1997) argued, it may be quite detrimental to children and their families if children do not learn to speak a home language that is often the only language in which the parents can adequately communicate. This may make it difficult for parents to fulfill their role as primary agents in the socialization process, and may have a negative impact on the closeness and intimacy between parents and children. In Wong Fillmore(1991)'s study, the language shift in the family was led by the children, but this shift had a very negative impact on their family relations, because the family members could not understand each other due to the different languages used by adults and children. The most indicated effect on immigrant parents is the language barrier between immigrant parents and children. Shin (2004) stated that as children mature and become capable of more complex thoughts, parents find it increasingly difficult to communicate adequately with their children in their limited English. Meanwhile, due to lack of opportunities to practice the native language, the children have now lost even the little knowledge they had of their mother tongue and, therefore, cannot talk to their parents in that language. This is often when parents wonder whether their children would have learned English well anyway (even without the family shifting to English) and whether they should have maintained the use of the native language despite pressures to forego of it. Parents feel a deep sense of loss, as having heart-to-heart talks with their mostly English speaking children proves to be impossible. Many issues are left untouched, countless feelings unexplored.

Heritage language maintenance allows children to keep better and more cohesive family connections with their parents through communication (Tannenbaum & Howie, 2002; Tseng & Fuligni, 2000). Family cohesion is an important factor in HLM, while HLM also affects the degree of closeness among family members. Wong Fillmore's (2000) case study article shows in a situation in which children do not understand the HL that is spoken by their parents, and the parent cannot speak English, a huge communication gap can cause a cleavage between parents and children. Transmission of the HL across generations in children of immigrants is linked to a stronger family cohesiveness, preservation of respect for parents and parental authority, and a healthy social and emotional development of the child (Portes & Hao, 2002).

The researches in Korea also emphasized the promoting effects of bilingual education on relationship among family members, especially the mother and child. Park, Ko, and Han (2015) examined how the concordance in language fluency affects children's satisfaction towards their parents, and found that concordance in both Korean and HL fluency is associated with the quality of relationship between parents and children. Park, Rhee, and Kim (2014) demonstrated that bilingual and bicultural education enhances the parenting behavior of immigrant women by marriage. Moreover, bilingual education also contributes to the formation of emotional empathy between mother and child, and can resolve the crisis of mother-child relationship in multicultural families (Cho and Kim, 2013), and also help multicultural children to establish bicultural identities which had a positive impact on mother-child relationship (Park, Rhee, and Park, 2014).

Conversely, the loss of the ethnic language and a rapid transition to English among children of immigrants weakens ties between parents and children and is linked to intergenerational alienation and conflict (Carreon et al., 2005; Kouritzin, 1999). With the rapid linguistic and cultural assimilation of

the children, immigrant parents lose their authority as a source of guidance in the new world. In addition, a growing language barrier between parents and children may weaken communication between immigrant generations. In cases when immigrant parents cannot communicate in English well and their U.S.-born children are not able or refuse to use the HL, fluent communication across generations becomes impossible, resulting in affective separation between parents and children. Developing HL of children contributes to family cohesiveness, mother-child relationship and fluent intergenerational communication.

Language Maintenance and Community

Cho, Cho, and Tse (1997) examined why ethnic minorities want to develop their heritage language by the case of Korean - Americans, they indicated that Feeling successful in acquiring the HL may also be important for group membership reasons. These Korean-Americans may be in Ethnic Emergence, a stage of ethnic identity development where many become interested in embracing their ethnic heritage and see learning about the heritage culture and language to be part of getting closer to the ethnic group. During this period, ethnic minorities may want to join the ethnic homeland group (Koreans) or the ethnic minority American group (Korean-Americans) but see that they must first have proficiency in the language to be considered a legitimate member. Not being accepted because of not having the requisite membership badge of language may have negative self-esteem consequences.

Language Maintenance and Nations

García (2003) reviews the literature based on new literature published from 1998 to 2002. The findings of this review paper reveal that ethnic language maintenance is of great benefit for the practical ends of all nations

that require international communication. Brecht and Ingold (2002) suggested that heritage languages should be seen as an untapped resource that could be of great benefit, providing a level of language expertise that is urgently needed in this country given the demand for professional levels of language skills to compete within the global economy and to meet the nation's strategic needs. However, viewing heritage languages as merely a purely economic or strategic resource is unwise. "The destruction of a language is the destruction of a rooted identity" (p. 4) is applicable at both the individual and the societal level (Fishman, 1991). More emphasis is needed on heritage language maintenance to preserve cultural diversity and linguistic plurality in a country that—despite strong tendencies toward assimilation—has nevertheless maintained "a laissez-faire position of tolerance" toward its bilingual traditions (Wiley, 2001b, p. 100).

Researchers claim that heritage languages are worth preserving not only for immigrants themselves but also for the whole country, given that the country needs citizens who are proficient in languages other than English (Peyton, Ranard, & McGinnis, 2001, p. 9). These educators pointed out three major changes in the world that have led to a shortage of foreign language intellectuals in many departments and agencies of the government. They are "globalization, democratization, and the emergence of the U.S. as the world's sole superpower" (p. 10). Rather than relying on foreign language programs at the college level, preserving continuous instruction in immigrants' heritage language for their children is more economical method. Immigrant families may maintain heritage languages at home rather than having adult learners begin studying foreign language later in life. Furthermore, as the world becomes a global economic environment, more people notice the importance of learning multiple languages for the purpose of international business. Tse (2001) described one of the advantages and benefits of heritage language development

as “being able to communicate in the customer’s native language” and earn more money from the job (p. 50). Krashen (1998) stated that "heritage language speakers could thus be an important natural resource: Nurturing and developing heritage languages may be a good thing for the economy and the balance of trade” (p. 7). The following section presents some factors that affect language maintenance. From above, we can see that HL capability is the national resource for the nation to meet the safety challenges (Peyton, Ranard, & McGinnis, 2001); and HL proficiency is an essential component of the individuals’ global competency (Zhao, 2009).

3. Theoretical Framework

The previous literature review of factors influencing HLM and the meaning of HLE has revealed a complex picture: every factor plays a role, and there seems to be a cycling relationship among the many factors revealed in the literature. The purpose of this research is to depict a more accurate, dynamic and meaningful picture of findings for stake-holders considering appropriate actions for HLM. The theoretical framework of this research is displayed in Figure 3.

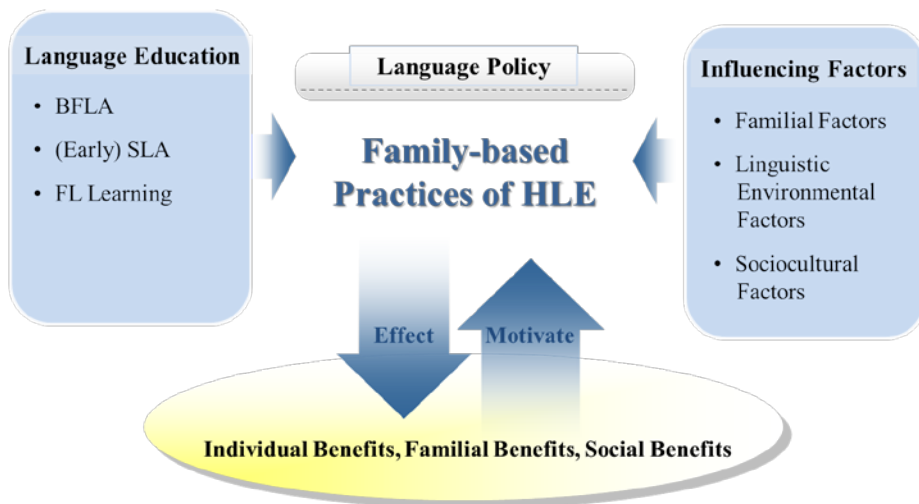


Figure 3. Theoretical Framework

According to the theoretical foundation of language pedagogy, this research targets the individual HLE practice experiences of immigrants by marriage, and analyzes the practical process, educational methods and educational effects of participants under the current language policy. In reference to the analysis of factors affecting HLE in existing research studies, this study identifies and categorizes the difficulties and challenges in the process of HLE from the perspectives of family attitude, family environment, language environment and social cultural environment. HL is regarded as both a personal and a social development resource. Through review of the theoretical background, it has been established that HLE can bring benefits to the development of individuals, families, communities, societies, countries and even the world. This study intends to examine whether FIMs, as educators, have recognized these beneficial relationships and which aspect of the benefits cognition causes them to generate motivation to teach their children HL.

III. Research Methodology

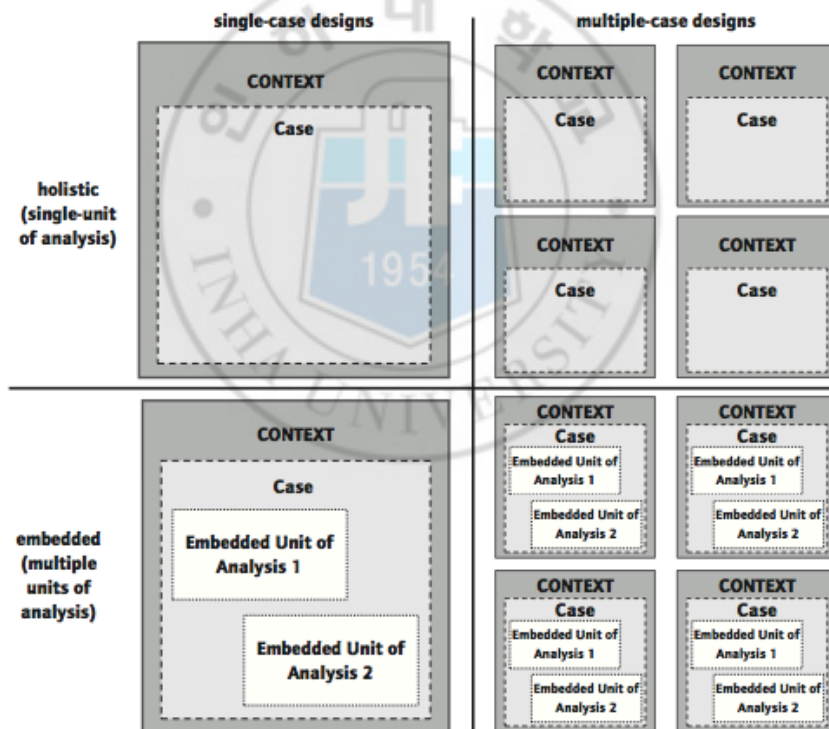
1. Research Design

1.1 Case Study

A case study examines in depth, "purposive samples" in order to better understand a phenomenon (Racino, 1999) ; hence, smaller more focused samples are more often used than large samples, which may also be conducted by the same or related researchers or research centers (Braddock, et al., 2008). Yin (2008) stated that, "case studies are the preferred method when (a) 'how' or 'why' questions are being posed, (b) the investigation has little control over the events, and (c) the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within a real-life context" (p. 2). In this research, the purpose of this qualitative study was to explore the experiences of the FIMs helping with the HLE of their children in Korea. The main objective was to examine how married immigrant women taught their children with HL and what is their reason for teaching children HL (why they do so?). In addition, De Houwer (2009) noted that case studies have been used a lot in BFLA research and are very important in finding out about the course of development for a particular pair of language. In the study on BFLA, many researchers used longitudinal designs to persistently trace one or several cases in their studies. However, as De Houwer (2009) mentioned, families may be more willing (and able) to cooperate with a 'one off' data collection effort. The 'one off' data collection of a group of cases can reveal the current situation and existing problems of HLE. Thus, the research method was selected as a case study based on qualitative analysis.

When designing case studies, defining 'what the case is' is a problem that has plagued many investigators at the outset of case studies. Yin (2008)

discussed four basic types of designs for case studies based on a 2*2 matrix (Figure 4). The matrix shows that every type of design will include the desire to analyze contextual conditions in relation to the “case”, with the dotted lines between the two signaling that the boundaries between the case and the context are not likely to be sharp. The matrix then shows that single- and multiple-case studies reflect different design situations. The matrix also demonstrates that, within these two variants, there also can be unitary or multiple units of analysis. The resulting four types of designs for case studies are (type1) single-case (holistic) designs, (type2) single-case (embedded) designs, (type3) multiple-case (holistic) designs, (type4) multiple -case (embedded) designs.



**Figure 4. Basic Types of Designs for Case Studies
By Yin (2008) Quoted from COSMOS Corporation**

This study applies an embedded, single-case design, utilizing a single-case study containing more than one sub-unit of analysis. This occurs when, within a

single case study, attention is also given to a subunit or subunits (Yin, 2008). Similar to a case study, embedded case study methodology provides a means of integrating quantitative and qualitative methods into a single research study (Scholz & Tietje, 2002; Yin 2008). In this embedded case study, the main unit was the HLE experience of FIMs of Han-Chinese extraction. The smallest units are the individual experiences of HLE. Several intermediary units were important such as educational outcome, the family background, culture capital, current HL ability of child, and so on.

1.2 Research Process

The research process can be divided into three phases: preparatory phase, research phase, and data analysis phase (Figure 5). At the Preparatory Phase, in view of my personal background, I already decided that the theme of my doctoral research would be "how marriage immigrant women teach their children, their mother language". Relevantly, there have been some large-sample quantitative studies from different perspectives, in recent years, conducted by pertinent research institutions in South Korea. Their findings show the overall situation of HLE in multicultural families in South Korea, and reveal that the overall proportion of HLE among marriage immigrants is very low in South Korea. Thus, the present study aims at understanding the "how" and "what" problems of HLE. By analyzing different cases, further and more concrete understanding about the HLE in IMF was to be obtained.

After selecting the research field and research method, the next step was to obtain more knowledge and understanding about HLE among FIMs. Following the snowballing method of "being introduced and re-introduced by friends", I met eight Chinese marriage immigrant women who agreed to be interviewed on the topic. Through discussing and meeting with them, I clarified the research questions and target population of my study.

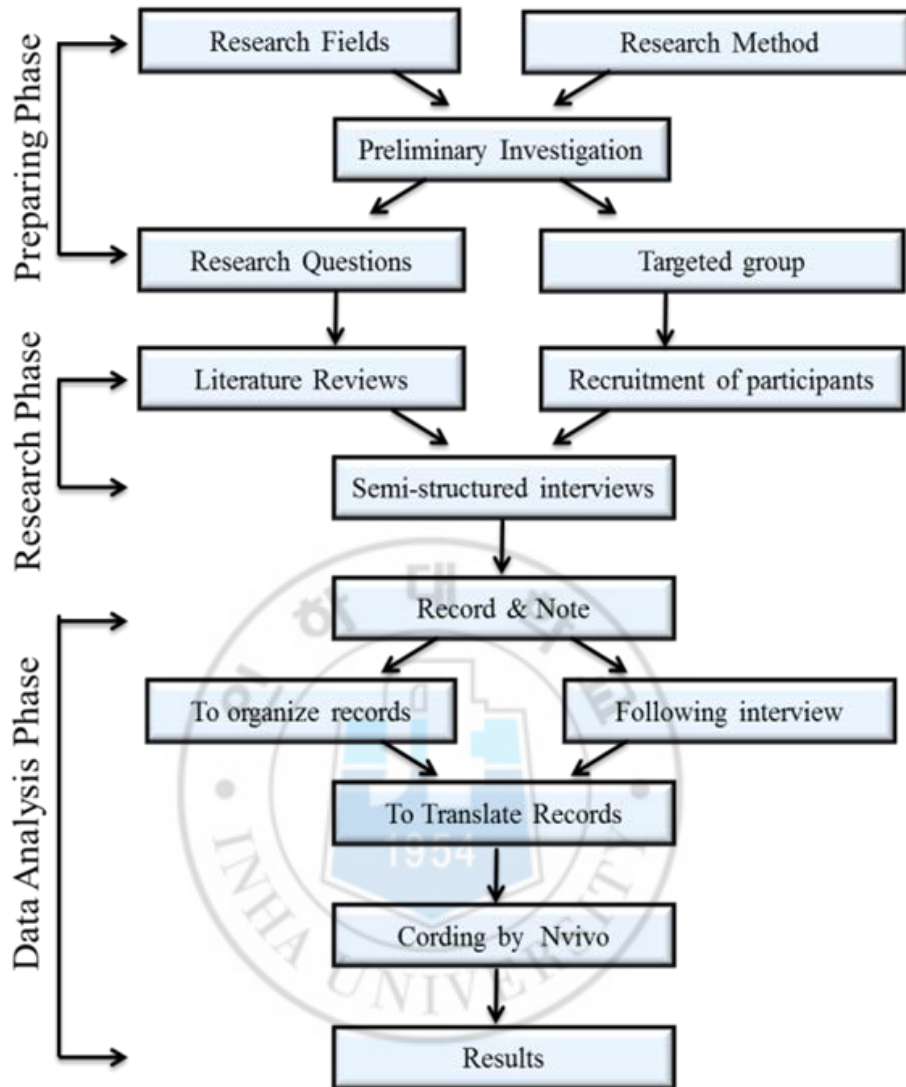


Figure 5 Research Process

However, in conducting literature research, I continued to recruit participants. As the progress entered the Research Phase, I began to collect data through semi-structured in-depth interviews. Based on theories discovered in the literature review, I worked out an interview framework, and with a proposed sampling strategy, I found 10 participant interviewees who were Chinese FIMs. The interviews were conducted in our mother language -- Chinese.

After the interviews, the study proceeded to the data analysis phase. First, I transcribed the recordings of interviews, initially analyzed the data, and conducted follow up interviews, if I faced any doubts or problems that needed further discussion. Then I translated the transcripts, coded the Chinese texts and summarized my conclusions.

1.3 My Position

Positionality in a research is a matter of representation, or in other words, how the interviewer sees and perceives the interviewee. This can be described as an unequal power relationship where the interviewer is in the position of interpreting the lives of the interviewees.

The interviewer can deal with this positioning as an insider or as an outsider relative to the person or group being interviewed. An insider position, or one sharing the same background or similar identity with the informant, can have positive effects. It can facilitate the development of a rapport between interviewer and interviewee, thus producing rich, detailed conversation based on empathy and mutual respect and understanding (Valentine, 1997) Similarly, the researcher may find it easier to build a bond with research participants and conduct interviews if the project is linked to his or her own interests, or if he or she is interviewing people with whom he or she has something in common. In this sense, the researcher's personal position could allow her or him to have a much clearer understanding of the interviewee's position and problems. This insider position can also situate the researcher in the advantageous position of having firsthand information, on the life experiences, culture, background, and so on, being discussed. During the interviews, I acted as an insider and interacted with the interviewees using my own experiences. The collision of similar experiences stimulated the interviewees to unveil more about their educational and related experiences in life. The interviewees dug out potential

thoughts under the stimulus of emotional resonance.

2. Participants

Fishman's study on HLE in immigrant families in the US demonstrated that heritage language is often basically replaced by the dominant language -- English, in families with one foreigner parent (or the third-generation immigrant families). My prior research showed that there were many cases of failed HLE in addition to the many cases of abandoned HLE, but very few cases of active and successful the HLE. Thus, this study is targeted at marriage immigrants who are active in the HLE. Mainly because women, who immigrate to Korea through marriage having been born in different countries, face various problems, in terms of teaching their children their native language.

To control for factors that may affect the results of this study, this research will focus on one particular nationality of FIMs. Lambert (1977) indicated that language prestige plays an important role in language loss and maintenance. In addition, Harding and Riley (2003) pointed out that languages, especially those that are perceived as having no high prestige by native speakers and/or others, will often meet a certain amount of incomprehension or prejudice which may be very discouraging and demand an extra amount of effort and will-power in learning. They also mentioned that, "High prestige languages are those that are regarded as world languages, or that have some special economic, religious or cultural value: English, French and Spanish being the most obvious examples, but languages such as Arabic, Chinese and Hebrew can also be included in this category."

Similarly, Chinese has become one of the most popular languages in the world. Compared to other countries, Korea provides people with an environment that is conducive for learning Chinese. This research will focus on

Chinese people who immigrate to Korea through international marriage. In terms of teaching children their parent's native language, immigrants from other countries can also draw on experiences from Chinese immigrants since they are likely to face similar problems.

Prior to this study, to clarify and concretize the topics of interest in this field, research was conducted in order to understand the general situation of HLE by Chinese FIMs in Korea. Specifically, in-depth interviews with eight interviewees were performed through a snow-balling recruitment method. Three of the interviewees had children who did not speak Chinese, while three had children that spoke little. From the interviews, the problems and challenges faced in HLE made many interviewees give up teaching children HLE or only teach them for a short time. This prior research also showed that Chinese Korean³ and Han Chinese⁴ FIMs were largely different in self-identity, definition of mother language, and HL educational expectations. Chinese Koreans were often unsure whether they were Chinese or Korean, and whether their mother language was Chinese or Korean, and mostly expected their children would grow up like normal native Korean children (Chen & Kim, 2016).

In addition, the child rearing research department has released the results of its investigation of how multicultural families currently raise their children. 1826 family members of multicultural families and 1200 early childhood teachers participated in the study. It was found that 44.6% of families taught children the native languages adopted by parents. Families with Chinese parents had the highest proportion in terms of teaching children their native language (73.8%). That means Han-Chinese FIMs were most willing as regards

³ Chinese Koreans are the population of Koreans of Chinese origin. They are also known as Chaoxianzu. Their ethnic language is Korean, and most of them are Chinese-Korean bilingual.

⁴ Han Chinese is an ethnic group and the majority in P. R. China, where they constitute about 92% of the population.

the HLE of their children. This study is however, focused on the concrete practice of HLE, with its study targets being Han-Chinese FIMs.

3. Data Collection and Analysis

Recruitment of participants

The selection of participants for qualitative studies was intentional and convenient, rather than random or representative of a certain population. In qualitative research, participants are typically selected using a purposeful sampling strategy in order to provide a rich insight into the phenomenon under study (Patton, 2002). In order to achieve the purpose of the study, a purposeful sampling strategy was similarly employed and three restricting conditions set on participant selection:

Condition 0: Han-Chinese FIMs (the reason for this was mentioned above);

Condition 1: with a child older than 5, which would expand the perspective of longitudinal analysis on the time axis and help to understand the development of the HLE with time;

Condition 2: are currently committed to the HLE, with a view to a more accurate grasp of the HLE implementation of the status and ideas.

To recruit participants, I joined a network community called Kakaotalk, a group of over 100 Chinese immigrant women six months before I began the study, and intermittently took part in their daily chats. In order to recruit research participants, I posted a message briefly stating my study topics, study purpose and participant requirements. Thanks to my previous activities in the group and help from friends, the recruitment was carried out very smoothly. Ten Chinese immigrants participated in my in-depth interviews; however, some other immigrant interviewees had previously been living in China with their children and had only immigrated to South Korea for several months. They were

excluded from this study because they had lived in South Korea only for short time. One interviewee was married to a naturalized Chinese-Korean; therefore, this case was identified as one where both parents are Chinese. Finally, eight participants were included (Table 5).

Table 5. Background Information of Participants and Date of Interviews

Participates	Age	Length of Residence in Korea	Number of Children	Age *of children		Date of interview			
				First	Second /Third	First	Second	Third	
1	Ma	46	8 years	2	9	3	07.13	08.03	
2	Kang	37	10 years	1	9	--	07.14	07.28	09.29
3	Lu	35	6 years	1	6	--	06.26	07.22	08.20
4	Wang	45	18 years	3	18	15/4	07.09	08.02	
5	Li	39	7 years	2	13	9	06.30	07.29	
6	Liu	36	11 years	2	10	9	07.07		09.30
7	Zhang	41	11 years	2	10	5	06.29		09.30
8	Yang	35	9 years	2	8	6	07.12		10.01

* Nominal Age (East Asian age reckoning)

Data collection

Qualitative interviews are the most common approach to qualitative studies, with semi-structured and unstructured interview formats predominating. In these interview forms, participants are asked to provide elaborated accounts about particular experiences. Semi-structured interviews are simply conversations in which you know what you want to find out and therefore have a set of questions to ask as well as a good idea of what topics will be covered. However, the conversation is free to roam, and is likely to vary substantially between participants (Fylan, 2005).

Open-ended question refers to the general strategy of data gathering. It means that inquiry is flexible and carefully adapted to the problem at hand and

to the individual informant's particular experiences and abilities to communicate those experiences, making each interview unique. Hill et al. (1997) recommended providing interviewees with a list of questions before the interview, as it helps the interviewer focus on the interview without imposing too much structure. In this research, the object was to discover whether other FIMs met similar problems or difficulties to mine in HLE, which aspect these hardships and challenges mainly came from and how they did fare in face of these difficulties. More curiously, why they did not give up despite the many difficulties in HLE, what made them not to quit HLE, what they expect from HLE, and finally, what is their view of the educational significance of HLE.

In the interviews, I collected data through in-depth semi-structured interviews mainly revolving around these questions (Figure 6). Moreover, using an open-ended method of inquiry, I attempted to understand the interviewees' experiences in HLE, the difficulties and challenges during HLE, and the perceived benefits and motives for HLE.

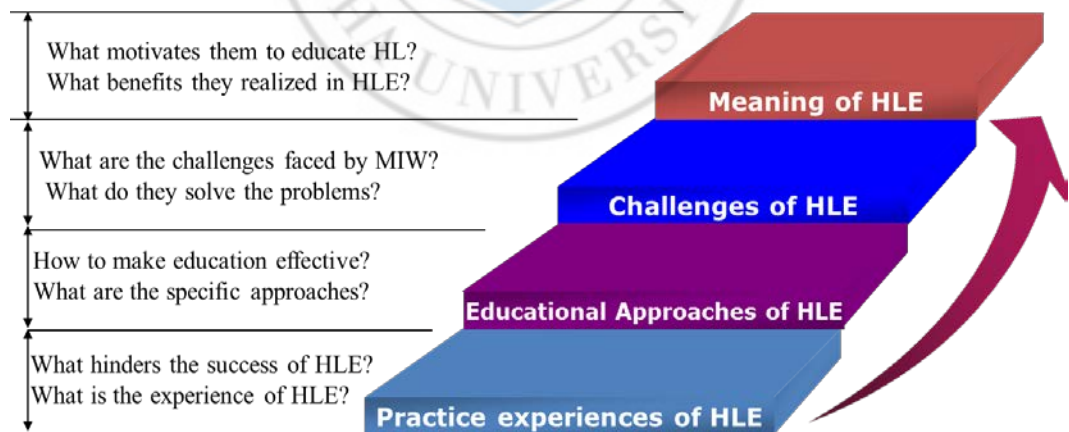


Figure 6. Logical structure of the noteworthy questions

The first-round interviews were mainly conducted between the end of June and the middle of July in 2016. According to the leisure time elasticity of the

different interviewees, I arranged interviews with durations from one to three hours. However, the average interview duration was roughly two hours. To create a relaxed atmosphere, the interview places were located very near the interviewees' living or working places, often a coffee house that each interviewee regularly frequented.

At the beginning of each interview, I briefly introduced myself and provided brief information about the study. Three of the participants had met me before the study; however, the rest had not, but more or less knew about me from introducers. As, I was also at the same time a FIMs with a five years old daughter; the interviews often could proceed quickly to the core issues in HLE, due to little time being needed to build trust between the participants and researcher. After obtaining the consent of interviewees, all interviews were voice-recorded. The interviews were conducted in Chinese.

In qualitative research, when participants allow the researcher to enter their lives and use their time, issues of reciprocity become important. A qualitative researcher should consider how to "give back" to informants who enabled the study to happen in the first place (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). In reward for sharing their time and experience, I prepared a \$25 internet shopping gift certificate for each participants. However, given Chinese values of friendship, some participants reject the gift. In these cases, I treated them to lunch or bought a pastry –cakes– for their children.

In the process of initial analysis of data from the first round of interviews, I also invited some participants for a follow-up interview, in order to ask additional questions or to elaborate on a theme they mentioned earlier.

Data Analysis

Data analysis is a process by which raw data is converted into information useful for decision-making. Data is collected and analyzed to answer questions,

test hypotheses or disprove theories (Judd, McClelland, & Ryan, 2011). Coding is an analytical process in which data is categorized to facilitate analysis. The process can be done manually, which can be as simple as highlighting different concepts with different colors, or fed into a software package for automatic dissection. Some examples of qualitative data analysis software packages include Atlas.ti, MaxQDA, and NVivo.

Contemporary qualitative data analyses techniques are often supported by computer programs, termed Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS) which has replaced the tedious hand coding and labeling of past decades. These programs do not supplant the interpretive nature of coding, but rather, are aimed at enhancing the analyst's efficiency at storing, retrieving and applying of codes to data. NVivo is a famous software that supports qualitative and mixed method research. It is designed to help researcher organize, analyze and find insights in unstructured or qualitative data like: interviews, open-ended survey responses, articles, social media and web content. The interview contents of the study were analyzed via the NVivo software.

First, interviews were transcribed as soon as possible after the interview in order to make field notes and comments. And then the transcripts were sorted out since the interviews were open-ended questions. After sorting out transcripts, the contents interviewees talked about were classified into six topics: attitude and cognition about teaching Chinese; attempts and experiences teaching Chinese; problems encountered teaching Chinese; the impact of external conditions on teaching Chinese to children; thoughts or plans about the next step in Chinese education; and, the significance of Chinese education to children.

Second, the interviews were translated into English first before data coding. Then the transcripts were imported to NVivo. To more precisely

distinguish between the interviewees' intentions, the data was coded based on the Chinese texts. Codes were labeled using short labels used to identify a topic, or to summarize a meaning of a segment of text in the data (Creswell, 2013). An initial analysis of data was used to identify initial codes and group contents, was conducted via NVivo software. The objective of coding is to develop a sense of the data and to identify important ideas or sections of text (McCabe, 2014). After initial analysis, a list of codes was created from this exploratory analysis of the data.

Next, the codes redundancies or overlaps of similar code were combined and parallel codes grouped together under a higher-level code. The purpose of this process is to arrive at a manageable number of codes that would provide a more depth description of the situation and opinions of the interviewees. Finally, through further analysis of codes, major overarching themes common across participants were identified. The process generally involved identifying themes from existing codes, reducing themes to a manageable number, creating hierarchies within themes and then linking themes together through theoretical modeling (Ryan & Bernard, 2003). After this process, a themes framework emerged. These themes serve as the main story lines for Chapters 4, 5 and 6.

In the end, an interpretation of the data was offered. The major overarching themes in HLE by IMFs in Korea with respect to previous findings and from my point of view were also discussed. Qualitative research is interpretive in nature (Patton, 2002), as such, in chapter 8 I interpret and discuss the results in terms of my personal and professional background, and also give some suggestion on how to more effectively support HLE in the future.

4. Research Ethics

Ethics in research targeting immigrants is a very complex issue. Such research is a real challenge when it involves interviewing human subjects; more so if the human subjects are minority immigrant groups. Considering the sensibility of migrant populations, special awareness is needed in interviews involving such populations (Sánchez-Ayala, 2012). Other issues of ethics include being aware that one's research may have unexpected and unforeseen consequences for the participants (Goodall, 2000; Marshall & Rossman, 2006).

As this study involved interactions with immigrant women, ethical issues need to be acknowledged. I have obtained ethics approval from the institutional review board (IRB) of my University. In September, I applied to extend the study period and received confirmation on 28th. In accordance with the ethical guidelines for this study, I always disclosed my identity as researcher to the participants in the interviews and briefly explained to them the study purposes, possible risks for participants, and the right of participants to withdraw.

During the interviews I was aware that by entering a site, the researcher also changes it to a degree. I made every effort not to disrupt the lifestyles of participants and to be sensitive to the possible after-effects of my research. An ethical principle I have continuously held throughout the research was not to be a mere extractor of information, but a friend sharing personal educational experiences with interviewees. Considering that the population of Chinese FIMs is quite small, maintaining confidentiality and anonymity posed a major issue. Therefore, I used pseudonyms for participants and modified details which could make an individual identifiable, in order to protect the identity of participants.

The importance of trustworthiness is especially emphasized in qualitative research, because it uses an inquiry-based process (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 1998). Lincoln and Guba (1985) addressed the notion of

trustworthiness that which makes the research findings of naturalistic inquiries worth paying attention to. Bashir, Afzal and Azeem (2008), said that trustworthiness can be established by “eliminating biases” and increasing the richness of the information. I adopt several strategies to reliably capture valid, multiple and diverse realities in my study. In order to improve the creditability of this study, I paid maximum attention to details and took multiple measures.

As part of the steps I took to ensure the objectivity of this study, I translated the interviews prior to analysis, thereby preventing bias in translating the interviewees' intentions. Second, I also made several presentations in the research laboratory during the progress of the study. The professors and doctors in the laboratory were asked to scrutinize contextual relativity in terms of research questions and interpretation of findings, which improved the trustworthiness of this study. Furthermore, I constantly reminded myself time and time again, to interpret the data from a neutral position without any bias. I also strictly obeyed research ethics during the whole process, in order to improve the trustworthiness of this study.

IV. Practical Experiences of FIMs in HLE

1. HLE Experiences of Each Participant

HLE differs from family to family based on the specific circumstances of each family. Yamamoto (2001) indicated that the pattern of language use changes according to possible developments in family life: a younger child being born when a child is starting school, language acquisition or attrition of the family members, or development in the parent-child relationship. In the study of children's language education in bilingual families, educational courses are often presented concretely (Harding-Esch & Riley, 2003; Yamamoto, 2001), and because of the different family environments in which children grow up, education will be diversified. Introducing the HLE experience of each participant will help provide a better understanding of the HLE implementation for IMFs in Korea.

In the following narration about educational experiences, the attitude of participants and their families towards children's Chinese education will be introduced briefly, to better understand participants' education implementation behavior. In addition, educational experience will be expanded in accordance with the child's growth trajectories.

For better understanding of the relationship between education experiences and effects from mothers, the participants are classified according to the present language competence of their children during the analysis. The majority of participants have two children. It was found that the participants' experience educating Chinese children mainly involves the first child. The second child is usually too young to learn or is simply educated together with the first child. The education experience with the second child is not as sufficient as with the first child. Therefore, this study focuses on each

participant's first child in accordance with events during their important transition periods and in the process of HLE.

Table 6. Groups Based on Present Chinese Proficiency of the First Child

Child's Language Level 1	Child's Language Level 2	Child's Language Level 3
Smooth, daily conversations with mothers in Chinese	Certain ability in listening and understanding & limited oral expression ability	Limited understanding ability and expression of simple sentences or limited words
Ms. Ma Ms. Kang Ms. Lu	Ms. Wang Ms. Li	Ms. Liu Ms. Zhang Ms. Yang

Through descriptions from the participants, the Chinese proficiency for their children was divided into three levels (Table 6). The children of Ms. Ma, Ms. Lu and Ms. Kang had a relatively high level, which can make daily communications in Chinese with their mothers smoother. With limited oral expression ability, the children of Ms. Li and Ms. Wang had moderate ability in listening and understanding, since they had the experience of living in China or attending the training class in China. The children of Ms. Zhang, Ms. Liu and Ms. Yang began to learn Chinese after ages five or six, when they had completely mastered Korean. Currently, they only have a limited understanding of Chinese and can express simple sentences or words.

Participant: Ms. Ma

Ma was one of the participants who strongly expressed that children should speak fluent Chinese. When searching for research participants who had taught children good Chinese in a KakaoTalk group, many people

recommended Ma. Though Ma has resided in South Korea for nine years, her Korean is still very limited. Her friends said this was because she has always spoken Chinese to her children. Ma’s husband has a certain basis of Chinese, and has affection for China, so he supports Ma’s Chinese education for children, but he doesn’t care very much about the effect of the Chinese education.

My husband supported my choice. He had been study in China. It was then we got to know each other. He liked China very much and liked stay there. He loved the relationships of relatives and friends in China. ..(But) He thought study should be a natural thing, and health was most important. --- Ma

Table 7. HLE Trajectories of Ma’s First Child (9 years old)

Age	Particular Incidents	Notes
Before 17 months old	Lived in China ~	Begin to speak Chinese
Before 4 years old	Did not attend Korean kindergarten ~	Korean language environment not created for child
From 5 year-old	Sent to Kindergarten upon return to China ~	Chinese sounded strange
Next plan for HLE	Send children to Chinese training class every year when returning to China for vacation	

Ma came to South Korea when her child was 17 months old. Later, to help her child to continue speaking Chinese, she discussed with her husband whether they should keep the students at home to learn Chinese instead of sending them to the Korean kindergarten first. Her husband supported her suggestion. After attending kindergarten, their child mastered Korean in a short time, but his Chinese pronunciation began to deteriorate. Ma then decided to send him to kindergarten in China when returning every year, no matter how long she might stay each time.

For the next step of her education plan, Ma stated that she would attach great importance to the child’s Chinese education before the age of eight,

because one of her friends had told her that if a language is learned by a child before they are eight years old, the language will never be forgotten in the future. The key was that the child must learn it before they reach the age of eight. As the child is now too old to go to the kindergarten, she decided to send him to Chinese vacation classes when they visit China on vacation every year. In addition, Ma was also consciously searching for other educational approaches which could improve the child's level of Chinese. In order to provide the child with more opportunities for exercise, Ma also consciously practiced the child's ability of speaking Chinese, ready to allow her son to participate actively in various Korean speech contests.

Ma is a very special Chinese mother. She was different from most Chinese FIMs in that she postponed sending her children to Korean kindergarten. By prolonging the time that she and her children spent together, she fully broadened the influence of their mother language. This was very different from Lu and Kang's decision to send their children to Korean kindergarten very early. In the meantime, Ma took advantage of the close geographical distance between Korea and China, and returned to China for one to three months every year. Her children were admitted to some education institutions in China, which ensured that they could learn Chinese persistently. Such decisions and behavior allowed her children to stand out from other children of Chinese immigrants. Parents who speak to their children in the HL at home exclusively and who also require the children to respond in the HL seem to have the best chance of raising a bilingual child (Bayley et al., 1996; Nesteruk, 2010; Tse, 2001). Bayley et al. (1996) believed that the success of Spanish language maintenance in one Mexican-American family in Texas was attributed to the parents' insistence that the children speak Spanish among themselves, the relative isolation of the ranch on which the family lived (which reduced contact with English-speaking peers), frequent visits to Mexico and contact with

monolingual Spanish-speaking relatives (p. 389). Ma is the only research participant who created a Chinese-only family environment to teach their child Chinese.

Participant: Ms. Kang

Kang has also lived in South Korea for nine years. Holding a junior college degree, she works for a China-Korea Trading company and gives the impression of being intellectual, and very literate. Unlike Ma, who taught her child Chinese during trips between China and South Korea, Kang seldom visits China. Her child’s Chinese relies on her step-by-step, intentional guidance in life. Kang’s husband has learned some but very limited Chinese in a South Korean University. When they are together, Kang and her husband mainly speak Korean, and Chinese is only occasionally used. Because Kang’s husband works outside Incheon, Kang takes care of the children during daily life. Instead of feeling tired, she has made the best use of the time she spends with her son by teaching teach Chinese. Her son’s Chinese ability is described in Table 8.

Table 8. HLE Trajectories of Kang’s Child (9 years old)

Age	Particular Incidents	Notes
From 11 months old	Send to nursery ~	Korean language education
From 3 years old	Played games in Chinese ~	Cultivated interest
From 5 years old	Heart-to-heart talk in Chinese ~	Expanded vocabulary
From 6 to 7 years old	Taught PinYin ~	Laid a foundation of literacy
From 8 years old	Followed Chinese textbooks ~	Chinese taught systematically
Next plan for HLE	Send child to China to learn Chinese	

She impressed me. When discussing her teaching experiences, she spoke in a moderate speed and a well-organized manner. She developed her introduction process and changed methods for teaching her son Chinese in accordance with the child's age development and her educational intentions.

If I spoke Chinese much with him as early as other mothers did, he might have made more achievements. But I didn't speak Chinese to him a lot at the first place, because my son was sent to a kindergarten when he was only 11 months old. It was in the kindergarten that he started to speak, so he first learnt Korean under the circumstance of the kindergarten. I had to speak with him in Korean most of the time, but I taught him some simple Chinese words. ..When he was about three years old, I started to teach him Chinese while playing with him.

When he was five or six years old, I tried something more difficult, like chatting. When he was in a good mood, he wouldn't refuse to speak another language, or the one he was not good at. Sometimes when we went for a walk, I took his hand if I felt he was not in a bad mood. Every time when I wanted to speak Chinese with him, I would take his hand. When we were hand in hand, I found him cheerful. He was clear I would not nag, asking him to do such and such. At this moment, I would speak to him some simple Chinese. After this psychological communication, I started to tell him things from my childhood. During our dialogue, when I realized some hard words, I told him the corresponding Korean words. He was very interested in my childhood. He would try to talk about his younger days. When he was very eager to know something, I must speak to him in Chinese, because this was the moment when he was desperate and wanted to learn.

However, speaking does not mean everything. When he was six or seven years old, I started to teach him pinyin. ...Now I started to teach him textbooks when he was eight years old. I selected a textbook that had interactive games. He was willing to play games, so he could learn when playing. ...When I was pregnant, I wrote diary in Chinese for several months. He knew how hard bearing him was from my diary. The diary also kept some memory between us. Now I often read to him my diary, which interests him very much. ---Kang

Both Döpke (1992) and Tokuhama-Espinosa (2001) emphasized that parents need to know that raising bilingual children requires intelligence and effort. Although Kang had no systematic and professional training for language instruction, she developed her child's Chinese capabilities through her own great effort, although she has not yet had the opportunity to take her child to visit China. During the process of HLE, Kang changed education methods in a planned way and consistent with the Chinese skill development of her child. Many of her ideas can be referred to by other parents.

Participant: Ms. Lu

Lu has tried hard to integrate into the social community. She worked diligently to learn Korean and actively chat with Koreans. Though she has lived in South Korea for only six years, and hasn't attended any Korean training classes, people around her think that she has made great progress with the Korean language. Her idea for life is to continue working hard to become even more confident in life. Lu has a very strong desire to teach her child Chinese well, and she hopes they will speak Chinese fluently in order to better communicate with her in the future. Among all participants' husbands, Lu's husband had the highest expectations for teaching their children Chinese. Her husband doesn't speak Chinese, but can speak fluent Japanese. Lu's major in junior college was the Japanese language and they communicate with each other in Japanese. Lu's husband worked for a Japan-South Korea trading company earning a high income. But due to the decline of the Japanese economy, her husband lost his job and recently started his own business. As he was previously engaged in the foreign trade business, Lu's husband is very optimistic about the prospects for development of trade between China and South Korea in the future, thus, he shows great support for Chinese education of the children. Lu noted, "Compared to Korean, my husband pays more

attention to the children's learning of Chinese."

Table 9. HLE Trajectories of Lu's' Child (6 years old)

Age	Particular Incidents	Notes
From 16 months old	Sent to nursery ~	Korean language education
Before 5 years old	Full-time mother ~	Daily discussions with child in Chinese
From 5 years old	Mother employed outside home ~	Chinese rarely spoken by child
6 years old	Child sent to China ~ Private Chinese tutor hired ~	Very difficult decision-making Child began to speak more Chinese
Next plan for HLE	Invite Chinese friends and relatives to visit Korean home often	

Like Kang, Lu sent her child to the Korean nursery at 16-months-old for Korean language development. Lu's husband worked at a trading company and was very busy. Her mother-in-law lived with her spoke Korean but with an accent. So, she decided to send the child to the nursery to learn Korean.

Lu did not participate in employment until the child was five. While following a TV series to learn Korean, she applied to study in the Chinese department of Korean distance education, hoping to earn a bachelor's degree and be engaged in Chinese education related work in the future. She has been communicating and playing games with her child in Chinese, and insisting on telling them bedtime stories. Due to her efforts, while the child has been making progress in Korean, he also continually communicates with his mother in Chinese. When the child was five years old, Lu—a full-time mom—found it more and more difficult to adapt to the life of a housewife, and felt she was isolated completely from society. So, she began to seek jobs. Later, through the help of her friends, she found a position in duty-free shops in Seoul. Even

though it was hard to travel between Seoul and Incheon every day, she still decided to work there. Sometime later, she gained the opportunity to work at duty-free shops in the Incheon airport. She was very satisfied with her current job. Her life circumstances were going well and she enjoyed a better spiritual outlook. However, because she spent less time communicating with her child daily, the child began to lose passion for speaking Chinese.

Difficult Decision to Send Their Children to China

During three interviews with Lu, the process of her making the decision about whether to send her child to China was clearly visible. Every time, she was in a different stage of development. It was thought to be the most effective method for the participants as well as for promoting the formation of children's Chinese ability by sending their children to China. But during the implementation, there were still many problems that needed to be considered. This difficult decision-making process helps one to deeply understand the actual implementation process and various HLE-related considerations of married immigrant mothers.

Stage of resistance Both Lu and her husband took the Chinese education of their child seriously. When the child began to speak less and less Chinese, the couple discussed how to improve the Chinese abilities of their child. Lu's husband proposed sending the child to study in China first. This unexpected advice was naturally opposed by Lu who had just begun to adapt to the social life in South Korea. Later, after listening to many suggestions and considering many factors, Lu experienced the complete mental struggle from resistance to hesitation to determination of self-sacrifice, and to giving up in the end. Lu's husband was considering the child's Chinese education in terms of the future development of their child. As a mother who loved her child very much, Lu really wanted to become good friends with them, so she also paid much

attention to the child's Chinese learning. Whenever the child was not making progress in Chinese learning, Lu would think of sending the child to study in China for a period of time. That is why Lu's husband proposed this idea. But for Lu, who had finally adapted to life in South Korea after five years' frustration, it was difficult for her to break the current balance of life. After a period of resistance, Lu saw that the child's Chinese had no improvement but had become worse. She was very worried. She was very worried. Since many people around her send their children to study abroad, Lu began to feel very concerned.

Stage of making up her mind Lu didn't want to quit her job, so she was thinking it might be best to only send the child back. But she felt some unease and uncertainty and asked friends for advice. One of her Taiwanese friends advised her that the child grows up only once. So, no matter how many languages or other things they can learn, the establishment of a parent-child relationship and character development from the parents was not replaceable. Other friends also advised her to think twice before acting, so she decided not to send her child back to China. Two weeks later, Lu, who was thinking that the child's happiness is more important than Chinese learning, decided to resign from her job to accompany the child back to China to stay there for a year or so. The main reason was that now was the best time to send the child to study in China and she didn't want to miss this timing. In making this decision, Lu held the thought that she would sacrifice herself to fulfill her child's needs. She decided to resign, but I could hear her love for her work in her words.

Stage of giving up The third interview was unplanned. As Lu lived in a nearby residential area, we often met at a small playground. I arranged a follow-up interview recording because she said she had given up sending the child back to China. Lu's parents live in the urban area of Qingdao. Qingdao is the largest city of the hometowns of Chinese participants, so the school

management there is more standardized. Many participants shared the idea of sending their children back to China to accept a short-term campus education. But as China's education system management becomes increasingly formalized in China, the chances to transfer in at any time, as was the case for Ma's child, have become less and less.

After giving up the idea of sending her child to study in China, Lu began to seek other teaching approaches. She found that her personal skill was too weak to improve her child's Chinese ability, so she turned to the Rainbow Chinese Tutoring program. Rainbow Chinese Tutors is a well-known Chinese educational institution in South Korea offering one-on-one tutoring home visits. It considers Children who have no skill in Chinese as a benchmark for setting up the education content based on stages. Lu formulated a Pinyin teaching course based on the child's situation and asked the teacher to create more dialogues with the child. The tutor's fee was not low: 89,000 won per month. The tutoring included four lessons a month, 30 minutes each lesson. Since the Rainbow Chinese tutor taught for a very short duration each lesson, the effect over time was a little bit unsatisfactory. Lu asked me to introduce the tutor's Chinese students and allow them to visit her home to play with the child on weekends. She is now very satisfied with this approach to offer her daughter a chance to communicate in Chinese with others besides herself.

Kang and Lu shared some similarities in education. Neither of them returned to China frequently. Both of them maintained their children's Chinese ability through personal efforts. Lu did not teach Chinese following clear clues but tried whatever she could think of. However, she is now concerned with how to make improvements through daily dialogue. She realized the limitation of personal efforts and has tried to seek external help. She motivated many people to take her children back to China to learn for half of a year. She even took part in a Korean family visit education program. Now she has invited a weekend

family teacher and brought her mother to live with her in Korea.

Participant: Ms. Wang

Wang is someone who I had heard of but had never met prior to the interview. Her employment position is unique, so she is easily identified. For the purpose of confidentiality, this will not be discussed in detail. She is a very strong and motivated woman, who is unwilling to bow to any difficulties in life and who pushes herself forward. At the same time, she is a very enthusiastic person, who will do what she can to help people around her. She has lived in Korea for 18 years, and has experienced the development process of South Korea changing into a multicultural society. She has a lot to say about the life of married immigrants living in South Korea. She speaks at a moderate speed and mentioned her husband's death while talking about the education of children.

Two years ago, my husband passed away.... My husband agreed that I taught them (the children) Chinese. He had lived in China for five years and learned some Chinese in daily life. It is then when we got to know each other. ---Wang

Wang is a married immigrant in South Korea. When she arrived, there were few Chinese married immigrants living there already. Most people in the living environment were Korean and it was difficult to meet people who spoke Chinese. She then felt a strong sense of urgency, so she worked hard to learn Korean to make herself more like native Koreans. After the birth of her child, she followed children around to learn Korean, and then she repeated what she had learned to her child like a parrot would.

Table 10. HLE Trajectories of Wang's First Child (18 years old)

Age/ Grade	Particular Incidents	Notes
After birth	Rearing in Korean ~	Chinese not spoken
Primary First	Set up a Chinese interest class ~	Allowed child to learn Chinese with other children
Primary Three	Chinese class dissolved ~	Child was unwilling to continue learning Chinese
Older Primary	Attended Chinese one-on-one vacation tutoring class ~	Simple, daily communication in Chinese
After Senior Two	Phone conversation program ~	Lacking enthusiasm, child continues to learn.
Future plan for HLE	Send the child to university in China	

She mentioned a transition period during her HLE. In 2006, when her son was in the first grade of primary school, South Korea decided on their policy guidelines for building a multicultural nation. The government began to pay attention to the social integration problems of immigrants in South Korea and their children, arousing new thoughts in Wang as an immigrant, who had been intent on pursuing her assimilation into South Korean society. The exclusion of and resistance by children in HLE was a problem which all participants, including myself, have been or are facing. When the child is defensive, maneuvering tactics are generally adopted.

My oldest child, a boy, grew older and didn't want to learn Chinese any more. So I just quitted....Later, I asked him to recite a book consisted of Chinese fairy tales, Chinese Tang poems and Chinese nursery songs. I explained to him the meanings of them, such as the meaning of the children's song "Xiǎo bǎn dèng" . He almost recited the whole book. I didn't give up to teach him Chinese in the latter two years when he had stopped learning Chinese, and tried to find any chance to persuade him to learn more. ---Wang

Wang also made efforts to teach Chinese to her second and third sons. Her second son is the most determined about not learning. The third son is more than 10 years younger than his two brothers. Wang wants to focus on his Chinese education beginning from his youth, and she has high expectations for the third son's Chinese ability.

My second son insisted that he should not learn Chinese. In contrast with my first son who would not refuse to learn Chinese under my persuasion, my second son had never changed his idea on this. So I just quit teaching him. Now sometimes when the eldest child is studying with phone Chinese, I ask my second son whether he also wants this kind of training. He said no directly.

(I) didn't speak Chinese to my first two children in daily life. But for my third child, I was sure I wanted him to learn Chinese since he was born. So I spoke Chinese to him in single words, as he couldn't understand long sentences. Now I sometimes speak to him a Korean sentence following a Chinese sentence. ...My third child learned Chinese naturally by talking with me in daily life. I downloaded on my phone some programs of Chinese study. Sometimes he would go in and see them when played the phone. Sometimes he even copied what I said. In this way, he naturally knew Chinese. ---Wang

Affected by his father's death, Wang's eldest son allowed his studying to somewhat deteriorate. Now faced with college entrance choices, Wang intends to let him travel to China to study Chinese for one year and then attend a university in China. She hopes, if possible, to bring her third son back to China.

Wang reflected upon how the Korean social atmosphere influenced the HLE of married immigrants. She was one of the earliest married immigrants in Korea and was one of the outstanding married immigrants who had married Korean men through intermediaries. Wang didn't want to be a foreigner daughter-in-law who was looked down upon by Koreans, so she worked really hard learning Korean and the Korean lifestyle to assimilate into life in Korea.

She was complimented by her mother-in-law and other locals, but she ignored the advantages of being different from Koreans. She didn't plan Chinese education for her children. She didn't realize the importance of teaching her children Chinese until the Korean society started to advocate a multicultural society. But at that time, her children were too old to be controlled by their parents.

Participant: Ms. Li

Li will say whatever comes into her mind with little filtering. She will answer whatever you ask with great enthusiasm. Her first interview lasted for almost three hours. Both her and her husband used to work in a Chinese-Korean company. They got to know each other in the workplace and then married. After they were married, they lived in China. Up until their first child was six years old and it was time to think about school problems, Li began to bring the two children to South Korea alone. Li's husband's Chinese is very good and he can easily use Chinese in life and at work. Despite that, they have been separated for a long time due to various work factors. So, during life in South Korea, the child's father's Chinese ability has not contributed much to their child's Chinese education.

Before they came to Korea, Li's eldest son only spoke Chinese. But now his Chinese is not what it was. When he was six years old, they moved to Korea as Li's Korean relatives lived among a big family. The whole family worked hard at teaching the child Korean.

My elder son didn't know any Korean before age six. He learnt Korean after we came here. He had to adapt to the Korean life, so we should intensify his Korean. After we adapted to the Korean life for one or two months, we sent him to a kindergarten. He also received preschool professional Korean education and the assistance from our relatives. After one or two months, he could speak Korean

very well. Since the kindergarten and family both spoke Korean, he didn't speak Chinese after less than one year. But he still can speak Chinese now, and he doesn't totally forget. He is better in grammar and word order than those who haven't contacted Chinese. But he has degenerated from this original ability.
 ---Li

Table 11. HLE Trajectories of Li's First Child (13 years old)

Age	Particular Incidents	Notes
Before 6 years old	Lived in China ~	Spoke only Chinese
After 6 years old	Came to South Korea (lived with relatives) ~	Stopped speaking Chinese in less than a year
After 12 years old	Went to Chinese vacation tutoring class ~ Lives apart from big family ~	Quitted after 12 days Tried many ways to teach him Chinese
Future plan for HLE	With strong willpower in HLE, but unsure about the specific ways	

In 2015, Li comprehensively grasped the Chinese education of two of her children. She first sent them to China during vacations. To avoid negative effects on each other, she separated them, sending one to Li's elder sister's home, and the other to their grandma's home. After that, their small family separated from the big family. She rented a house to live separately on the outside, hoping to create a Chinese living environment for the children. She now has a strong will to teach her children Chinese, but has not found a better way to do so.

I'm now very eager to teach, but I don't know how to implement the methods.... The Chinese education should go on. Before my migration, I even thought that when my children were old enough, if I couldn't persist any more, I would take them back to China. If this was unrealistic and if I missed the final chance, I

would send them to study in China or enter a Chinese college. But I have no clear idea of this process. ---Li

Li and Wang had many similar experiences. Both of them found their husbands through their places of work. Both of them received bachelor degrees in Korea. Now they are both working for government-related institutions. Their husbands both speak Chinese. In particular, Li's husband spoke Chinese very well. He has no problem using Chinese in life and for work and has acquired Chinese reading and writing abilities. Li and Wang both had the chance to teach their children Chinese well, but they focused more attention on integrating into Korean society and thus ignored their children's Chinese education. I felt sorrier for Li, whose son was living in China before age six. He could only speak Chinese at that time. But after they immigrated to South Korea, she ignored his Chinese education. In just less than one year, her son totally shifted languages, and his Chinese ability was destroyed.

Participant: Ms. Liu

Liu's situation lies between the second and third group. In view of her child's limited ability in understanding daily conversations, she was classified into the third group. Her child had a very good starting point in Chinese acquisition. But because of some exterior voices, she had given up on Chinese education for her child for a period of time and tried hard to focus on his Korean education instead. She deeply regretted this, as she thought it was a failure on her part to refrain from teaching her child Chinese well during the prime time for children's language learning.

Table 12. HLE Trajectories of Liu’s First Child (10 years old)

Age	Particular Incidents	Notes
After the birth	Spoke Korean to the child ~	
20 months old	Stayed in China for 3 months. Chinese grandma came to Korea to help with childcare for nearly a year ~	Began to speak Chinese first
3 years old	Kindergarten teachers suggested mainly teaching the child Korean ~	Paid close attention to child’s Korean language progress
6-10 years old	2 long visits to China ~	Simple Communication
6-7 years old	Liu taught Chinese in a church for 2 years ~	Child followed mother to learn Chinese
9 years old	Class in the home ~	Teaching using textbooks
Next plan for HLE	Send children to China for short-term- transfer-in study	

Now, as a bilingual teacher at a Primary School, she has a strong determination toward continuing the Chinese education of her child. In addition, she has very favorable external conditions, as all of her Chinese family speak standard Mandarin, and work in educational institutions. This allows her the potential to catch up from behind, despite having lagged behind in the starting point of her child’s Chinese education. Liu didn’t speak Chinese to her child from birth, but the frequent exposure to Chinese environment helped children to acquire Chinese.

When my first kid was 20 months old, we went to China. I had to take an exam, so we stayed for 3 months. This was the very time when he started to speak. He could understand Korean, but he spoke Chinese, like “sister goes to the kindergarten”, “where is sister”. Then my mom came to South Korea with me and helped me raise my second kid. My mom stayed for nearly one year and lived together with us, so my son could understand and speak some Chinese. ---Liu

Following this development, the child might have reached the level of the first group. Advice from the kindergarten teacher, however, convinced Liu, who was often worried about the child's Korean, to give up developing the child's Chinese ability, and pay full attention to strengthening the child's Korean ability instead. After recounting this experience, she stated "When I look back now, I think their Korean was good enough. They had no problem in learning language or vocabulary, but my Chinese teaching was a failure."

My elder child sometimes spoke both Korean and Chinese to his teacher in the kindergarten. At first, he was not good at Korean. His teacher could understand him only after he repeated several times. So when he mixed Korean with Chinese, his teacher was more confused....At that time, my two sons were at the same kindergarten. My little son was only one year old. Probably because he was too young, he would not go to the kindergarten without hugging a bear schoolbag. He took it to the kindergarten and took it back every day. He even slept hugging his bear schoolbag. My elder son knew how important this schoolbag was to his little brother. One day, when my elder son saw the teacher put his brother's schoolbag aside, he started to say:

Elder son: this is didi 's(baby brother's) bag.

Teacher: what?

Elder son: it's didi's (baby brother's) bag.

Teacher: ???

But his teacher didn't understand, so he got anxious and spoke out loudly.

Eldest son: my didi's(baby brother's), it's my didi's(baby brother's)

Later, the teacher asked Liu whether she talked with her children in Chinese or Korean at home. Then the teacher suggested that her sons should improve Korean first, so they could communicate better. After listening to the teacher's advice, Liu gave up teaching her children Chinese.

Then I thought it was all right, so let them learn Korean first. My Korean

vocabulary was small; I even thought it was hard for my sons to learn Korean. Their language development might be delayed, or their Korean ability was low. These words from their teacher made me more worried. Later, I stopped speaking with them in Chinese on purpose. I spoke more Korean. I was afraid they did not lay a good basis for their Korean, so I stopped teaching them Chinese. ---Liu

During the most recent three to four years, Liu has visited China twice to encourage her child to acquire certain Chinese abilities. After the child acquired some foundation, Liu—who thought herself a failure in the child’s Chinese education—began a system of Chinese education, by providing free instruction at a church to teach children Pinyin and Hansa formally at home. Liu’s families in China offered her many conveniences toward teaching children Chinese. At first, language used in communications within her family was in Chinese Mandarin, not a dialect. In addition, many in her family work in the education system, so she was able to allow her child to transfer into school for formal learning with the help of her family. At the same time, she is a bilingual teacher in a South Korean school. Knowing the education system of South Korea, she was capable of finding opportunities for her child who has begun primary school study to return to China to accept short-term school education. She explained about an education project for Korean schools which is called “cultural exploration”.

Many of my Chinese relatives are working in schools for long time, all in the sector of education. I thought I should take advantage of this. Now Korean school has a project of ‘cultural exploration’, which allows pupils to independently contact a foreign school and study there for one semester. Any candidate goes there at the beginning of a semester and comes back at the end of the semester. This is not considered as skipping classes. I’m planning for my children. --- Liu

In order to confirm some family information, I connected with Liu again three months after the first interview. She reported that she had arranged to send two children to China for three months at the end of November, who would first transfer in for one month's class and then participate in the Chinese cram school during vacation. During her first interview, she reviewed all her attempts at the children's Chinese education and organized her ideas about Chinese education to make the previous educational experiences clearer. Though still having some confusion, she was clear about what she wanted for her children's Chinese education and how to improve. So, she soon began her next step.

Liu now paid a great deal of attention to her children's Chinese education, but found it very difficult to improve their Chinese levels simply through her personal efforts. She tried to improve their Chinese ability by creating a favorable external environment. Liu's attitude and actions are now very active. Her children's Chinese ability is expected to improve.

Participant: Ms. Zhang

Zhang was the only participant who received a bachelor's degree before moving to South Korea. In Korea, she works as a senior Chinese teacher. When she lived in Seoul, she instructed advanced Chinese at a Chinese training center, which is a position most people are not qualified for. Later, many people petitioned her for private tutoring. Since then, she has moved to Incheon and provides tutoring mainly in her own home. Many people attend her classes and people request to learn Chinese every day.

As a teacher, she is very focused on her students' education. She analyzes characteristics of each person, and creates learning plans for them. Her work experience as a Chinese teacher, however, reinforces her pessimistic understanding of Chinese education for children. Among the many Koreans she

has taught, some followed her for two or three years. She taught them very seriously but did not perceive much improvement in their language abilities after continuous learning. Yet, other Korean students who had been to China to study for half a year were able to learn the advanced reading and writing after returning. This fact caused her to think that learning Chinese in South Korea did not produce great results. Currently, she doesn't force her children to learn Chinese but will teach them if they want to learn. If they don't wish to, it doesn't matter, because she believes that it will be easy to send her children to China in the future.

Table 13. HLE Trajectories of Zhang's First Child (10 years old)

Age/Grade	Particular Incidents	Notes
Before 4 years old	Spoke Chinese to Child ~	Child was bilingual
4 years old	Attended kindergarten ~	Child resisted speaking Chinese
Primary school	Zhang taught child as Chinese teacher ~	Little resistance to speaking Chinese
Present	Communicates with daughter in Chinese ~	Unintentional Chinese instruction
Future plan for HLE	Send child to study in China	

When Zhang's first child was born, it was about two years after she arrived in Korea and she could not speak or pronounce Korean very well. So, she simply spoke with her daughter in Chinese spontaneously. She continued this until her daughter was about four years old and went to kindergarten. Prior to Kindergarten, her daughter spoke two languages. She spoke Chinese to Zhang and Korean to her father.

Zhang's eldest daughter, who spoke Chinese before kindergarten, began to resist speaking Chinese, so Zhang stopped speaking Chinese to her. After her

daughter began attending primary school, her daughter noticed many Korean students learning Chinese from her mother in their home. She was praised by others for her Chinese, so her attitude changed from resistance to acceptance and to becoming interested in Chinese culture. Now, Zhang occasionally talks to her children in Chinese in daily life, but mainly in Korean. Because of their long-term residence in Korea, she has become accustomed to expressing herself in Korean.

Zhang was not very optimistic about cognition and attitude while conducting HLE outside China and thought it would be difficult to succeed. Therefore, she planned to send her children back to China. She grew inactive at teaching her children Chinese in daily life, but she taught Chinese at home. Her children have learned Chinese through what they constantly saw and heard. She tried to create a Chinese circumstance within her child's ability level. In other words, Zhang held a relatively passive attitude towards HLE in IMFs.

Liu and Zhang's children spoke Chinese before going to kindergarten, but their Chinese education was interrupted after that. The difference between them was that Liu discontinued Chinese education due to suggestions from other people, but Zhang gave up Chinese education due to her child's opposition because he didn't want to be different from others after entering social life. This finding is consistent with Kyung's(2008), who pointed out that most children from mixed ethnic families in South Korea spoke the heritage language with their married immigrant mothers before age three, but only spoke basic Korean after age three.

Participant: Ms. Yang

I had previous contact with Yang before her interview and knew that she had once paid great attention to her child's Korean. She had been told that mixed ethnic children's Korean language skills may be acceptable in primary

school, but would be less acceptable compared to native-Korean children's skills in middle school, which caused Yang to worry a lot. Last year, she started working as a teacher in a Chinese educational institution. While promoting Chinese to Koreans, many of her ideas began to change. She began to focus more on her child's Chinese education. Additionally, although her husband didn't care too much about it, he did think that it would not be a bad thing if their child could acquire Chinese.

Before my first child was three years old, I already had the idea of teaching him Chinese. Before we went to bed, I taught him some children's songs and some poems of Tang Dynasty. He followed me. He was able to count in Chinese first. There was a Chinese radio program at that time. I remember they taught cradle songs. I heard these songs in my childhood, but later I forgot. I was moved when I heard them again. Then I learned these songs and taught my son. He had no idea what these songs meant, but he remembered them. ---Yang

Table 14. HLE Trajectories of Yang's First Child (8 years old)

Age	Particular Incidents	Notes
Before 3 years old	Korean dialogues; spoke Chinese at bedtime ~	Child spoke Korean
3 years old	Birth of second child ~	Eldest son felt deprived of love and did not listen to Yang
After 4 years old	English class in kindergarten ~	Yang worried about linguistic confusion
6 years old	Teaching Hansa ~	Considered as both Chinese and Korean education
Present	Plan for family study hours ~	Conduct Chinese education in a planned manner
Future plan for HLE	Family class hours ; send child to china	

Sometimes, HLE will be interrupted by many unexpected factors. Yamamoto (2001) indicated that the pattern of language use had changed due to

developments in family life, such as the birth of a younger child. After Yang gave birth to her second child, the eldest felt he was being deprived of love, and demonstrated a big change in temperament. During such a period of psychological fluctuation, Yang followed her child's wishes and dared not stimulate him with the language he was unfamiliar with. After this, the tense relationship had eased, however, English training was introduced through the child's formal education. Already very worried about the child's Korean education, she began to worry that the child might experience linguistic confusion. Therefore, Chinese education was again postponed.

Yang appears to consider the child's Chinese education without real intent. Because of the resistance and formal English education, the child's Chinese education had been shelved. Throughout the process of the child's education, Yang discovered a way to introduce a balance between Chinese education and Korean education: Hansa education. When her eldest son was six years old, they moved to a new house. The free Hansa chart delivered by the education institution at the entrance of the apartment area attracted Yang's attention. With special emotion for Chinese characters, Yang soon placed the free wall charts on the wall of her home and her child's Chinese education slowly began.

Yang worked in a Chinese educational institution, and found that those around her paid an increasing amount of attention to Chinese education which motivated her toward working hard at teaching her children Chinese. For one thing, she intends to find time to teach the child by herself in a planned way. For another, she also plans to send her child to study in China when they are older. However, her determination regarding education is just beginning and time will tell if she can really implement it.

Yang has spoken with her children in Korean since their birth, but she also taught them Chinese Tang Dynasty poems and children's songs. After age three, Chinese education was put aside for a very long time, although she always

thought about her kid's Chinese education. She didn't begin Chinese education for her children until she discovered that people around her were becoming more interested in Chinese education, including some native Koreans who were learning Chinese. She has made many plans, but hasn't yet put them into practice.

From the education experiences shared by Liu, Zhang and Yang, one can conclude that they all focused more on their children's Korean education than Chinese education. When their children were old enough for kindergarten (3 years old), Korean was the dominant or only mother language. They considered adding Chinese education only after they were sure their children had no problems with Korean. HLE was interrupted by various issues, then was continued and interrupted again. Throughout these changes, their children made progress in their Chinese education, but most of them only understood basic sentences and knew only very simple spoken Chinese. These cases explain why the proportion of HLE is very high among Chinese Han married immigrants, but the children's Chinese abilities are generally low.

2. Analysis on HLE Practices of Han-Chinese FIMs

This research study launches an analysis of education methods used by participants. What strategy do they use? How is each practice implemented? What are the effects of the methods? What are the limitations of these methods? In modern linguistics, there are many theories about how humans are able to develop language ability. According to Stephen Krashen's acquisition-learning hypothesis, there are two independent ways in which people can develop linguistic skills: acquisition and learning. In an environment which exposes children to a language, both adults and children can subconsciously acquire this language, whether written or oral (Krashen, 2003). This process is similar to what children experience when learning their native language. Learning a second language, on the other hand, is a conscious process, much like what one experiences in school with other subjects. Every educational method has its own educational objective. This research categorizes the education practices of participants according to the effort put forth to provide a language environment and to improve language learning (Table 15). The "y" in the table means that the participant adopted the educational method; "O" means that the participant tried to use the method and failed in doing it.

Table 15. Analysis on Language Practices of Han-Chinese FIMs

Parental Efforts to Provide Heritage Language Environment										
Educational Methods		Specific Approaches	Level 1			Level 2		Level 3		
			Ma	Kang	Lu	Wang	Li	Liu	Zhang	Yang
1	Creating a family language atmosphere through individual efforts	Teaching Tang Poems	y	y	y	y	y		y	y
		Teaching Nursery Rhymes	y	y	y					y
		Listening to CDs and Watching Animation/ Storytelling and Playing Games	y	y	y		o			
		Playing Games and Practicing Speech	y	y	y					y
		Communicating with Children in Chinese	y	y	y	o	o	o	o	o
		Chatting on Phone with Chinese Relatives	o			y			y	
2	Creating interactive language environment with the help of others	Hosting Peer Parties	y	y	y					
		Looking for Chinese Hourly Babysitter			y					
		Inviting Chinese Parents and Friends to Korea	y		y			o		
		Arranging field trip to China	y			y	y	y	y	
Parental Efforts to Improve Children's Language Learning										
1	Cultivating interest in learning Chinese	Teaching Chinese to Group of Children				y		y		
		Emphasizing the Importance of Learning Chinese			y	y	y	y		
2	Making effort towards child's language development at home	Formal Instruction of Pinyin and Hansa		y			y	y		y
		Interacting with Child for Educational Purposes		y						
3	Enrolling in Chinese education programs	Applying Educational Programs in Korea			o	y				
		Attending Tutorial Programs in China	y			y	y			

2.1 Parental Efforts to Provide Heritage Language Environment

Existing research shows that exposure to HL is one of the major factors in HL maintenance (Baker, 2011; Garda, 2009; Nesteruk, 2010). Hoffmann (1985) pointed out that a rich linguistic environment is essential for children to develop multilingual skills and children should be exposed to the language from a variety of sources. Providing children with sufficient exposure to the HL, through multiple strategies, was a major pursuit of the parents involved in this study. The key educational strategies for providing HL exposure included: creating a family language atmosphere through individual efforts; creating an interactive language environment with the help of others; and arranging field trips to China.

1. Creating a family language atmosphere through individual effort

In the IMF, this endeavor posed a major challenge because the mother was typically the only source of HL for the children. They realized this limitation, and then tried everything to create a language environment for their children. People tend to bring up their children in the same way in which the previous generation raised them. Since Chinese mothers grew up in a Chinese language and culture environment, the lingual and cultural factors they experienced will also affect their children to some extent during the education process, whether accidentally or deliberately. Teaching nursery rhymes and Tang poems were a shared educational experience among many participants. For many participants, teaching Chinese originated more from instinct. For instance, when soothing their children, mothers would certainly hum the cradlesongs they had learned in childhood. When Yang mentioned this, she was able to spontaneously sing a Chinese lullaby. She'd believed that she didn't have any strong consciousness to educate her baby back then, but her behaviors enabled her children to come in contact with and know the Chinese language. Singing lullabies can not only

introduce children to their mother's HL, but can also raise the mother's awareness of HLE. Harding and Riley (1986) described a participant who had agreed "rationally" to drop their native language, yet when she hummed the first lullaby, they knew she could never do any such thing.

Teaching Tang Poems

Teaching Tang poems to their children is the only educational experience that all participants mentioned. As most mothers have the experience of singing lullabies to their children, most Chinese people also have the experience of memorizing Tang and Song poetry when they were children. Teaching Tang poems is the way that Chinese have brought up their children rather than through educational behavior. Yet, such an inherited manner of upbringing gives children the chance to have contact with the Chinese language and culture.

When my child was young, I would naturally tell them Chinese children's songs and sing them Chinese lullabies. Sometimes when he did not sleep, instead of counting sheep, I would recite Tang poems to him, which would gradually help him fall asleep. Later I found that he learned more than 10 Tang Poems, but I didn't teach intentionally... ---Yang

Teaching Chinese Nursery rhymes

If singing lullabies and teaching Tang poems are considered an unconscious educational action by mothers, teaching Chinese nursery rhymes is a behavior with the specific purpose of teaching Chinese, to some extent. Although Yang smiled when she said that she taught Chinese nursery rhymes because she could not speak Korean, Ma, Kang, and Lu specifically stated that they did so to provide their children with more access to Chinese.

In terms of language education pedagogy, input is defined as words, context, and other forms of language to which a learner is exposed, in relation

to proficiency acquired in first or second languages. Döpke (1992) placed much emphasis on linguistic input and indicated that the quantity and quality of this aspect appeared to be significant factors that influence bilingual development. As mothers are often too busy to communicate with their children, arranging for children to listen to CDs and watch Chinese animations can be seen as an effective strategy for continuing to expose their children to language. It is a pity that this strategy is not always completely effective. Many participants reported that the two methods were useful before the children were three years old, but they may refuse this strategy when children's thoughts have matured. If children have a higher level of Korean but poor performance in Chinese, the condition is worse. Children may feel bored or directly resist the mother for saying that they cannot understand.

I tried several times to play them some Chinese cartoons online, but failed, even though they liked computers. I once found some Chinese websites and told them there were very interesting Chinese cartoons. I wanted them to watch. But they only watched a few episodes and diverted to the more interesting Korean cartoons again. Then they gave up the Chinese websites. When they were younger, I was able to control them more or less. But now they have grown up and freely search on the Internet in Korean. So they reject my method. They do not follow me anymore. ---Li

Storytelling

Certain contexts of language use have also been shown to be more effective for language acquisition than others. For example, reading to children has been shown to promote language and literacy skills (Scarborough & Dobrich, 1994). Regarding simultaneous bilingual learners, Patterson (2002) found that vocabulary size was positively influenced in the context of book reading in each language but not in the context of television watching. In comparison with the former methods, storytelling also has a stronger linguistic interaction between mother and child. In contrast to the first group, in which

children communicated with their mothers in Chinese, other participants have not adopted this method. From another perspective, storytelling requires children to have certain language perceptions.

*There are also Chinese cartoons on TV. I'll show her what to see. But if it's too hard, she just gives it up... Other people's children especially like *The Journey to the West*. I thought that could help understand many of the traditional Chinese cultures, so I specially downloaded it for her to watch. After she watched one episode, she refused to watch more. ... For stories, likewise, she liked simple ones and refused difficult ones. ---Lu*

Storytelling and listening to CDs can make children consciously interact with Chinese through their ears, but there is little chance allowed to speak Chinese. Language education should offer learners linguistic input, and learners need to continuously improve the fluency of the language through output practice (Swain, 1995). Mothers have little idea of these linguistic theories, but they know that children must practice speaking aloud. Allowing children to perform in front of adults in the family is a common method for Chinese parents to cultivate their children's expressive ability. Lu and Ma both want to use this method to promote their children's expressive ability of Chinese. Lu says that she always taught her children to introduce themselves when they were young. She taught her daughter one sentence after another, and then her daughter expressed herself in paragraphs later. As Ma's oldest son has a solid Chinese foundation, she hopes that her son can take part in more Chinese speech competitions through practices to stimulate language development. This is an education method that is familiar to most Chinese, so several participants were asked why they did not consider this method. The answer was that the performance is more or less forceful and they cannot control their children's behaviors, especially with boys.

Playing Games

Compared with the above methods, playing games is more attractive to children. The more chances there are to communicate with their mothers means that the majority of the children will show great interest. Lu and Yang stressed that children could naturally interact in Chinese while playing games. While using this method, Yang's children didn't say they were tired of Chinese and Lu's child was willing to express his opinions in Chinese.

Kang gives Chinese education to full play by playing games. She had definite educational goals when playing games with her children. The Chinese competence of Kang's child was improved mainly through the purposeful game designs. She cultivated the habit of interacting with each other in Chinese at the age of three. Additionally, she played fighting games based on boys' preferences. In order to persuade her children to speak Chinese and cultivate the Chinese way of thinking, the role playing games became dominant when the children were older. They named the roles together and wrote the rules in Chinese, to force them to enter the environment of thinking in Chinese. Kang improved their ability to participate in dialogue through games, and taught her son Pinyin and Chinese characters by designing games.

However, speaking does not mean everything. When he was six or seven years old, I started to teach him pinyin. I made some small cards and played with him. I told him these cards were his friends and asked which one he would take with him when he went to play outdoors. I said he could bring with him only the cards he knew, rather than the cards he didn't know. I asked him which cards he could take with him....He pushed a toy car, we called it a trip car. He put the familiar cards in the car. At the beginning, he only knew a few pinyin, so he took away not many cards. The next day, we did this again and I asked what else he could take away. He strived to memorize and brought away more and more cards. In less than a month, he brought all the pinyin cards. ---Kang

Communicating with Children in Chinese

Face-to-face interaction and communication is an important method for development of language proficiency (Johnson, 1999). In bilingual families, a child's language is developed mainly through linguistic interactions with the child-caretaker. The family language environment makes it possible for children to hear language, but it's not enough to completely grasp the language. "What we most need to do is to engage ourselves in speaking to them directly, rather than just speaking among us adults or only paying attention to providing services or resources to children, although media environment is equally important" (Houwer, 2009). While the grand environment may not be as helpful as expected, it can provide social language support by creating actual, moment-by-moment opportunities for engaging the children in meaningful use of the HL (He, 2006).

When it comes to research on children from bilingual language families, one of the main problems is the pattern of language use. The "one person, one language" approach is a popular method adopted by parents who attempt to raise simultaneous bilingual children. In other words, this approach involves the parents or caregiver consistently speaking only one language to the child. The current research found that such a seemingly easy method is hard to continue in practice. Among eight participants, only Ma persisted in communicating with her children in Chinese for a long time (Table 16). Even though Lu and Kang tried to do so, they still speak Korean in some cases. Lu used to talk her daughter only in Chinese, but she found that her daughter felt embarrassed and upset speaking Chinese in public. Therefore, she changed her strategy because she believes that mental growth is more important than Chinese education. She holds the opinion that to force children to speak Chinese in public places will have a negative impact on their psychological development.

Table 16. Status of Participants' Language Use

Participant	Ma	Kang	Lu	Wang	Li	Liu	Zhang	Yang
Language mainly used when the child is born	Chinese	Chinese	Chinese	Korean	Chinese	Korean	Chinese	Korean
Chinese use in current mother-child talking	100%	80%	90%	<10%	30%	<30%	<30%	<10%

Kang intends to continue communicating with her children only in Chinese, even if she finds they are resistant in public as Lu's child was. By her own words and actions, she made her children realize that speaking a different language is a reason to be proud rather than a strange behavior. What hinders continuous communication in Chinese with her son is the unbalanced competence development between the two languages. Due to the limited Chinese language environment in a IMF, her son's comprehension ability of Chinese has not improved along with the command of Korean skills and things they know. When children grow up in a Korean environment, their Korean vocabulary increases fast. Especially after attending kindergarten, children learn Korean only from their family, but people and things they interact with can improve their Korean vocabulary. However, their Chinese competence is acquired solely from linguistic interaction with the mother, so the number of Chinese words learned is far fewer than Korean. On the other hand, as children grow up, the world gets bigger and questions they pose increase continually. When adults answer questions posed by children in Korean, even with words the children are unfamiliar with, they can guess the basic meaning and learn the words since they live in Korean society. Kang found that her children felt it was difficult to understand the words once they turned five years old, when she responded in Chinese. The reason was that those problems were beyond their daily life, and children haven't had the chance to command words of this kind before. Therefore, she must explain again in Korean. The strategy of persisting at communicating in Chinese was disrupted.

One problem the OPOL approach is often met with is gaps between the minority language and the dominant language (Döpke, 1998). As a Chinese FIM, I had a similar experience. When my daughter, Coco, was 16 months old, she had mastered about 30 Korean words and 15 Chinese words, with a ratio of 2:1. Since the 17th month, Coco's Korean vocabulary had greatly increased due to the influence of the living environment. In contrast, her Chinese vocabulary increased very slowly. At 20 months old, Coco could communicate simply with others. She started to meet more Korean-speaking people, but I was the only one who spoke with her in Chinese. As Coco grew up, I began to encourage her to learn to integrate into Korean society rather than only taking care of herself. Unfortunately, I spent less and less time speaking Chinese with her, so she had fewer chances to listen to Chinese. After she attended kindergarten, her language environment became dominated by Korean. I have been trying to fully communicate with Coco in Chinese, but I strongly feel that it's very hard to create a bilingual environment for a child in a IMF. Foreigner mothers have more work to do using the OPOL approach.

Li's oldest son has a good foundation of Chinese since he lived in China before he was six. However, after arriving in Korea, Li abandoned his Chinese education for Korean development. When the child quickly grasped Korean, Li realized the importance of Chinese and restarted his Chinese education. She manages to talk to her son in Chinese but she finds it hard to change the habit of speaking Korean. Li noted the problem of language expression habits. She and her husband tried their best to speak Chinese with their child in order to improve his Chinese education. However, influenced by the already-formed habits of expression, they were always unconsciously switching between Chinese and Korean. She felt that the consciousness and habits of expression were very important, because the habits were difficult to change once formed. She stated that every time she wanted to communicate in Chinese, she always unconsciously switched into Korean under the following circumstances: First, when she used Korean expressions that had no corresponding Chinese

equivalents. Second, when she would express important messages the child could not understand with his limited Chinese ability. And finally, when she had no time to speak slowly in Chinese, and spoke completely in Chinese.

Each time when we returned from China, I was determined to teach them Chinese. However, some Korean-exclusive words could be hardly translated into Chinese, like “Hak Seupji” . So I spontaneously blurted out the Korean words. Or when I found it difficult in expressing something in Chinese, I resorted to Korean. Then I unconsciously started to communicate with them in Korean...When I got angry and impatient to express my suggestions, I unconsciously used Korean. Like "go to study quickly", because I have many things to do, I have no time to explain to them bit by bit.... Li

Döpke (1998) indicted that “Parents’ examples of switching between languages cannot help but lead children to do the same. Choosing the dominant language when an idea is difficult to express in the weaker language will make the minority language inaccessible the next time they need it. For young children, it appears to become harder to learn foreign language in its tracks unless some force outside the parents who represents the minority language in the family creates a need for the child to speak it.” When Li’s child came to Korea, their language for communication was switched from Chinese to Korean. Now it is difficult to change the current condition. Children of other participants were not born to be taught Chinese; their Chinese understanding ability is limited and the parents are not convinced to conduct Chinese education as part of daily communications. They speak Chinese in a limited range, and for some, just a few words. The structure of IMF family members has determined that HLE is imminent by mainly depending on the mother’s individual efforts. But it is too challenging to progress simply through the

⁵ (학습지) Home-Study Materials which are regularly delivered to home in order to ensure the student’s learning reaches a certain amount. Retrieved September 9 2016 from <http://krdic.naver.com/detail.nhn?docid=41442200>

mother's efforts. During the family-based practices, although mothers make great effort, sometimes they feel frustrated. Zhang takes on teaching Chinese to Koreans. She attentively adopts different education strategies according to the characteristics of each student; so many people consult her for learning Chinese. But she does not believe that she can teach her own children Chinese well. She indicated that she has not discovered the proper way for teaching her daughter.

To be honest, I am a good teacher for others but not for my two daughters. It is impossible for me to teach them like others. No one can do this. Even the dean of my college, a teacher with experiences of twenty years, can't teach her own children. I think it is because of the distance. One is the distance between people; the other is the psychological distance. I know them so much that I can't teach them. I will think how to teach others. I haven't found a good way so far. I can't teach my daughters in a formal way or they will not follow me. So I have to induce them naturally in daily life. ---Zhang

2. Creating an interactive language environment with the help of others

People make language choices based on the economy of mechanism, and children tend to make their utterances as efficiently and effectively as possible to achieve their goals of communication. Mothers try to learn Korean in the process of adjusting to Korean life. Smart children know that their mothers can understand Korean. During interaction with their children, there is no need for the children to speak Chinese. In order to compel their children to use Chinese, mothers have made efforts to create opportunities for them to communicate with other Chinese people.

Chinese parents and relatives are very convenient resources for mothers. In a society with developed communication technology, communicating with their home country's family members via video calls becomes an attractive means of HLE. Zhang always loves the way her children acquire Chinese during natural communication, and she puts great confidence in this method. She tried to use online mobile communications to allow the Chinese family

members to communicate with the child for half an hour every day. This finally ended after a few months, because both parties were busy and chatting topics could not get very complicated due to the child's limited Chinese ability. Wang also tried to use this method to improve her child's Chinese but failed after several instances. This was partly caused by the child's character, and partly by the lack of suitable communication subjects.

My nieces and nephews are still young; they are just in primary school. My eldest son is much older than them. So my eldest son usually communicates with his grandma and grandpa on the phone. But my parents speak Chinese with local accent so he feel difficulties in understanding and he is a boy, unlike girls who like coquetry, so usually he prefers to stay alone rather than talk with others.
---Wang

Ma's oldest child often communicates with his grandpa and grandma in China. He can communicate daily in Chinese because he has no problem with the language. The goal of the calls is to enhance the emotional communication across the generations, as well as to enhance the child's language ability. Other participants also call their Chinese family members often but not with the intention to get their children to participate to develop Chinese ability. Li also mentioned that she went to another room to make the call because the children were noisy. As a result, the children lose the chance to hear the Chinese conversation between family members.

Hosting Peer Parties

Nesteruk (2010) studied the HL applications of eastern European immigrants in the US and indicated that when an ethnic community is sparsely-populated, parents often make conscious efforts to arrange play dates for their young children with family members of the same linguistic background to practice their language hearing and speaking. Children frequently do not like to communicate with adults. The mothers considered

introducing interaction with peers to improve their Chinese ability. With an increase of Chinese FIMs in Korea, mothers have more chances to make Chinese friends in the local area. Mothers, who have the common goal of providing Chinese education, bring their children together at parties, hoping that the group of children with a certain Chinese foundation can communicate with each other in Chinese. It is a pity that the effect was not what was expected.

I know six or seven children's mothers who are Chinese. In order to improve children's Chinese; we often tried to give parties. But these children would speak Korean between each other as they all spoke Korean in the kindergarten, do not speak Chinese. If you asked them to stop speaking Korean and let them speak Chinese, they would only speak a few sentences, and later after playing a while, they spoke Korean again. ---Lu

Although parties do not usually achieve the purpose of forcing children to interact with each other in Chinese, they still contribute to Chinese education for children. Through the mother's Chinese chatting, children can hear the Chinese conversations and realize that there are many people who speak Chinese in Korean society. In addition, this caused some with a certain foundation of Chinese acknowledge the benefits of being able to speak Chinese. As adults chat in Chinese, children grow curious because of not understanding their conversation. Thus, Kang's child helps translate unfamiliar Chinese words to others, which makes him acknowledge the benefits of knowing Chinese and further triggering interest. By observing the behaviors of my daughter, I have found that Coco chooses Korean with those who do well in both Chinese and Korean, but naturally speaks Chinese with those who only know Chinese or have better Chinese competence. Fillmore (1991) stated that opportunities for peer contact represent a crucial factor of HL retention. I hold that this method is suitable for FIMs to educate their children in HLE. What should be note is that conscious guidance is necessary during the process. Perhaps, mothers first join

in the games with children to guide them to communicate in Chinese. Regular parties may be the best situation. The number of foreigners in Korea is rising, but makes up only 3% of the total population. The immigrants are relatively scattered. If FIMs do not make friends intentionally, some of them are unable to find proper attendees for parties. Yang and Zhang both said that they have few Chinese friends nearby.

Inviting Other Caregivers into the Home

In most Korean-Chinese IMFs, only the Chinese immigrant mother can speak Chinese with the child. Many participants reported that creating Chinese family context is difficult and their own power to do so is limited. In order to provide their children with more access to Chinese, they hope that more family members who speak Chinese will show up to help. Feedback from participants indicated that inviting Chinese parents to look after the children is a good way for children to encounter Chinese. In China, it is tradition and part of the social culture for parents to take care of the next generation's children. Therefore, a few participants have experienced inviting their parents to look after their children. Whether their parents traveled to Korea with educational goals or not, the children's Chinese level has improved in most cases over a period of visits.

Liu's experience included some unintentional positive outcomes. She invited her parents to look after her children without any educational intentions. Liu gave birth to two children within a short period of time after coming to Korea. After the birth of the second child, her mother came to Korea in fear that she was too tired to be able to handle her responsibilities. In the beginning, Liu upheld her opinion that Korean competence was more important in terms of language education. To that end, she sent the child to Korean kindergarten at a little over the age of ten months and kept talking to them in Korean even while possessing only a moderate language ability. However, benefitted by her mother's arrival, her children also commanded various Chinese skills when they are very young.

My mom stayed for nearly one year and lived together with us, so my son could understand and speak some Chinese. ---Liu

Ma's mother came to Korea for the same purpose, but Ma was aware that her mother would help create a better Chinese atmosphere for the children. She stressed the early Chinese foundation for her children. To help her children encounter more Chinese, Ma waited to send her eldest son to Korean kindergarten until he was four (generally Korean children are sent at the age of three). When the eldest son was six, she gave birth to the second child. As looking after two children requires more time and attention, she failed to educate the second child in the way as she did the first child. Thus, she invited her mother to visit Korea to help.

My mother helped me look after my children for one year. The content and way of speaking is different between I and my mother, so children can learn much about Chinese. ---Ma

Lu invited her mother with a definite Chinese educational purpose. She held a determined attitude towards Chinese education and had a sense of urgency. When her daughter was unable to make progress in Chinese proficiency, she always sought methods for improvement. Before the child was five years old, Lu had mainly played the role of housewife. The daily contact with children steadily directed the fast progress of her child's Chinese ability. One year ago, she started employment outside the home and her child gradually adjusted to the kindergarten life. She found that her child became more reluctant to speak Chinese and the pronunciation started changing. She felt worried and even planned on quitting her job to accompany the child to China to enroll her in kindergarten there, but she had to dismiss that plan because kindergarten classes located near her parents did not accept transferred students. In this case, she thought of the idea to invite her mother to Korea to stop her

child's worsening condition of Chinese. Lu now lives with her mother-in-law who can look after the child. Moreover, her mother came to Korea mainly to provide a better language environment for her child.

Research by Nesteruk (2010) indicated that grandparents in Eastern Europe also typically play a vital role in childrearing. Nesteruk and Marks (2009) also documented that when a child is born to a family who immigrated from Eastern Europe to the United States, grandparents can come to stay for six months at a time. In my research, I observed that only Liu's and Ma's mothers remained in Korea for over six months, while other participants' parents paid a visit but the time was short. The latter action has little impact on the linguistic competence of the children. In fact, all participants believed that inviting Chinese families and friends to Korea is a good opportunity to teach their children Chinese, but that sometimes it was not very convenient for them to travel when asked. For one thing, not all parents have spare time to do so: some need to look after other children and some must work. In addition, visiting Korea is considered going abroad, which involves entry and exit procedures. The complex procedures lead many people with little intention to travel outside their country. Another important factor is the cultural difference relating to diets or language, as well as other cultural considerations.

The culture of Korea differs from ours. When a daughter married here, here is her home. And it makes people feel uncomfortable if the daughter's parents were here. So my parents also feel uncomfortable when living with us, and they are not willing to come. ---Li

Besides their parents, some participants have invited other relatives or friends to come to Korea. But these people stay for just a short time, so this only has slight effects on improving the Chinese proficiency of their children. Another option is to hire Chinese hourly babysitters. When Lu heard that I had done so to create more chances for my children to encounter Chinese, she

immediately asked me to introduce Chinese overseas students to her child for her. Since her mother left, she takes advantage of this opportunity to allow her child to communicate with other Chinese speakers besides her.

3. Making Long Visit to China

The efforts explored previously are family-based practices of mothers in Korea. They have tried many methods and met many difficulties because there is no one in the locations surrounding them who can help them. Another challenge is that their children's Chinese pronunciation is difficult to keep stable in the Korean-only language environment.

Her speaking is not Chinese-like. I feel very disappointed. I have made so much effort. ---Lu

The next step for participants to take regarding Chinese education is to bring their children to China. Trips to their country of origin may provide children with additional opportunities to use the HL in meaningful contexts (Shin, 2005). All participants have brought their children to China at least once. The degree of improvement in the children's Chinese competencies was affected by the frequency of visits, the length of each stay, and the point in time at which they went to China. From the feedback provided, the length of stay has the greater impact on Chinese improvement for the children. Other scholars have also asserted that the strategy of lengthy visits to the parents' home country is increasingly being adopted by immigrant parents to support their children's HL learning (Nesteruk, 2010; Rong, 2005). In terms of the effects from this strategy, Rong (2005) documented that long visits have become a common practice among Chinese immigrants, with the goal to support and revitalize children's ethnic identities and HL proficiency. Rong (2005) noted that this strategy may be particularly important in the following situations: the immigrant family lives outside an ethnic community, and the children acquired

firsthand knowledge of the Chinese culture and became motivated to learn more about the country and the language.

Five participants in the research study revealed that the long visits to China are extremely helpful toward the improvement of their children's Chinese ability. All of their visits to China exceeded three weeks. Kang directly indicated that their previous visits did not provide much improvement to her child's Chinese ability because they used to stay for less than one week each visit. The frequency of return is also important. Ma considers long visits as the key method of Chinese education, so she returns to China frequently. She reported that her children's speech grew strange only if they do not go back for an entire year. Wang is now facing the great enrollment pressure and the overseas study to China becomes the backup plan if her child is not admitted to the university. For this reason, she, and her son study Chinese diligently. The current primary education method is to visit China for each vacation.

Age is one significant factor that affects language acquisition. Although Wang's son visits China every year, his Chinese level is lower than that of the child in the first group. This is because the age when learning Chinese was started was after the critical period of language acquisition. Liu did not teach her child Chinese when he was small and allowed him to encounter Korean. When her child was 20 months old, she brought the baby to China once to take an examination and stayed there for three months. Interestingly, she thought such a little child would just babble in Korean. But she was surprised when the baby opened his mouth to speak in Chinese.

When my first kid was 20 months old, we went to China. I had to take an exam, so we stayed for 3 months. This was the very time when he (son) started to speak. At the moment He could understand Korean, but he spoke Chinese first, like "sister goes to the kindergarten", "where is sister". --- Liu

2.2 Parental Efforts to Improve Children’s Language Learning

1. Cultivating interest in learning Chinese

Participants’ children were too young to become aware of the necessity of HL. On the other hand, no specific situation led them to become aware of the necessity. Accordingly, most of them showed less cooperation with their mothers’ educational activities. The mothers needed to take various measures to motivate their children to want to learn.

Teaching Chinese to a group of children

One’s “affective filter” interferes with the process of acquiring a second language. Krashen (2003) indicated that negative emotions, such as anxiety, self-doubt, and mere boredom, prevent efficient processing of the language input, and the blockage can be reduced by sparking interest, providing low-anxiety environments, and bolstering the learner's self-esteem. Mothers acquire a simple assumption from their life experience as students: children who are good at learning tend to be more interested in learning. Since they perform better than others, those children will benefit from a sense of achievement and self-esteem, which offers them learning momentum. Having this awareness, some mothers choose to ensure that their children are exposed to other young learners to learn Chinese together.

Wang has focused on her child’s Korean learning since their birth. During her eldest child’s first year of school, the Korean government began to attach greater importance to multicultural families. Local governments began to set up multicultural centers where Wang started to teach local residents Chinese. Perhaps this was because she had some deeper understanding of her children’s Chinese education at that time. To stimulate her children’s interests in learning Chinese, Wang chose to form a Chinese-language learning group including other Korean children.

So when my child began his primary school study, to avoid the boredom of studying alone and teaching alone, I began to teach him Chinese together with some children nearby. I asked them to pay me only a little since they were there mainly for learning together. I taught them Pinyin first. Every day I taught for 20 minutes and this lasted for two and a half years. ---Wang

Her Chinese-language group extended over two years. In the beginning, her son enjoyed the self-esteem gained from study so he this group appealed to him. However, as he grew older, he transferred more interest to other activities. In addition, becoming loaded down with more and more arduous schoolwork, the boy grew uninterested and even chose to quit learning Chinese as he experienced less and less of a sense of achievement and self-esteem from this education. Nevertheless, those two years had made great contributions to developing her child's Chinese competence and laid a certain foundation for future Chinese education for her oldest son.

In the third year, my child, a boy, grew older and didn't want to learn Chinese any more. So I just quitted...Later, I asked him to recite a book consisted of Chinese fairy tales, Chinese Tang poems and Chinese nursery songs. I explained to him the meanings of them, such as the meaning of the children's song "Xiǎo bǎn dèng". He almost recited the whole book. I didn't give up to teach him Chinese in the latter two years when he had stopped learning Chinese, and tried to find any chance to persuade him to learn more. ---Wang

Similar to Wang, Liu used to request that her son learn Chinese together with other children. She didn't organize the Chinese language class herself but joined the church organization instead. She taught all of the children there to learn Chinese for free. While studying, her sons were extremely enthusiastic about learning Chinese thanks to their basic Chinese knowledge and sense of achievement. The Chinese language class was conducted for more than two years. Eventually, the church ended the group study; however, Liu's son has

acquired high spirits toward learning Chinese.

When my elder son was 6 or 7 years old, I was teaching other kids Chinese at church on Saturday. This went on for nearly two years. My sons went there with me and learnt together. Though they learnt together, my elder son learnt more than other kids. He was better at pronunciation and knew more words. This made him feel successful, so he liked it very much. ---Liu

Emphasizing the importance of learning Chinese

In regard to the teaching-learning process and its impact on successful language learning, motivation is an indispensable factor. Motivation should be the first priority if the aim is learning a language not simply acquiring a language. Crookes and Schmidt (1991) believed that motivation is generally considered to be one of the primary causes for success and failure in second language learning. The motivation for learning a language can be judged by finding the interest and enthusiasm of the learner for learning methods and materials used for language learning, and his attention to and concentration on the various tasks and activities taking place in the classroom. Garner (2010) divided motivation into two aspects: integrative motivation—wanting to learn a language in order to communicate with people of another culture who speak it, and instrumented motivation—wanting to learn a language because it will be useful for certain “instrumental” goals, such as getting a job, reading a foreign newspaper, or passing an examination. At present, children’s learning is based on their mother’s idea. In fact, the intention is merely due to resultative motivation (Ellis, 1994) without enough learning motivation. To awaken more learning demands from their children, mothers needed to strengthen their children’s learning motivation by repeatedly emphasizing the importance of learning Chinese.

One of the reasons why Lu encourages her daughter to learn Chinese is because she hopes that her daughter won’t lose the ability to communicate with

others in the future. She traveled to Korea alone for marriage so she is greatly attached to her daughter, desiring to be close to her permanently. She hoped that she would soon be able to talk privately with her. For this purpose, she kept reminding her daughter, “Your mom is Chinese. If you don’t work hard at learning Chinese, I won’t understand you.” She became cross when her daughter couldn’t understand her efforts toward Chinese learning.

Recently I was angry with her. I emphasized to her that “Mom is Chinese. Sometimes Mom cannot understand what you are saying, so you should work hard on learning Chinese.”... Seeing that I was angry, she said, “OK, Mom, I got it, I will speak Chinese. If I hadn’t show my anger, she would ignore my emphasis, because she knew that I can understand the Korean she speaks now.
---Lu

Li also stressed to her children that since their mother is Chinese, they should speak to her in Chinese. On the other hand, Li is also excellent at speaking Korean so the same suggestion wouldn’t exert as much pressure in promoting her children’s Chinese learning enthusiasm. Based on this, she continued to insist upon the advantage of learning and grasping Chinese to her children.

Sometimes when we had family meetings, we told them “kids, your Chinese has been largely lagged behind. Your mama is Chinese, it’s pity if you don’t speak Chinese”. But they don’t think that way. They only think they are forced by their mama. ...But I continually instill this consciousness into them. I want them to understand. -... ◦ I always emphasize the world-leading science and technology in China, and the strong military power in China, such as... My old kid may understand this, but the small kid is confused. I always implant some ideas (how powerful China is) to them. ... If you know Chinese, you can also go to Singapore, Hong Kong and Taiwan, in addition to mainland China. I haven’t taken you to these places, because I have no much money. ---Li

Liu has become extremely active since she returned to teaching her son Chinese, as a way to develop her son's interest in learning Chinese. She has also contacted her son's class teacher and engaged herself in the multicultural class to raise the boy's sense of achievement from learning Chinese. Indeed, she has been instilling the significance of learning the language, so that the boy will experience the good qualities from it.

I told them you have to learn Chinese, because we would go to China frequently and knowing Chinese helps you to communicate with Chinese people. China is developing rapidly now and becomes a strong power. My sons said "China is developing into the largest nation. If I can speak Chinese while others cannot, I will " Things like this. He himself has realized. ---Liu

Recently, Wang's eldest son was motivated to learn Chinese because of practical academic pressure. What's more, this motivation also resulted from another instrumental event: Wang's husband passed away when he started high school life, which had a very negative effect on her son's mood. Her son gave up his studies two years ago. His third year has arrived and he wants to continue his studies, however, he finds it quite a difficult and shocking task.

Now he doesn't want to give up going to universities, but it is really difficult for him to pass the entrance examination. I console him, "Don't worry, my son. If you fail in the exam, you can go to China.". I hope that he can go back to learn Chinese for one year and then go on with under-graduating study. Now I attach great importance to his Chinese study and he also realizes the significance of that. He knows that it is an extra choice for him to go back to China for universities. ---Wang

Generally speaking, Lu paid more attention to developing her child's integrative motivation, aiming to persuade him to understand that only by being skillful at Chinese would he be able to exchange ideas with his mother. Wang,

Li and Liu's children have grown older, and because of that, they inform their children of the relationship between Chinese capability and their future orientation by emphasizing China's powerful reality.

2. Making efforts toward child's language development at home

Using Formal Pinyin and Hansa instruction

Acquiring a language, by creating a language environment that allows exposure to language and use of language, is different from learning a language, which is reflected in the action of teaching children to master the language and develop their current language abilities. The term "teaching" reminds one of "taking lessons" and mothers who have learned a foreign language are certainly doing so.

Liu's son was not given a coherent Chinese teaching course when he was young. Therefore, he did not excel at communicating in Chinese. While Lie may be responsible her son missing the chance to learn Chinese as his mother tongue, she had also adopted a different approach for fostering her son's desire to learn a foreign language. After the church class was dissolved, Liu's son was still excited about learning Chinese. Likewise, the mother found that although he had learned a lot of Chinese, her son would soon forget what he had learned in the class when the knowledge was not in use. She started to teach her son Chinese using a school teaching method in the home.

I teach my kids like in schools. I ask them to memorize pinyin, and then dictate the pinyin they have learnt, then memorize again, and rewrite the wrong yinpin. My old son has learnt well, but my little son hasn't done well....Now they can spell and read simple pinyin, but I haven't taught them tones.... As for Hanja, I bought some books about Hanja and I often write together with my sons. We do not write regularly, but occasionally and on weekend. They stop learning Hanja after they return to school. ---Liu

Li is also trying the same method as Liu, and Yang has been looking to apply it as well. Li chooses the vacation plan to spend some time with the two children each week. She told her son that she is no longer his mom now but his language teacher. Then she carried out her plan step by step. During the interview, Yang made sure to show me a room she was tidying in which a map of the Chinese phonetic alphabet hangs on the wall. She presented her next plan, as well.

Teaching Chinese starts from pinyin, then spelling and tones. M+A=MA, after he learnt pinyin, he was capable of spelling characters in pinyin. I'm thinking of organizing that room. He gets home very early Tuesday and Wednesday. He gets some free time, so I can teach him bit by bit. Pinyin is the basis, but what about characters? He has the basis, so I help him summarize. ...I spend two days every week teaching him, Saturday and Sunday, one hour each day. ---Yang

At present, four participants have talked of this method. Others have also expressed that they plan on their children Chinese in a formal manner to improve their children's Chinese ability. Most of them have stated that they would choose materials compiled in the native Chinese language for their textbooks. Some of them use Chinese native language teaching materials, while some choose textbooks from current Korean teaching materials. They each choose the textbooks with different concerns: Liu concentrates on the systematic features while Kang pays more attention to the enjoyment factor.

I chose some Chinese textbooks for adults rather than for children. I have used many textbooks (when worked as a Chinese teacher), but textbooks for children didn't have anything interesting. I didn't feel any success from children's textbooks. I asked them about their opinions. I told them this was Chinese books for children and another one was Chinese books for adults. This was simple dialogue, and that was spelling. They told me they wanna learn yinpin first, like they learnt Korean. ---Liu

I started to teach him textbooks when he was eight years old. I selected a

textbook that had interactive games. He was willing to play games, so he could learn when playing. ---Kang

Teaching style Although formal family education is applied in all cases, they aren't necessarily creating the same atmosphere for the children. Liu and Li highlighted their identities as teachers, hoping to motivate their children's attention to learning, while Yang aims to offer a relaxing style. She explained, "I don't plan to provide him with a classroom but to play with him in a more meaningful way." Yang described an educational scene with her son.

He asked me was the hook necessary in the Chinese character "door(门)". Was the horizontal in the character "sun(日)" connected or not? I told him the hook shouldn't be abandoned; the horizontal could be connected or not connected. I should tell him the details. Even I didn't know some traditional Chinese characters, so we learnt together...I wanted the teaching to be meaningful, so we wrote together. First I wrote some Chinese characters and asked him to write down the meanings. Then I checked the errors, like "you forgot the hook in this character". The next time, he wrote Chinese characters and I wrote down the Korean meanings. I checked the errors. So we played in this way. ---Yang

Teaching contents Features of the Chinese language suggest that participants start with Pinyin and Hansa while teaching using formal instruction. Learning Pinyin in the initial stage boosts the teaching style determined by distinguishing Chinese features. The connection between Chinese and Korean means that Hansa comes first in the instruction instead of simplified Chinese characters. Currently, Yang and Liu apply Korean Hansa as the core and offer Chinese character education to their children as well. They consider it a Chinese-Korean education style. In my opinion, it may be an acceptable way to balance Chinese education and Korean education; although one shouldn't ignore that it also exerts some negative effects on Chinese literacy education. Hansa in Korea are the original Chinese characters in complex forms with

different patterns and in limited number, which are not entirely equal to fundamental Chinese characters. Teaching Hansa cannot replace teaching Chinese characters. First, the difference between Hansa education and Chinese character education lies in the fact that although Hansa has corresponding pronunciation, the instruction is mainly about the understanding of the character's meaning, so that the Sino-Korean words will be clearly understood. Fundamental Chinese characters, on the other hand, imply an organic whole as a combination of pronunciation and meaning and each of them might be a polyphone. The most serious problem involved in the differences is that a certain number of characters have different meanings in Chinese or Korean, therefore, the negative shifts that occur in the two series of literal systems call for the mothers to address this issue.

Additionally, Hansa is classified into eight ranking orders, which are not designed based on their frequency in daily conversation but of Sino-Korean words in Korean vocabulary. Apart from Sino-Korean words, Korean vocabulary also includes Korean native words and other borrowed words. Hansa excludes commonly used characters, such as personal pronouns “I”, “you”, and daily expressions “thanks”, “hello”, etc. These commonly used words are not contained in the Hansa that their mothers are teaching, therefore, they wouldn't be able to provide relevant reading materials based on the children's current degree of cognition.

Literacy development in cross-native/community language families is a painstaking task (Noguchi, 1999; Swan, 1999). Literacy training is time-consuming and requires extensive efforts and patience on the part of both parents and children (Yamamoto, 2001). The Chinese language, in particular, is one of the most difficult languages to grasp in the world. Therefore, it is such a big challenge for Chinese immigrant mothers to provide their children with literacy education. Besides, not all of the effort will pay off and that can cause many participants to have less expectations for their children's Chinese literacy learning.

Interacting with child with educational purposes

Kang taught her child Chinese more formally and followed the textbooks by leading her child to enhance their present Chinese abilities. In addition, she has been incorporating a lot of teaching behaviors into their daily interactions, trying many methods to combine language education and develop learning interest, such as talking heart to heart. Kang used to teach Chinese at a Chinese language institute. Gathered from her experience in the language institute, she believes that the most important thing to do when teaching children a language is to stimulate their interest. Once interest in language is stimulated, a teacher will already be half successful. She, therefore, adds some enjoyment to her communication with her children. While realizing that daily communication can help to sustain their children's Chinese ability, she also knows it an arduous task to improve their Chinese. With a limited vocabulary used for daily communication, it is hard for them to retain and enlarge their vocabulary. Additionally, her child has no desire to learn more Chinese words. To enhance her child's language level and strengthen his further interest in learning Chinese, she adopts heart-to-heart conversation by creating a relaxing mother-son atmosphere and then telling a story about herself using education-oriented language, such as stories of the mother's childhood and pregnancy, and so on. With this method, children are inclined to appeal to the dialogue, ignoring the inconvenience from the language barrier and acquiring more words.

When he was five or six years old, I tried something more difficult, like chatting. When he was in a good mood, he wouldn't refuse to speak another language, or the one he was not good at. Sometimes when we went for a walk, I took his hand if I felt he was not in a bad mood. Every time when I wanted to speak Chinese with him, I would take his hand. When we were hand in hand, I found him cheerful. He was clear I would not nag, asking him to do such and such. At this moment, I would speak to him some simple Chinese. After this psychological communication, I started to tell him things from my childhood. During our dialogue, when I realized some hard words, I told him the corresponding Korean

words. He was very interested in my childhood. He would try to talk about his younger days. When he was very eager to know something, I must speak to him in Chinese, because this was the moment when he was desperate and wanted to learn. ...When I was pregnant, I wrote diary in Chinese for several months. He knew how hard bearing him was from my diary. The diary also kept some memory between us. Now I often read to him my diary, which interests him very much. ---Kang

Weizman and Snow (2001) demonstrated that mothers use complex vocabulary and provide helpful clarification about the meaning of words in the linguistic interaction between mother and child. The amount of instruction and the number of low frequency words heard in these contexts can predict children's vocabulary size in second grade. In this way, children are inclined to become involved in the dialogue, ignore the language barrier and acquire additional words. When heart-to-heart discussion is used, many skills are employed. First of all, mothers are required to understand the gaps between Korean and Chinese per parents' sensitivity, which plays a key role in bringing up them bilingually (Döpke, 1998). While describing her own experience with their children's Chinese language learning, Kang noted that mothers must be aware of the words their children have grasped to better design the speaking style of Chinese expressions for his or her topics. Secondly, newly-added vocabulary calls for strategies. Each time, a certain number of—but not too many—words can be added. Based on sustainably coherent understanding, uncommon words can be added along with the words hard to comprehend that are required to be repeated in Korean naturally. Both Döpke (1992) and Tokuhama-Espinosa (2001) emphasized that parents should know that raising children bilingually requires a lot more intelligence and effort than raising them with only one language. Although Kang has no systematic theoretical basis, she has developed her child's Chinese capabilities thanks to her great effort, even if she doesn't get the opportunity to take her child back to China.

3. Enrolling in a Chinese education program

Similar to effects from building a language environment, mothers alone exert a limited capacity to improve their children's Chinese capability; especially since improvement of literacy abilities must depend on the sponsor from the educational institution.

Applying for Educational programs in Korea

Because of China's advanced international position and sound bilateral relationship between China and Korea, a number of Chinese-teaching institutions are mushrooming in Korea. According to NAVER's map query results, there are more than 1,500 Chinese schools in Korea, which is three times more than the number of Japanese schools. Ever since 2009, the Korean government has offered training to FIMs to become bilingual teachers for children from multicultural families who have been distributed to schools for bilingual programs. In fact, Liu works as one of these teachers. This program has offered some external education opportunities to mothers willing to teach their children Chinese. The pity is that these educational institutions are inclined to conduct traditional foreign language classes, which don't meet the needs of HLLs. Traditional foreign language classes are not intended to meet these needs (Kagan, 2005; Randolph, 2011; Valdes, 2001). Therefore, it hasn't been popular among the participants. In the next chapter, this data will be interpreted in detail.

Of all the participants, Lu was the only one who applied for an education program, as she found that her daughter was lagging in Chinese language learning. Lu began to seek other teaching approaches. She found that her personal skill was too weak to improve the child's performance, so she contacted Rainbow Chinese Tutors for help. This is a well-known Chinese education institution in South Korea which offers home visits for one-on-one tutoring. They offer guidance to children with no skill of Chinese as a

benchmark for setting up stage-based education contents. Lu formulated a Pinyin teaching course based on the child's learning situation by asking the teacher to create more dialogues with the child. The tutor education fee cost as much as 89,000 won per month. The tutoring included four lessons a month, 30 minutes each lesson. Since the Rainbow Chinese tutor taught for a very short duration each lesson, the effect over time was a little bit unsatisfactory. Eventually, she quit the course and chose to hire a Chinese overseas student to accompany her child to play, as she considered it better than the courses given previously.

I am often not at home at weekends. Her dad said that she was happy to play with the elder sister. She was willing to speak Chinese and began to speak more to me. I think it's pretty good. It lasts a long time every time. The child has chances to speak more. The more she speaks, the more she will get used to it. It's much better than the Rainbow Chinese tutor. ---Lu

Attending tutorial programs in China

Most of the participants expressed that Korea's current Chinese education institutes were not appropriate for their children. They think that China's education system is more appropriate for their children to learn Chinese. Tse's (2001) study found that young adults who are proficient in both HL and English have experienced some formal schooling in the HL for a period of time, in addition to merely speaking HL at home while growing up. This approach of sending their children to China to receive formal education or join a study group has been adopted by several interviewees. Kondo (1997) documented a similar strategy among Japanese mothers in Hawaii who chose to send their children to be educated in Japan, "not only for a visit".

Ma has carried out this approach to the fullest. After attending a Korean kindergarten, Ma found that her child mastered Korean in a short time, but his Chinese pronunciation began to deteriorate. Then Ma, who went back to China

every year, decided to send her child to kindergarten in China, however long she would stay there each visit.

My son could speak Chinese, so at the beginning I didn't send him to the kindergarten in China. But one day when he was four, I found my son's Chinese sounded weird, complexed with different dialects. I realized I should do something to solve this problem. So at the time we went back to China when he was five years old, I sent him to a kindergarten right away....After that, as long as we went back, I sent him to the kindergarten. ...Although he was eight years old last year, I still sent him to a Chinese kindergarten when we were in China.

---Ma

When it comes to the next step in their education plan, Ma stated that she would focus on her child's Chinese education before he turned eight because one of her friends had told her that if a child learns a language prior to eight years old, the language will never be forgotten in the future. But the key is that the child must continue to work hard at learning the language during this time. As Ma's child is now too old to go to kindergarten, she decided to send them to Chinese vacation classes when she visited China for vacation with the children every year.

Li and Wang, in the second group, shared some similar experiences. Both found their husbands through their places of work and earned bachelor's degrees in Korea. Both of their husbands speak Chinese and have excellent Chinese language ability. Li's husband speaks Chinese so well that they are both working for institutions related to the government. He has no problem using Chinese in daily life and for work and has developed strong Chinese reading and writing abilities. Benefiting from these advantages, Li and Wang could have served as models who trained their children trained to succeed in learning Chinese; however, they focused great attention on entering Korean society, thus ignoring their children's Chinese education. As they begin to devote more attention to their children's Chinese learning, both have chosen to

allow their children to sign up for the learning class to improve their Chinese.

My elder kid has basic knowledge of Chinese language now. We sent him to China for one month last year and sent him to an institute, where he learnt pinyin. But during that month, he was not very interested, probably because there were no other kids and the teachers taught very boringly. He finally knew pinyin after about ten days, but he gave up and didn't want to go there. His level of pinyin was only learned during the ten days. He learnt very well and quickly, but the thing is we didn't seize the opportunity. ---Li

Later (in the higher grades of primary school) in summer and winter vacations, I sometimes went back to China for one or two months to let my son study in vacation classes. There were two times, each time for about a month and a half. Every day the teacher taught him one to one for 3-4 hours with the Chinese textbook. As for the effect, actually I didn't expect any specific result, as I did this then simply to avoid his forgetting of Chinese. ---Wang

Although Li's child stopped attending halfway through the class and Wang didn't have many expectations for this method, this education strategy has proved to be greatly helpful toward their children's Chinese ability.

3. Summary and Discussion

To provide a clear picture of each case, some useful information was supplemented before summary analysis (Table 17).

Table 17. Supplementary Background Information of Participants

Participants		Age	Education Level	work place	Place of Birth of first child	Participants' Husband			
						Where get to know	Why to China	Chinese skill	Attitude to the Chinese education or education ideas
1	Ma	46	Jr. College	Housewife	China	China	Business	Basic communication	Study should be a natural thing, and health was most important.
2	Kang	37	Jr. College	Trading Company	Korea	China	Study	Understand little	Support and do not expect the outcomes much
3	Lu	35	Jr. College	duty-free shop	Korea	China	Business	-	Compared to Korean, Lu' husband pays more attention to children's learning of Chinese.
4	Wang	45	College*	government agency	Korea	China	Work	Daily communication	Support and do not expect the outcomes much
5	Li	39	College*	government agency	China	China	Work	Very good	Support and do not expect the outcomes much
6	Liu	36	Jr. College	School	Korea	China	Business	Understand little	Support and do not expect the outcomes much
7	Zhang	41	College	language institute	Korea	China	Travel	-	Health ranks first, and then is freedom, other things are all last important.
8	Yang	35	H. School	language institute	Korea	Korea		-	Do not care much, but believe it's a nice thing if the child could acquire Chinese.

When summarizing the data, I hadn't realized that all interviewees except Yang had met their husbands in China. When they met together, none of them talked with my husband in Korean. Five of them spoke Chinese with their husbands, while Lu, who was majoring in Japanese, communicated in Japanese with her husband, who was conducting Japanese business. Zhang spoke with her husband in English. All of them started to learn Korean after they migrated to South Korea. Their insufficient Korean ability is what caused most of them to parent their children in Chinese at the beginning. Even when they used Korean, they first mixed Korean and Chinese together and later shifted to mainly using Korean. As their children grew up, fewer and fewer of them communicated in Chinese. Only Ma, Kang, and Lu retained the habit of communicating with their children in Chinese

Yin (2008) pointed out that an embedded single-case study could be employed to prevent a lack of sufficiently clear measures or data from being conducted by an entire-case study at an unduly abstract level. But the design present one pitfall as the study is merely focused on the sub-unit level and fails to return to the larger unit of analysis. After an analysis of each participant's individual HLE experiences and the specific language practices of Han-Chinese FIMs, the overall characteristics of HLE from Han-Chinese FIMs who are working on Chinese education of their children will be examined.

1. Overall characteristics of HLE from Han-Chinese FIMs

To make the educational experience more understandable, some useful information was supplemented before case analysis, especially that of the participants' husbands. According to background information, participants who have worked hard at HLE show some similarities. However, those population characteristics differ from most of the information about the FIMs background in Korean society. Most of them became acquainted with their husbands in

China and enjoyed a love match. With college education backgrounds, generally they didn't speak Korean as their original communicative language. Furthermore, they all lived in downtown Incheon. Most of them once worked in Chinese educational or multicultural professions. Regarding the education process, the following commonalities are found:

Husbands hold supportive attitude toward HLE

Surprisingly, while sorting through the information, I found that all participants except Yang got to know their husbands in China. Therefore, their husbands have seen China for themselves and maintain supportive attitudes toward Chinese-language education. Meanwhile, they are less particular about demanding results. In conclusion, kinship support was a prerequisite for their children to receive HLE

Children were all exposed to Chinese from birth

As all participants, except Yang, met their husbands in China, when they first encountered each other, none of them chatted with each other in Korean. Five of them spoke Chinese with their husbands, while Lu—who was majoring in Japanese—communicated in Japanese; her husband was conducting Japanese business then as well. Zhang spoke to her husband in English. They all started to learn Korean after they migrated to South Korea, consequently, their children were exposed to the Chinese language since birth to some extent.

Mothers hold the decision-making power on parenting

The majority of Korean FIMs are from less-developed areas and have inadequate Korean abilities, so many from multicultural families are not allowed to parent their children on that basis. From this research study, it can be observed through the participants' experiences of educating their children that

those mothers acted as the decision-makers, not only regarding how to foster but also how to cultivate their children, thus allowing them to attempt various education methods.

Education practice relies on individual efforts

Considering the integrated method analysis of the education practices, it is clear that the individual-oriented education mode was mainly adopted. This is related to the family structure of IMFs. As immigrant women are the only HL speakers in the family and move to Korea for marriage, they are lacking social networks in the country. This makes it necessary for them to devote more individual efforts to the HLE of their children.

Social environment formed a positive impact

I noticed that Wang decided to begin her son's Chinese learning when the local multicultural center launched a Chinese class. When influenced by these external factors, several participants began to focus on their children's Chinese education. Li started it since she began working at the multicultural center. Liu started because she worked as a bilingual teacher and Yang started once she became a Chinese teacher in a Chinese institution. Once they'd experienced this influence, they began to strengthen their children's Chinese teaching. In other words, it was the Korean society's new focus on children from multicultural families, foreign immigrants, and Chinese education that motivated the participants to teach their own children Chinese.

Hopes for future HLE are based on sending children to China

It is an effective approach of HLE to send children to their parents' home country. Ma has taken full advantage of long visits to China, and this has caused their children to feel less tired of Chinese language education. Affected

by various life factors, Kang and Lu lost the chance to stay in China for long periods. Therefore, Kang and Lu have spent more effort and money on the progress of HLE. During this research study, no matter whether their children would be influenced by their life experience in China or not, all participants denoted that they will send their children to China for language learning. Considering the advantage that Korea is geographically close to China, the participants agree that they will send them to China for Chinese education during vacations.

2. Analysis on the factors affecting teaching effects

Going forward, the next section will explain the factors related to education effects based on the children's language ability (first child's current Chinese ability). It is well known that many complex factors influence the development of language ability, so influencing factors shouldn't be discussed individually. Taking into consideration the relevant theory and the phenomenon in this research, this part conducts a detailed analysis on the aspects affecting the Chinese education of participants' children. The participants' education practices will be sorted out simply for analysis and reference (Figure 7).

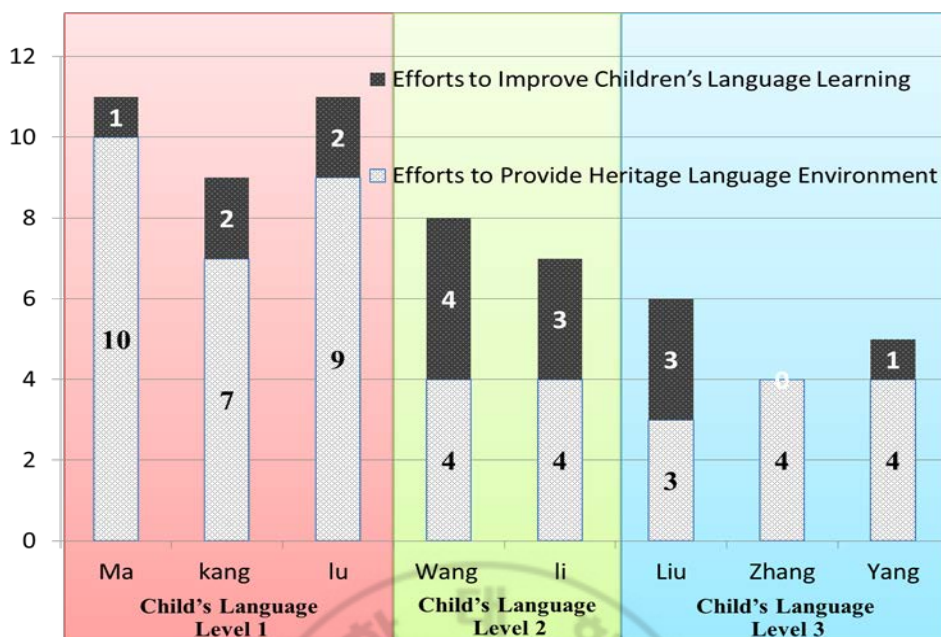


Figure 7. Statistics of Participants' HLE Teaching Approaches

The resolutions of education attitude

Each participant's attitude during individual HLE experiences can clearly be observed. Fishman (2001) pinpointed that women of child-bearing age using their ethnic language with their children provided the critical moments of intergenerational language transfer. Education attitude influences education strategy. The education attitude of participants in level 1 showed relatively explicitly to Chinese education: participants urge their children to learn Chinese and their educational impetus comes from their own subjective wishes. Therefore, they made great effort to think about how to teach their children. The educational impetus for Chinese learning by level 2 was based on the existing pressure. Li's child was undergoing lower Chinese capability and that imposed great pressure on Li. Wang's education pressure came from the issue of her child's college entrance examination. Level 3 recognized the importance of Chinese-language education relatively later than others. Only after being a bilingual teacher did Liu begin to realize that she should work hard at teaching

their children Chinese. As for Yang, when she found all the Koreans around her were teaching their children Chinese, she began to realize the significance of teaching her child Chinese as well. All of them recognized the necessity of teaching their children Chinese under pressure or influence from outside. After all, this education motivation is passively formed, so it can't motivate creativity in education practice. Comparatively, Zhang held a negative attitude. As a well-experienced Chinese teacher, she should have doubted that a child could grasp Chinese in a foreign country; therefore, her child performed the worst in Chinese-language learning. HLE was thought to be an extra task for the mothers in cultivating their children. If the mothers were not determined enough, it was easy for them to give up.

The starting point of HLE

Since birth, the mother has been consciously guiding her child to maintain better Chinese-language ability. The intentional educational behavior is emphasized here, not merely communicative Chinese. Houwer (2009) classified her child's education into BFLA and ESLA according to the beginning age of bilingual education. In other words, language-education varies with different educational guidance. Per the introduction, Ma, Kang and Lu attached importance to Chinese-language education since their children's birth. Therefore, their children are more capable of communicating with their mother in Chinese. It is worth noting that the current Chinese use ratio of the Chinese language is lower than that of Lu's (Table 16), however Kang's child is younger than Lu's. The scope of communication between Kang and her son is broader. In relation to Chinese ability, Kang's child appears better than Lu's. Li's child, with a solid foundation in Chinese, benefited a lot from his growth in China. However, not until last year did she began to pay attention to her child's Chinese education, thus causing her child's Chinese to become weaker than

before. When Zhang's oldest child was born, she began to communicate with them in Chinese as her Korean was not good enough. She did not display awareness toward teaching her child Chinese. Once she began improving her Korean, they switched the main communicative language to Korean. Therefore, she would not be considered the perfect case of teaching Chinese to her child from birth.

The sustainability of HLE

The promotion of HLE requires encouraging family language reproduction, using HL in children's early childhood and continuing with that as long as possible (Baker, 2008; Fishman, 1991). It is better to maintain Chinese language education than interrupt it. De Houwer (2009) placed special emphasis on regular input while referring to the bilingual education of the bilingual families, which calls for sustainability. It is easier to describe sustainability than to implement it. As mentioned above, most of the participants couldn't speak Korean when they met their husbands. It was because of their insufficient Korean ability that most of them parented their children in Chinese at the beginning. Even when they intended to parent their children in Korean, they first mixed Korean and Chinese together and later shifted to using Korean primarily. As their children grew up, fewer of them communicated with each other in Chinese. Only Ma, Kang and Lu managed to stick to the habit of employing Chinese in their daily communication. Others stopped talking with their children in Chinese; Li especially, whose son did best in Chinese, yet was rather difficult to teach.

The education initiatives

Education initiatives can be studied in many aspects and the applied diversity is assessed here. Because IMF's HLE is known as a challenging education, it calls for various efforts to conduct it, lacking the appropriate

language environment. The importance of the mothers' role due to the mother's language choice can transfer and influence children's preferences in language use (Kondo, 1998). Figure 7 demonstrates the evident relevance between the number of approaches that mothers adopt and their children's current language ability. The more educational approaches the mother attempt, the more language ability their children will have.

The emphases of education approaches

On the two language pathways of acquisition and learning, children will make more rapid progress in language ability if mothers provide more opportunities. The bright color part in Figure 7 represents the efforts to provide the language environment for children's language acquisition and the dark color part shows the efforts based on improving children's language learning. Level 1 aimed to offer more opportunities for language acquisition, so that the children could engage in daily conversation. Level 2 delivered great effort to provide a condition of idea learning. The result was that those children's communicative capability was not as good as that of level 1, despite the advantage of having visited China for a long time. Figure 7 also reveals that if the mother pays less attention to language acquisition at the very start, her later education style will be foreign-language education oriented.

3. Discussion

Overall, the first group is different from the other two groups in that these mothers mainly spoke in Chinese with their children in daily life, they have been teaching their children Chinese since the children were born, Chinese teaching continued and they were eager to handle any problems occurring during this process. However, whether their children will continue to be at the first level if they keep doing this is in doubt.

Children's language ability develops in a dynamic form. In accordance with the participants' practices, I have focused on the changes in two of the children's language ability. One is Lu's child and the other is Liu's. Language education holds two emphases: the use of the language and the development of language (Yamamoto, 2001). Lu has concentrated on the child's Chinese and she is also determined about her child learning Chinese. Nevertheless, I'm not confident that her child will be always be ahead of others. The reason is because she has never provided a more effective way to have the child's language improved. She is so busy that she can't ensure regular input (Houwer, 2009). Another concern is whether her child's Chinese can be sustained or not. She once tried her best to devote time to their daily communication. But she has not had the opportunity to visit China frequently or to design different education methods according to the child's language ability step by step to teach HL. Lu indicated this when she said, "My daughter is just repeating these words without any improvement." The other is Liu's child. I predict that her child will make rapid progress in Chinese. First, she is determined to promote her children's Chinese education now. Second, she has cultural capitals and has education resources for teaching her children Chinese. For one thing, she is an employee at a Korean school, and for another, many of her family members are working in Chinese education institutes. As she explained herself, she is able to arrange for the child to enroll in a Chinese school to receive formal schooling in China at any time. Many people would envy this position. Besides, during the two months since her interview, she has already prepared everything required for her children to go to China and enroll in school for a short-term study.

The reason for emphasis on the advantages of cultural capital in teaching children Chinese is that a majority of immigrant women lack this resource. Compared to others' HLE conditions, HLE in Korean society is in need of

support from the education environment, which would provide more evident advantages of cultural capital. All of Korea's current FIMs only use family-based education as the core for HLE, which lowers the success probability. What's more, as the children grow up, family will no longer be their core living place, so HLE is less likely to be implemented. Meanwhile, children may be more concerned about the issue of integrating into the social mainstream culture rather than maintaining their HL, since they do not have a strong "ethnolinguistic attachment" as their parents have (Luo & Wiseman, 2000). On this note, HLE, in need of social education support, faces great challenges.



V. Challenges in HLE Encountered by FIMs

Most Han-Chinese FIMs were not proficient in Korean when they started raising children, so even though some mothers advocated Korean language education for their children, they more or less knew some Chinese and acquired some Chinese as well. Mothers may have been able to control what language the children used before the age of three, but after this age, children start to have their own claims and opinions on what language to use. Then the Chinese education for the children faced various difficulties and challenges. In prior research, the Han-Chinese FIMs with clear self-identity recognition in the HLE were found to be less influenced by external resistance and negative effects from the Korean sociocultural environment. Thus, the participants were selected from Han-Chinese FIMs for this study. By exploring the participants' experiences during Chinese education of their children, the findings showed that "challenge" was a more suitable description than "difficulty" in this study. This is because the participants, when faced with some objective barriers, all tried to find some way to overcome them and make a breakthrough, rather than passively giving up the HLE. After coding the interviews, the challenges experienced by Chinese FIMs in HLE were summarized from three aspects: family education, linguistic environment, and socio-cultural environment (Table 18).

Table 18. List of Concepts Related to Challenges of HLE

Area	Main Themes	Meaning Unites
Family Context for HL Practices	Resistance to Chinese learning	Felt uncomfortable Felt different from others, Felt mom appeared strange
	Lack of linguistic interaction	Child's busy schedule (Schoolwork, friends, extracurricular life, English education)
		Mother's lack of free time (Housework, work, tutoring)
	Lack of professional education guidance	Education opportunity is fleeting A lot of confusion with no answers
Linguistic Environment for HLE	Difficult to create a Chinese communication atmosphere alone	Does not speak Korean to other child Inconvenience to invite Chinese families Other failed attempts
	Assimilation pressures caused by monocultural environment	Child's pressure toward learning Mothers' concern when speaking Chinese Mothers accustomed to communicating in Korean
	Problems with arranging field trip to China	Right timing to arrange travel difficult to find Suitable caregivers unavailable Dialect Uncooperative behaviors of the children
Socio-cultural Context for HLE	Influence of outside opinions	From family and other surrounding people From the "authorities"
	The shortage of adequate educational environment	Chinese HL school Chinese education programs
	Ineffective policy support	Bilingual programs VISA policy

1. Family Context for HL Practices

Resistance to Chinese learning

All participants and me were faced by resistance from our children during the HLE. Children may have quite a different agenda and refuse to learn the HL, often failing to see any relevance of the HL to their own lives in the United States (Tuominen, 1999; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). Kondo (1997) pointed out that the "mother's choices cannot determine children's behavior" (p. 369). My child was reluctant to speak Chinese with me in an elevator. I asked why again and again, but she said she was very embarrassed. She couldn't tell why she was embarrassed, but I could see she found herself different from others.

One problem is the circumstance. South Korea doesn't have a Chinese circumstance. When we go outside, when we are in the elevator or other public places, my sons tell me "mama, could we not speak Chinese? Why should we be different from others? We have to speak Korean". If I insist on speaking Chinese, they would say "bad mama. I don't like you. You're not my mama". In fact, it's not only my children. Most children nowadays don't want to be different from others. They don't consider it a specialty to speak Chinese. ---Li

Another reason for the resistance to Chinese comes from the economy mechanism which the children will use in language selection and tend to make their utterances as efficient and effective as possible to reach communicative goals. Multicultural children's Korean ability is generally much higher than their Chinese ability. The children will naturally use the language they are good at, when they find in communicating with their mothers that their mothers are able to understand Korean. The children don't like to speak Chinese, which is a headache reflected in many responses. Lu felt very annoyed when she

mentioned this.

I have been speaking Chinese to her since she was born, but she often replied me in Korean.... Last year, I began to work, so I had no time to accompany her. Then she spoke less and less Chinese. What is more, she began to go to the Kindergarten where she made more and more Korean-speaking friends. Therefore, she spoke even less Korean. ---Lu

In addition, due to the limited Chinese language environment of IMF, children's comprehension ability of Chinese is not improving along with the increasing of things they know. On the contrast, it is much later than children's cognition development. That's why children would be offensive to mothers' Chinese when mothers say something or tell stories in Chinese. When children begin to be able to select books by themselves, in particular, mother will feel very difficult to control children's likes in reading and watching.

*There are also Chinese cartoons on TV. I'll show her what to see. But if it's too hard, she just gives it up... Other people's children especially like *The Journey to the West*. I thought that could help understand many of the traditional Chinese cultures, so I specially downloaded it for her to watch. After she watched one episode, she refused to watch more. ... For stories, likewise, she liked simple ones and refused difficult ones. ---Lu*

I tried several times to play them some Chinese cartoons online, but failed, even though they liked computers. I once found some Chinese websites and told them there were very interesting Chinese cartoons. I wanted them to watch. But they only watched a few episodes and diverted to the more interesting Korean cartoons again. Then they gave up the Chinese websites. When they were younger, I was able to control them more or less. But now they have grown up and freely search on the Internet in Korean, so they are able to reject my method. They do not follow me anymore. ---Li

*I also played him some Chinese cartoons, but not much. He prefers Korean cartoons. I also read him some Chinese books, like *Ultraman*. ---Kang*

The resistance of children, sometimes, made adults feel very helpless and have no countermeasures. Li also mentioned that she had specially taken the eldest son back to china to learn Pinyin in a training class, but the child was very defensive to this. As a result, she paid the full tuition, but the child only participated half of the time.

My old child was well prepared now. We sent him to China for one month last year and sent him to an institute, where he learnt pinyin. But during that month, he was not very interested, probably because there were no other children and the teachers taught very boringly. He finally knew pinyin after about ten days, but he gave up and didn't want to go there, no matter how other people advise. His level of pinyin was only learned during the ten days. He learnt very well and quickly, but the thing is we didn't seize the opportunity. ---Li

In addition, many responses also said that their children cannot realize the necessity of learning Chinese. As a kind of learning, it gives children a sense of burden instead of any interest. Especially when children have a negative understanding of Chinese, Chinese education will arouse more resistance of children. Li talked about his experience and view.

The children' impression of China is that China is undeveloped. My home town is located in the suburb of Qingdao, not in the metropolis. When we visited China, we did not go to developed regions. But in Korea, we live in the new economic zone of Incheon, where the living and social conditions are all better than where we live in China. They think product quality the same way. Sometimes other children say this product is made in South Korea, that low-quality product is made in China. Such comparison invisibly leads the children to have a consciousness, to which I can do nothing. With such consciousness, they think China is only large, but is under-developed and unqualified, so it is not that necessary to learn Chinese. . ---Li

People in wealthy families of metropolis such as Beijing and Shanghai seldom

come here... They even don't believe the news about the consumption of Chinese tourists in South Korea. Since they have the subjective impression from what they have seen, they still think very few Chinese are rich...In fact, it's not only my children. Most children nowadays don't want to be different from others. They don't consider it a specialty to speak Chinese. ---Li

It is gratifying that, with the growth of the age, the resistance of the responses' children became easing. And some children underwent changes under their mothers' guide. But there were also cases in which the children kept the resistance to the end or even refused to learn Chinese.

Several years ago when my sons refused to learn Chinese, I sort of gave up. What could I do if they didn't wanna learn?" I was busy because I had to work. Fortunately, as they grew up and went to China with me, they gradually became interested in Chinese. This gave me hope, so I should teach them Chinese.... Now they don't resist if I speak to them in Chinese. (But) They get very anxious when they couldn't understand. If they still don't know after I repeat three times, they would say "Korean, please! ---Liu

When she(old daughter) was in primary school, her dislike for Chinese learning reduced, though she still did not like me to speak it outside....(now) She even felt proud that she could speak it. As I emphasize to her that her mom is Chinese, she shows great interest to Chinese culture and she borrows many books about that to read. ---Zhang

(In the introduction to the Chinese education of the third son)...At the very beginning, when I spoke Chinese to him, he would say, "Don't speak Chinese to me, mom. I can't understand that. I am Korean". Now, however, he wouldn't do that again. When hearing my Chinese, he sometimes didn't say anything, while sometimes he would answer me with simple Chinese sentences, for example, when I asked "Zài nǎ er (where)?" He would answered "Zài zhè er (Here)". His pronunciation was not very standard and only responded me in Chinese occasionally. ... My eldest son now has realized the significance of learning Chinese. It's not about interest, it's about needs. Sometimes when I speak Korean

to his youngest brother, he would say, "Mom, you said you want to teach him Chinese, then why don't you speak Chinese with him now?"---Wang

Kang, Li and Liu also shared some of their experience in dealing with children's resistance. Kang aroused children's interest to Chinese through the educating method. Li changed children's recognition of China through emphasizing the advantages of China so as to stimulate children's enthusiasm of learning Chinese. And Liu brought the child back to China two times when the child had no idea about the usefulness of Chinese. She made the child realize the significance of learning Chinese by bringing the child into contact with the society of China.

I was not good at Korean at first, so I wanted to teach him Chinese. But he resisted sometimes. Of course, you can understand this from a child's perspective, when you don't understand Chinese...The life around does not allow children to learn the benefits of learning Chinese, therefore, the children cannot realize the need of it... At the beginning, I was also hesitant when I spoke Chinese in public places. I was worried whether other people would look at my child very strangely. Then I realized it went all right as long as I spoke naturally and dignifiedly. I shouldn't care what others thought. I spoke with my son in Chinese freely. I spoke in Chinese in front of his friends..... I found my friends spoke with their children in simple Chinese at the beginning, such as hello, thanks. But if they wanted to say some hard words, the children could not understand. After that, the children would resist if they were talked to in Chinese. Chinese teaching became harder.... So in the first place, I was eager to know how to make my son interested in Chinese. ---Kang

Sometimes when we had family meetings, we told them "children, your Chinese has been largely lagged behind. Your mama is Chinese, it's pity if you don't speak Chinese". But they don't think that way. They only think they are forced by their mama. ...But I continually instill this consciousness into them. I want them to understand. ---Li

I always emphasize the world-leading science and technology in China, and the

strong military power in China. South Korea has been left 20-30 years behind China in these areas (I don't know exactly how many years). Nevertheless, South Korea has some strength, like medicine and cosmetics. My old child may understand this, but the small child is confused. I always implant some ideas (how powerful China is) to them. ... If you know Chinese, you can also go to Singapore, Hong Kong and Taiwan, in addition to mainland China. I haven't taken you to these places, because I have no much money. ---Li

I took them to China twice when my old son was 6 and 8 years old (2013/2015), respectively. I noticed they wanted to learn Chinese. ... (Also) I did not hide my Chinese identity on purpose. Mama is Chinese, it's true. The Chinese people have many merits. Nowadays, many countries respect China. China has so many virtues... Then I went to work in a school. Although this job was not well-paid, it made my children very proud. ---Liu

Lack of linguistic interaction

The child's busy schedule

Schoolwork As children come to the school age, they have more and more to learn. The mothers who have experienced the pressure and burden of study don't want to give children extra burden. In particular, Korean children have many tutoring classes after school. If they don't go there, they may fail to follow the school course. As the children were busy, the practices of Chinese education were often interrupted.

He didn't know many Chinese characters. But I thought it was acceptable. I did not emphasize on his Chinese except on vacations. He had much to learn in school days, so I did not want to give him more work and pressure. I did not want my son to live like me who had a lot of pressure from my mother when I was a child. ---Ma

(When explain why not continue to talk with Chinese relatives via WeChat)...This lasted for several months and stopped when she got busy on school study. Students in South Korea were very busy. After school, she still had other things to learn, Life Chemistry on Monday, swimming on Tuesday and

Thursday, and playing the piano and going to the library on other days. Every day she had no time staying home after school. She left home at 8:20am and came back at 5-6pm. After getting home, she need still do homework and listen to English. ---Zhang

In South Korea, if children don't go to tutoring classes, they may fail to keep up with the course of the primary school. Children come home so late, but they still have to learn so much (Korean, math). They even have no time to play. --- Lu
As for Hanja, I bought some books about Hanja and I often write together with my sons. We do not write regularly, but occasionally and on weekend. They stop learning Hanja after they return to school. ---Liu

Friends Besides learning, children also need make friends and need a lot of time to play outside with friends instead of staying together with their mothers. In addition, as the modern mothers, several participants indicated that compared to the acquisition of knowledge and the improvement the learning result, they paid more attention to training children's communication ability. When talking about this, Wang joked:

My child has entered into the society.... He has long refused to play with me. I can hardly see my second son every day. ---Wang

When they grow up they like their friends most. They consider their parents or other family members less important. All they think of is either games or friends. ---Li

Instead of simply putting her at home, I need to spend time taking her to play outside, making her get more touch with other children. The study of the child is important, but the cultivation of her personality is more important. I think that nowadays EQ plays a more important role than IQ in people's development. ---Lu

Extracurricular Life in addition to conventional learning and making friends, extracurricular life also took a lot of children's time. Some children indulge in their hobbies and some are expanding their interest fields under their

parents' guide. Zhang is very supportive of his daughter going to explore the nature with her dad every week. And Li is very annoyed about her child being addicted to games.

I don't want too much (on children's Chinese ability). My husband has a more open view. He thinks that health is the most important thing and then freedom follows it. My husband may not be a good husband, but he is definitely a good father. After my daughter was born, he never slept over the weekends which other husbands often choose to do, instead, he spent every weekend taking the child to play outside, even when it was a rainy day. That's why we had visited all places around Soul when we were there. My daughter communicates much with her father. My first child has seen a lot, and there are many things in her mind. With so many experiences, she feels easy in writing. This is my husband's way of education, which is to connect with the nature instead of finding a home teacher back home to teach her or sending the child to some schools. ..That's why I do not force myself much on teaching the child Chinese. ---Zhang

He was not very fond of games at first, but other little children all liked playing games. If he didn't play, he had little in common with other children, and they would ignore him. Nowadays, about 99% of little children play games, so in order to communicate with others, he involuntarily starts to play. The thing is there is an 'attendance check' in games, so he has to register every day and thus becomes indulged. This 'attendance check' turns the bad behavior into a habit. Since they started playing games, my schedule of Chinese teaching was ruined. Also the schedules of Korean learning were all destroyed. ---Li

English Education English education plays a very important role in South Korea's education system. In South Korea, English classes are offered early from the kindergarten. My child went to the nursery school at the age of 26 months, when there was already one English class every week in the nursery education. Later he went to the kindergarten when he was 4, where English class was offered every day. At the same time my Korean father-in-law

arranged English education for the child at home. I have to say that from then on, the CD player at home changed from playing Korean and Chinese songs and stories mainly to playing English for 80% of the time. According to my personal experience, English education indeed has an impact on children's Chinese education. Yang had once given up teaching the child Chinese due to the fact that the child had began the English learning. Kang who has paid much attention on the child's Chinese education also begins to transfer some of her time and energy on the child's English education.

He was learning English at the kindergarten. He knew English well. But I was worried he would be confused if he learnt English and Chinese together, so I didn't teach him Chinese (at that time). ---Yang

Now I am thinking of English education. Languages have something in common. He has no problem in Korean now, and has mastered Chinese to some extent. It would be better if he could speak English. I downloaded some cartoons or online classrooms.... I also think of teaching English in the same way of teaching Chinese, but I haven't made up my mind. ---Kang

In Korea, you can't give up your child's English education. - - Liu

Anyway, English is considered as part of the grades, so it is impossible not to pay attention to it. ---Wang

Mother's lack of free time

Housework as FIMs, the participants have a difficult process in adapting to the family life of South Korea. Growing in different cultural background environment, they underwent many changes on identities after they got married and came to South Korea. First, they became wives and then mothers. While they were busy adapting to a new culture, they were also busy in adapting to the changes of their identities. "Tired" was the feeling most of them felt in this process. They were so tired that they had no time to educate their children.

...When I got to South Korea, I felt life was hard. I had no friends there and I couldn't speak Korean...There was suddenly a child in my life. I had no people by my side to help me, so I really felt very tired. ---. Ma

I felt that my husband had put many things on my shoulder.. I felt that every day things kept getting in the way, and I couldn't see the end. After I came back from work, I should first cook meals and feed the child and then clean up rooms. After I finished all the work, I was very tired and the day just passed away. I even had no time to watch TV. ---Lu

Work To participate in a work is an expression that one has integrated into the South Korean society. Many mothers said that they could not accept the life of staying at home for a long time. But once they got a work, mothers would have less time staying at home and hence have less time to educate their children. This is a big challenge to the Chinese education which mainly depends on mothers' education.

I now go to work and have not enough time together with him. Even when we are together, he does his own things while I'm busy with our things. ---Kang

I once bought some CDs of childhood songs. But even I didn't insist on, because when I was working, it was hard for me to play CDs to them every day. The CDs were not very attractive to them. When I found they were not very interested, I gave up. ---Li

Tutoring There are many types of education in the campus education of South Korea, even in the stage of the kindergarten education.

Now once I manage to have a free day, I should first help her do the kindergarten homework. In kindergarten, she began to have a lot of homework. There is a special book, asking mothers to read and sign. After I finish the reading, it is time for me to sleep. There are also painting work on weekends. The parents describe

what the child has done, and the child paints it. Many teachers would leave children's parents some work. In addition, there are also the tutoring classes for Korean and math, which all need parents to help review. .. I am not very capable in Korean, so I have to spend a lot of time on these works. In the past, I read her before she went to bed. But now, I have neither time nor energy to do so. --- Lu

Lack of professional education guidance

According to De Houwer's (2009) bilingual first language acquisition theory, Chinese, as an inherited language, is the child's mother tongue, which is learned in a foreign language environment. It is different from the native language education in traditional sense and from the foreign language education. Inherited language education is a field beyond the education knowledge of the immigrant women. They don't know who to ask when they meet problems. Because most people around have only a similar experience, which means that they learn their mother tongue naturally and learn their foreign languages at school. Since there are no similar education cases to refer to, some participants made some regrets because of their lack of cognition. And some are now facing some confusion of education but cannot find the solutions.

Education opportunity is fleeting First, for most children, the HLE is somewhat an insertion in the normal upbringing. That's why mothers are always considering where to begin the HLE will not have big impact on children's normal life and study, especially on the language learning. Children have an important period for language acquisition. Many mothers have missed the "best" time they find now because of their lack of experience.

I think the gold period for a child to learn a language is before six years old. At the age of five or six, their language developing ability is amazing. Sometimes you will be surprised he speaks out all kinds of Chinese (a child's language ability exceeds what his mother expected when she first taught him Chinese). He understood whatever I say. But it made me feel failure when I spoke Chinese, but

he answered in Korean (I said failure because I hadn't made any change at that very moment). As a result, it became more common that I spoke in Chinese while he answered in Korean. When he didn't answer me in Chinese, I thought it all right he could understand me. It would be better if I insisted him speak Chinese at that time. Otherwise, his oral ability would be better now. ---Kang

I think I have failed in teaching my children Chinese. It would be better if I had created more conditions when they were at the best time for language learning. It's a pity I have missed this chance. ...Little children have the power of understanding languages. They can learn without any teaching, but the effect is still better than what they would learn when they are older. ...I regret now that they missed the chance of learning Chinese when my old son was six years old and my second son was five years old. At that time, I was returning to work, so I had no time taking them to China. I found some unemployed friends took their children to China for two or three months every year. Their children all speak Chinese better than my sons.... If someone had told me that at that time, it would be better. Because my child was late, I recommended a friend to teach her child Chinese as mother tongue while my son can only learn Chinese as a foreign language in the future. ---Liu

He (old son) learnt very well and quickly, but the thing is we didn't seize the opportunity. ---Li

In fact, it is difficult to realize many of our thoughts on our children. We may hear of many good ideas. But in reality, the chances of realizing them are difficult to grasp. After we lose the chance, we say "if only we could do that then". ---Zhang

A lot of confusion with no answers There are many bottlenecks in the process of children's education. Some participants think that it is hard for children to improve when they come to a daily communication level. Some think that children's spoken language is acceptable, but they face challenges in improving their reading and writing. They don't know how to make it.

I feel powerless in teaching my children Chinese in South Korea. I have always

worked hard on that, but my children still can't speak Chinese as well as the children in China. I feel very anxious that I teach her and read her but she still can't speak Chinese well. I feel very tired on doing so, especially when I have a job. I read her Chinese books after work and have no time to have a rest. But she has made no progress and thinks her speaking is not Chinese-like. I feel very disappointed: I have made so much effort, how come her Chinese has not been improved? ---Lu

I found that he has the certain ability on Chinese, but only on daily expressions. There is no big change in their language level. Everyone basically speak the same thing. There is no any progress. --- Zhang

2. Linguistic Environment for HLE

Difficult to create a Chinese communication atmosphere

Teaching children Chinese in South Korea families out of international marriages, as the participants said, “Lacks language communication environment, and it is difficult to create a small language atmosphere.” Unlike overseas Chinese, FIMs live in a scattered way, and thus they are unable to form a language exchange community. The lack of exposure to language reduces many chances of language output for children, affecting the children's Chinese learning.

I think in South Korea, it's nearly impossible for a mother to teach her children Chinese very well. Learning a language needs an environment, both in life and in a family. There is no Chinese speaking atmosphere in South Korea. Though the environment in a family can be created, the ability of one person is limited. For example, I failed to build a good Chinese environment at home which influenced my daughters' Chinese level. Even if the language atmosphere in a family is very good, how much Chinese can children speak? Very little. For most time, they are in an environment without Chinese. That's why people cannot learn Chinese effectively in South Korea. Without a larger Chinese environment, it's difficult to

make children's Chinese education. We'd better bring children back to China for two years rather than study hard in South Korea. It is a hard work for both mother and children to teach Chinese in South Korea. --- Zhang

The lack of language environment has brought great challenges to education. Even if the mother tried to speak Chinese, the children who long live in South Korea, can easily speak Chinese in a Korean way.

Now we have not been back to China for more than one year. My children's Chinese becomes weird again. Their level will be back when in China and lower when they had left China for long. ---Ma

I have taught her for a long time, but she never speaks well, and often speaks like a foreigner. .. I spend a lot on teaching her, but only make her an foreigner. ---Lu

Do not speak Korean to other child --- For this, participants actively tried to solve the problem. Some invited Chinese families to come to South Korea, some try to let the children make video calls with Chinese families, and some get children who knew Chinese together. Each attempt, however, would face different challenges.

I know six or seven children's mothers who are Chinese. In order to improve children's Chinese; we often tried to give parties. But these children would speak Korean between each other as they all spoke Korean in the kindergarten, do not speak Chinese. If you asked them to stop speaking Korean and let them speak Chinese, they would only speak a few sentences, and later after playing a while, they spoke Korean again. ---Lu

I have many Chinese friends in South Korea. Whenever we gonna meet, I bring him with me. In these meetings, he plays with other children. When the adults are talking, he translates what he understands to other children.... There are only a few children around who can speak fluent Chinese. --- Kang

Inconvenience to invite Chinese families Except to take the children to China, many participants think that to invite Chinese families and friends to come to South Korea is a good opportunity to teach children Chinese, though sometimes it is not very convenient for friends and family to come to South Korea.

My parents are now old and as Han people, they can't adapt to the life in Korean. In addition, they need to help take care of my brothers' children, who are traditionally thought to be more close to them than my sons. ---Wang

My parents have jobs in China. So it is not convenient. --- Kang

The home space is limited, and I live with my mother-in-law. My mother felt uncomfortable every time when she was here. So she would only stay for a few days.. --- Lu

The culture of South Korea differs from ours. When a daughter married here, here is her home. And it makes people feel uncomfortable if the daughter's parents were here. My parents are also not willing to come. ---Li

Other failed attempts In order to create a Chinese communication atmosphere, the participants also tried some other educational approaches, which also failed because the children were busy or did not cooperate. For example, as mentioned before, Zhang let the children to communicate with their families through WeChat which was stopped because the child had no time. Wang said that the child's communicating with the families through phones had little effect because of the lack of common topics as well as the child introverted character. Some other cases where children are asked to input Korean also failed to play the effect because of some reasons.

My children seldom call to their Chinese relatives, because their Chinese is too poor to make communication. In addition, they don't get along with my Chinese

families frequently, so they don't have many common topics. ---Wang

◦ I usually contact with my Chinese relatives through mobile phones, but rarely on computers. It is inconvenient to talk when they are around, so I usually find a quiet place. So they cannot hear me talking in Chinese. They keep asking "mama, I want this, I want that", which interferes with me, so I leave them naturally. ---Li
My husband spoke better Chinese than I spoke Korean, so we chatted in Chinese. The children were around and heard some of our chatting. This more or less helped to cultivate their sense of Chinese. ... (But) I was once separated for very long time from my husband (because of husband's job). He was in China. After we came here, he was appointed to another place. He came back home once a week. We had lived together for very short time, not until in recent two years. ---Li

...I brought her to China for more than one month when she was four years old. During that period, her Chinese improved fast. In the first week, she did not speak anything. In the second week, she began to speak simple sentences. Later, she could almost fully express herself in Chinese. And she knew what language to speak on different occasions. She spoke Chinese in the airport but stopped when boarded the flight to South Korea. --- Zhang

Assimilation pressures caused by monocultural environment

Korea has been proud of their single language and single cultural. So the assimilation policy was applied in early days when a large number of foreign immigrants rushed into South Korea. After survey, Park & Sung (2008) found that before 2007, Korean education accounted for 70% of the content of the multi-cultural support policy, which makes foreign immigrants and their children under great pressure of Korean learning.

Child's pressure toward learning In Korean academic field, for a long time, the research results had focused on the language development delay of multicultural children. The conclusion of academic research has dominated the social mainstream of public opinions. Therefore, the participants all said that the family and people around begin to worry about their children's Korean

capabilities.

My concern is that learning Chinese should not interfere with learning Korean. Others would be disgusted that you don't speak Korean because you have a foreigner mother. I don't want this. I've never expected my children must outperform other children, but that they should be the same as others. ---Yang

I think that this has much to do with children's characters. I also worry that the child's incapability will affect her social life. ---Lu

...My Korean vocabulary was small; I even thought it was hard for my sons to learn Korean. Their language development might be delayed, or their Korean ability was low...I was afraid they did not lay a good basis for their Korean, so I stopped teaching them Chinese. ---Liu

Mothers' concerns when speaking Chinese Oriental culture is a collective culture, which pays attention to take care of each other between people. In such a cultural atmosphere, FIMs think that it is a kind of disregard and disrespect for people around if they speak Chinese to children in front of families and relatives. And people around will also feel embarrassed. This thought causes that mothers have less and less chances to speak Chinese to children. Li who had once lived together with her parents-in-law said.

Before he (old son) was six, he only spoke Chinese. But after we came here, we lived in a big family with my relatives. This family included his grandma, big uncle and little uncle. His grandma was old and reluctant to Refused to let me speak with the children in Chinese. I was not afraid of his grandma, but only out of respect or fear of family contradiction, but she stayed in the house all 24 hours.

---Li

Another thing, as long as there was a Korean, if we spoke Chinese, it made us uncomfortable, since they couldn't understand us and really minded. If I spoke a language that she didn't know, she felt she was ignored and not respected. For this reason, speaking Korean involuntarily is regarded as a kind of respect to them. As time went by, I became accustomed to Korean. My children got used to

communicating with me in Korean. This habit was very important. Once this habit was formed, it was hard to change. ---Li

Lu and Kang, who often taught children Chinese by communicating with children in Chinese, also mentioned this. Kang overcame it by herself and continued to speak Chinese to the child while Lu changed to speak Korean to the child when they were outside.

*...At the beginning, I was also hesitant when I spoke Chinese in public places. I was worried whether other people would look at my child very strangely. ---Kang
...I always spoke Chinese to the child at home. But when we were outside, I spoke to her in Korean in front of other people. Anyway, I had some worries, and I was afraid that she would feel uncomfortable if I spoke Chinese to her. ---Lu*

Mothers accustomed to communicating in Korean In the early days of living in South Korea, the FIMs were insufficient in Korean capability. They were used to express in Chinese. But during the process when they kept on learning Korean and worked hard on adapting to the Korean life, their habit of language using had shown language shift. Frequently using Korean in daily life, they began to habitually blur out Korean instead of Chinese. This was a big challenge for mothers who first spoke Korean to children but later hoped to teach children through daily Chinese communication. Li and Zhang were deeply impressed on this and they told me the difficult they had met in the transferring.

Li mentioned that every time when she wanted to communicate in Chinese, she had to switch into Korean under the following circumstances. First, she used the Korean expressions that had no corresponding Chinese expressions. Second, she would express some important meanings which the child could not understand with his limited Chinese ability. And the last one is when she had no

time to speak slowly in Chinese. In this way, she gradually spoke from a few Chinese words to all Chinese. She and her husband tried their best to speak Chinese to the child in order to benefit the child's learning. But affected by the expressing habit, they were unconsciously constantly switching between Chinese and Korean. She felt that the consciousness and habit of expression were very important, as once a habit was formed, it was difficult to change.

Each time when we returned from China, I was determined to teach them Chinese. However, some Korean-exclusive words could be hardly translated into Chinese, like "Hak Seupji" . So I spontaneously blurted out the Korean words. Or when I found it difficult in expressing something in Chinese, I resorted to Korean. Then I unconsciously started to communicate with them in Korean. Each time when I made up my mind, I only insisted for one or two weeks and transited to Korean again. Then after several days, I realized this and started again to use Chinese. So I repeated this progress again and again. . ---Li

...When I got angry and impatient to express my suggestions, I unconsciously used Korean. Like "go to study quickly", because I have many things to do, I have no time to explain to them bit by bit....When I'm conscious, my old son speaks 50% of Chinese with me, but once I get unconscious, he replies to me in Korean. I think communicative habits are very important. It is difficult to change consciousness and habits. It's the same with their father. He consciously speaks Chinese once in a while. If I compulsorily remind them "Oh, no, you are speaking Korean", they would speak some Chinese. However, when they had to say some Korean-exclusive words, or some words that could not be translated into Chinese, they only spoke Korean again. ---Li

Zhang also said that she would also like to speak more Chinese to the child, but the implementation of this is not easy. It was easier a few years ago. But now Zhang's Korean is better than before and she is more used to express in Korean.

Now I find the biggest problem in their education is lying on me. But it is difficult for me to change. I often think that they may understand better if I speak Korean. I worry that they can't understand deeply if I talk to them in Chinese. In fact, they are great in comprehending things, so it's my fault that their Chinese is not very well. I am trying to change myself. I try to speak Chinese at home as more as possible. But this is not easy. Because my Korean has improved a lot now, I can express many things in Korean which I can't before. If it is five or ten years ago when I could not speak Korean, teaching children in Chinese is easy and natural for me, as Chinese is the only language I can speak. ---Zhang

Problems with arranging field trip to China

Right timing to arrange travel difficult to find As children grow up and mothers go to work, it will be difficult for adults and children to be both available to go to China. At the same time, in South Korea's social culture, it is thought to be very strange if a married woman always goes back to her parents' home.

I have little chance to return (to China)... I will not go back unless there is something in urgency. Even if I go back, I only stay for a week at most. ---Kang (When she complain the visa system)...In fact, I have several chances of going to China, but now I cannot because of the visas of my children. I feel it hard even going to China for one time a year. Even when my materials are completed, my children' materials are unqualified. Sometimes when I see cheap plane tickets, I can go back for some days. But because of visa, we get fewer chances going back to China. --- Li

Now this work has no long holidays. Unless I resign, it is difficult for me to bring the child back to China for a longer period of time. So I have to invite my families to come. ---Lu

suitable caregivers unavailable Because mothers have work, some of the participants thought to send the child back only, for example, Zhang, Liu

and Li, Zhang and Liu have the nearly-same-aged sisters to help, but Li has encountered problems.

As for sending them to China, it was hard to decide where to send them. They are not old enough. Eating, pissing, sleeping, illness, making noise, and everything are burdens to those taking care of them. It is not easy to send them to my relatives. My old son already knew some Chinese, so he did not make much progress this month, as he only became more fluent in the daily language. But my small son changed from not knowing Chinese to speaking Chinese. ---Li

Campus education Speaking of sending children to learn Chinese in China, the married immigrants not only hoped that children could make daily communication but that children could reach the levels of the domestic peers. Moreover, as children grow up, parents hoped children could join the campus education by sending them to China. However, it failed neither because the children had resistance to the classroom nor it was difficult for them to enter the education system. Ma made it because her hometown was a “small” place and there were fewer restrictions on education systems. Liu made it because she had relatives working in the education system, which could help her make transfer-in learning. But Lu, whose parents lived in the urban area of Qingdao, encountered difficulties. Though she once made a great determination to resign and bring the child back, she finally gave up the plan, as she was unable to make her child transfer in the kindergarten.

My parents helped me to contact with several kindergartens around the home, but did not allow transfer-in study.. For those which were too far away, it was not convenient to pick the child up. So I had to give up. ---Lu

We sent him to China for one month last year and sent him to an institute, where he learnt pinyin. But during that month, he was not very interested, probably because there were no other children and the teachers taught very boringly. He

finally knew pinyin after about ten days, but he gave up and didn't want to go there. His level of pinyin was only learned during the ten days. --- Li

Taking children to China is a quick way to learn Chinese, but it is not to say that taking children to China means that children can quickly master Chinese. There are a lot of practical challenges and difficulties that need married immigrant mothers to solve.

Dialect As a research from China, I haven't expected that China has such rich dialects. I have been visited Qingdao and Weifang. I thought the local people only spoke Mandarin with some local accent. I had no idea that they had local dialects, and I was also not aware that the local people spoke dialects to each other.

People in Qingdao speak the local dialect, but all TV programs are mandarin, so they can learn from TV. Sometimes they even learn the dialect on purpose. ---Li
My nieces and nephews are still in primary school. They are younger than my eldest son. So in China my child usually communicate with his grandma and grandpa. But he has difficulties in understanding the dialect and he is a boy, unlike girls who like coquetry, so usually he prefers to stay alone rather than talk with others. ---Wang

I took them back to China a few times, most of my family are old, they speak in local languages (Weifang), children do not understand. ---Yang

Uncooperative Behaviors of the Children The reason why bringing children to China can promote the progress of children's Chinese is that everyone around speaks Chinese and on one speaks Korean which push children to adapt and study. Liu has two similar-aged sons. Her hometown is in Harbin. She encountered no dialect problems but other unexpected things.

In the past three or four years, I paid two long visits to China, about one month

each. All members in my parents' family spoke Chinese Mandarin, so my sons followed them and learnt. When I was not with them, they had to survive, so they spoke Chinese, like "grandma, I want to drink".... However, when my sons played with their friends and had some problem in communication, they spoke to each other in Korean. That's why they were progressing slowly.... When I saw this, I was disappointed because the reason I brought you to China was that I wanted you to learn Chinese better. Anyway, I had no other choice, because I hardly separate them. ---Liu

3. Sociocultural Context for HLE

Influence of outside from outside

From family and other surrounding people The views of the people around me always swing, making the education will of the responses swing too. For example, though the participants' husband all showed great support to children's Chinese education, they did not expect much on the results. So when there were difficulties in the education, the husbands would hold the attitude "You do it if you can, but if you can't do it, don't force yourself". I don't mean that some ideas are wrong, but they did caused certain impact to the Chinese education.

My husband supported my choice. He had been study in China. It was then we got to know each other. He liked China very much and liked stay there. He loved the relationships of relatives and friends in China. ... (But)He thought study should be a natural thing, and health was most important. As a mother, I hoped my children would be successful in the future. But influenced by my husband, I gradually accepted his idea. ---Ma

He (husband) thinks Chinese is great. He really wants to learn it, but he has no time. He also hopes that our two children can communicate in Chinese.... (But) He thinks health ranks first, then is freedom, other things are all the last important. ---Zhang

In addition to influence from the opinions of the husbands, friends also play a role here. It was mentioned before that when the child was facing pressure of Korean learning, Yang mentioned her friend's suggestion which suggested her to pay more attention to the child's Korean education instead of Chinese education. In addition, when the interviewee Lu was hesitating about whether to bring the child back to China, one of her friends who was from Taiwan text messages to suggest her that:

'When the child has the opportunity to stay with the parents, of course, we should accompany her around! The child grows up only once. So no matter how many languages or other things she can learn, the establishment of parent-child relationship and the education of characters from the parents are not replaceable.. What she can learn is determined by her destiny. The ability to study or be good at languages is innate by nature. We just do what we can do to help them. '---Message from Lu's friend

And Kang's mother-in-law thought she should not speak Chinese to the child. Fortunately, Kang did not agree with her and hadn't given up the Chinese education.

When I first started to speak Chinese with my son, my mother-in-law disagreed. She thought my son should learn Korean first. At that moment, I felt they were wrong. ---Kang

Of course, there were some suggestions which had promoted participants' education behavior. Ma had an idea about 8 year-old. Because one of her friend said that Children's language ability would be fixed after 8 years old. I haven't found the academic basis for this. This caused Ma to keep on working hard to educate the child, though the impact of this on the education after 8 years old

can temporarily not be determined.

I heard that things learned by a child before he is eight years old will never be forgotten in the future. But the key is that the child must insist on the learning before he is eight. ---Ma

From the "authorities" In the hearts of parents, teacher is the representative of the authority. Unlike the opinions of people around, teacher's opinion often plays the role of guiding parents' education behavior. Liu is a typical example of this. When her child was in the kindergarten, the child spoke Chinese and Korean in a mixed way to the teacher, then the teacher suggested Liu not to speak Chinese and to let the child learn Korean first. Liu followed the teacher's advice and gave up the child's Chinese education.

(After got the teacher's advice)...Then I thought it was all right, so let them learn Korean first. My Korean vocabulary was small; I even thought it was hard for my sons to learn Korean. Their language development might be delayed, or their Korean ability was low. These words from their teacher made me more worried. Later, I stopped speaking with them in Chinese on purpose. I spoke more Korean. I was afraid they did not lay a good basis for their Korean, so I stopped teaching them Chinese. --- Liu

However, according to the information feedback from the participants, the "authoritative" opinions they got from teachers were mainly promoting Children's HL education.

As for Hanja, I bought some books about Hanja and I often write together with my sons. We do not write regularly, but occasionally and on weekend... Some HSK teachers told me children should better learn Hanja before grade three and then learn Chinese. If they have learnt Hanja well before grade three, they will learn Chinese more easily in the future. ---Liu

A teacher who taught me Korean said, children who were born and grew up in Korea would speak perfect Korean, but they might fail to do so for their mom's mother language. As a new comer in Korea, a mother usually could not speak Korean well. If she taught her child in Korean, mother's poor expressions would confuse her child, which would bring negative effect to the child's learning Korean. So a mother had better teach her child Chinese at first, then the child could communicate with his mom with Chinese when he met difficulties in his study. I think the teacher is right. It's difficult for a mother to catch up with his child in learning Korean, so she had better make more effort to teach the child her own mother language. ---Ma

The shortage of adequate educational environment

Although the social atmosphere of learning Chinese in South Korean is very good, the Chinese education institutions operating in the community are targeted at the local Koreans. The content of education of overseas Chinese schools gives priority to the traditional Chinese character system in Taiwan and the culture of Taiwan. The FIMs didn't think it suitable for their own children. Through the NAVER map's query results, there are more than 1500 Chinese school, which is three times more than the Japanese school. But Zhang, who is engaged in Chinese education in a Chinese school, said:

In the language schools, the primary contents of the dialogue are all the things already known by our children, while for the advanced grammar, the more children learn the more difficult they will feel in speaking. Those are taught in a foreign language way and are to follow the grammar teaching gradient. The contents are more and more far away from the real life. What children will use is different from what they have learned in the books. --- Zhang

Similar to the teaching content of Chinese schools, the teaching content in the Internet TV is the same. In addition, the bilingual class in the multi-cultural center carried out for multi-cultural children, cultural lessons at school, and the

second foreign language class are all considered as form over content, which are mainly the most basic greetings and are not suitable for our own children.

There are Chinese classes as part of the multicultural subject. My daughter's Chinese is much better than what is taught there, so she doesn't need to take the class. The class costs 5-7 won a month. Well, we don't need to spend the money. ---Zhang

I've thought about letting the child go to the overseas Chinese school, and had visited it ... The classroom hung the picture of Jiang Jieshi on the walls, the content of education was all about Taiwan, the characters taught to the children were the traditional Chinese characters and the Pinyin was different from ours. Then I thought the things taught in this school were not what I wanted my child to learn. --- Yang

Since I decided not to go back to China, I applied for courses of Rainbow Chinese (the name of the educational institutions) for the child ... I thought the effect was not obvious. There were only 30 minutes every time, and finally it was still I who taught the child. In fact, I didn't want to teach the child any Chinese knowledge. I was busy and had no time to communicate with the child. So I just wanted the child to communicate more with people. --- Lu

Ineffective policy support

After the introduction of multi-culture social policy in 2006, the multi-culture atmosphere in South Korea society began to improve, especially in 2009 after the launch of the policy of bilingual education, making many people realize the importance of bilingual education and the education of inherited language. The Ministry of Education and the Girls Department launched the bilingual lecturer and the elite class. But many people said the activities had more form than content. It took much time for each time but the result was not good. Li thought that the policy now did not solve practical problems, and she even put forward the influence of visa problems on language education.

Visa is not very convenient for Korean children. If the mama is a marriage immigrant, does the child, Korean child, enjoy the policy of free entrance and exit? This would improve the chance of experiencing the cultures from the mama's country and of contacting more language. Though some special visa policies have been issued, they are not convenient. The application materials and transaction procedures are all inconvenient. Could these policies be simplified? For instance, what if the child can go abroad by only showing the family relationship certificate? In fact, I have several chances of going to China, but now I cannot because of the visas of my children. I feel it hard even going to China for one time a year. Even when my materials are completed, my children's materials are unqualified. Sometimes when I see cheap plane tickets, I can go back for some days. But because of visa, we get fewer chances going back to China. Bilingual education is very limited in Korea, so we have to send our children frequently back-forth between two cultures. In South Korea, they can hardly experience Chinese cultures deeply, but only stay at the superficial level. The Chinese holidays are not essentially reflected here. ---Li

For the visa preferential policies for immigrant relatives now introduced by South Korea, Li added her own views.

Though there are some preferential policies for relatives of marriage immigrants to come to South Korea, the small language atmosphere may be changed, but the large language circumstance is not changed. The language circumstance in China is stereoscopic. The media and road signs intuitively say the meanings. I find that ten visits of Chinese relatives to Korea is not as good as one visit of my children to China. ---Li

In my mind, multicultural polices should develop bilingual education. The bilingual polices now cannot meet the demands of daily practical needs and children's study. The bilingual environment created by mothers is too general. It is a problem that the government only emphasizes the necessity of bilingual education, but it fails to build a national environment of using and learning languages. ---Wang

Well, in the society, people's attention is still on school grades and the abilities to be admitted by good universities. Learning these third or fourth languages is not linked to students' evaluation. Without knowing the benefit of learning them, children will have no motivation to do it. They would rather learn other useful things such as English. Children feel very confused when they are asked to learn a foreign language only because their mom is from a foreign country. And they can't feel any sense of fulfillment from the learning. Therefore the separation of foreign language education and school education is also a disturbing problem.

---Wang

4. Summary and Discussion

In this chapter, the difficulties and challenges faced by participants in HLE education are analyzed from three perspectives, and all levels of difficulties are further discussed, as follows.

1. From the aspect of family practices

There are many challenges in HLE family education. In relation to some objective factors, challenges examined in family-based practices are ones that all IMFs cannot avoid in the process of their children's HL education.

In terms of the characteristics of HLE itself, the pedagogy of HLE is a form between mother tongue education and foreign language education and is an education that monolingual speakers are not familiar with. FIMs lack the experience in this area personally. Lacking relevant experience in life that they can learn from, FIMs have to explore different education methods.

In terms of structural characteristics of MIF's family members, FIMs are the only HL speakers in the family. Education practice can only be carried out through individual behavior. Individual attitude and confidence towards HL, individual education ability, ability to overcome difficulties, and knowledge mastery level all play key roles in the success or failure of HLE.

In terms of immigration status of FIMs, they are married to Koreans, alone without support from nearby relatives and friends with the same language and cultural background. Because of the lack of a close social network, it is difficult for them to create a rich language communication environment for their children.

Regarding the position of HLE in the child's current education, HLE is an additive education compared to most other children's circumstances, and HLE is a burden to children when the necessity of HL learning is not realized, and is easily rejected. The education and learning resources of the family and child (economic strength, cultural capital, learning time, education energy) are limited. Only with sufficient knowledge of HLE's necessity, can more educational resources be distributed to them.

2. From the aspect of the language environment

From the aspect of language environment, HLE has met a lot of challenges in South Korea, a country with a single language environment. Until now, South Korea was chiefly populated by highly homogeneous ethnic groups and was a monolingual nation. According to the report "Ethnologue: Languages of the world", South Korea was ranked 216 of 224 countries in the world in a table of linguistic diversity indexes of countries in the world, as one of the countries with the least linguistic diversity. In the Korean-only life and education environment, Korean education has given FIMs a lot of stress. Mother's and children's lives are more focused on the improvement of their Korean language ability. HLE is forced to yield to Korean education.

The Korean nation was "racialized" through a belief in a common prehistoric origin, producing an intense sense of collective oneness. Ethnicity is generally regarded as a cultural phenomenon based on a common language and history, and race is understood to be collectivity defined by innate and

immutable phenotypic and genotypic characteristics (Shin, 2006). In this social and cultural atmosphere, immigrants and their children are under great social assimilation pressure, which affects their initiative for using HL outside the home.

The greatest difficulty in education is that immigrants in South Korea lack social networks of people with the same linguistic and cultural background. Language needs to be developed through linguistic interaction with more people, but Korea has only opened its doors to foreign immigrants for 20 years. In addition, foreign immigrants, despite their surging trend, still only account for a small proportion of the whole population; cohesive immigrant community has not yet formed. Non-governmental organizations (such as churches) that can effectively gather immigrants together do not exist. Because of the lack of social networks, foreign immigrants in Korea cannot teach their children HL through some of the traditional educational approaches. Looking at the developmental history of HLE for immigrants both home and abroad reveals that traditional educational approaches provided by social networks have been an effective means of HLE.

Community organizing in immigrant communities came about as a result of the growing immigrant population in other countries, such as the United States. Essentially, the social environment stimulated the need for this method of organization (Moya, 2005). It was important for this population to come together and organize to either assimilate into social culture or integrate in respective communities. In addition to organizing around issues that affect the population that they serve, organizations also provide community education and social services⁶. One distinguishing characteristic of community organizing in immigrant communities is the existence of language differences (Ochs & Payés, 2003). Many people with the same linguistic and cultural background

⁶ <http://www.cpresente.org/what-we-do> retrieved on June 6 2016

are gathering in communities, which provide an appropriate language environment and language education atmosphere for HLE. There are not very many foreigners' communities in South Korea. The most representative community is Chinatown, which was formed by the settlements of the Chinese-old-timers who came from Shandong, China 100 years ago. The HLE of the Chinese-old-timers in South Korea is basically the same as in other countries, depending on the Chinese community and private capital, with the overseas Chinese schools as the main locations for Chinese HLE. Because of changes in society, there are only about ten overseas Chinese schools in Korea at present, but there was a time when there were nearly 60 Chinese schools in Korea (Kim, 2011). By virtue of the existence of social forces of the community, the Chinese language has still maintained its vitality in Chinese-old-timers' communities even after more than 100 years of immigration life.

There are approximately 3,000 Korean Christian churches (mostly Protestant) in the United States today (Kim, Kim, & Yu, 1996), which means that there is one Korean ethnic church for roughly 400 Korean Americans (Hurh, 1998). Aside from satisfying the spiritual needs of its members through worship and fellowship, many Korean churches operate weekend Korean language schools for the children of their first-generation immigrant members. Shin (2005) indicated that there are currently over 1,000 Korean HL schools in the United States, most of which are organized and operated by Korean Christian churches. Church congregants are an important social network for Korean Americans, through which children's HLE has been maintained.

At present, the overall proportion of foreign immigrants in South Korea is low, nationalities are different, and the distribution is not concentrated. FIMs are distributed among administrative regions at all levels in Korea. So, it is difficult to form communities in a short amount of time. In former communities,

such as Chinatown, it is difficult for the new immigrants to integrate due to some social and historical reasons. There are a large number of churches in Korea. They are social networks operated by Koreans and are more like a type of interest class rather than HLE school, not having helped much with improving children's HL ability, despite that some of them also conduct foreign language courses (noted in Liu's experience). Thus, the lack of social networks and community makes it difficult for FIMs to create a communication environment in the process of children's HL education in South Korea, which has presented a major challenge for present HLE.

3. From the aspect of education environment

Observing the social and cultural atmosphere, the difficulties are more reflected in the lack of HLE education environment. Due to the current international status of Chinese and active bilateral activities, the Chinese learning intensity in Korean society provides a good social atmosphere for the Chinese education of the Chinese FIM's children. Although there are cases in which teachers have not suggested practicing Chinese from childhood, the overall situation shows a supportive atmosphere. At the social and cultural level, one big problem is the lack of educational environment. Although South Korea has been promoting the development of children's HL in multicultural families through bilingual education activities since 2009, the defects of the policy put into practice has resulted in insufficient policy support and the unimproved educational environment. Next, reasons why the Chinese education institutions in Korean society do not equip Chinese-FIMs to teach their children Chinese will be examined one by one.

Language education institutions Since HLE is not directly tied to school performance, on which parents place a huge emphasis, HL does not enjoy the explicit support that Korean and English receives. However, thanks to

China's current international status and the high prestige of Chinese, various educational platforms in South Korea can feel the influence of Chinese educational institutions, including TV classes, network classes, language schools and one-on-one tutoring. The problem is that the curriculum and teaching content of these educational institutions are designed for Korean students, and it is a type of foreign language teaching. Yu (2015) asserted that there are differences between Chinese HLLs and non-HLLs of Chinese in regards to their motivations, language skills, and cultural awareness. In addition, many teachers' Chinese pronunciation and Chinese level in schools are not as advanced as that of the FIMs. Most of the participants think that these language education institutions are not suitable for their children's HLE.

Government-run Bilingual Programs The South Korean government started bilingual programs for multicultural children in 2009. The MOE has operated bilingual teacher programs which train FIMs to become bilingual teachers and then distribute them into different schools to teach multicultural and bilingual classes, while the MOGEF has operated bilingual classrooms in Multicultural Family Support Centers. Although it may be useful to promote HLE through the government-run bilingual programs which have been implemented in foreign countries, there are also a lot of issues. Bilingual programs, normally housed in public schools, are usually the manifestation of policy support. However, such support may not be sustainable and the programs' effects are not straightforward or consistent (Shin, 2005; Crawford, 2007; Lee & Oxelson, 2006).

The Korean scholar Kim and Lee (2012) indicated that there were some problems with the current "language policy" in Korea, such as the operating organization being a social welfare institution rather than an educational institution, the unprofessional operation, the high repetition of policy, the performance being evaluated through achievements rather than education

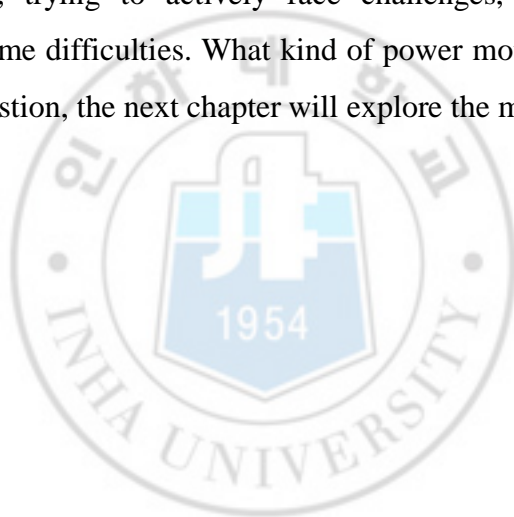
outcomes, the discontinuity of educational activities, and others. Since 2012, the government-run bilingual program has begun to expand the educational objects from multicultural children to all children, and these policies have contributed less and less to the promotion of HLE.

Ethnic Chinese Schools Over the past century, ethnic Chinese schools have played an important role in promoting the HLE of Chinese immigrants and their children in South Korea. Today, the ethnic Chinese schools still provide formal schooling in Chinese, but in the context of the continual increase of China's new immigrants, the schools show operational difficulties and are following a closing trend. This is mainly because the educational content of the schools is different from the knowledge system of Chinese newcomers from mainland China. Due to social and historical reasons, ethnic Chinese schools use Taiwanese textbooks and Taiwanese knowledge systems. In terms of the literacy pedagogical system, the phonetic symbols and Chinese characters are different from the currently used Chinese system in mainland China. Regarding historical and cultural education, their perspectives toward interpreting social and historical problems are not the same. Therefore, participants do not think the ethnic Chinese schools are the right place for their children to learn Chinese. Although some schools use teaching materials from mainland China, the poor school teaching facilities, distant geographical locations and other issues are also reasons why FIMs haven't chosen these schools.

During the HLE process, the family's efforts may allow the child to practice daily communication skills to a certain degree and to some extent, maintain the use of the language, but there are difficulties in the development of language, especially in the cultivation of literary ability, which is very challenging. Limited family education capacity and the lack of community-related measures toward HLE cause FIMs to promote their child's

HLE mainly through sending them back to China to receive education.

Per results, the difficulties and challenges that the participants who actively taught their children Chinese encountered, such as the children's resistance, the confusion during implementation of education, and the lack of language and education environment, occurred in the process of education itself. The challenges happened mostly because HLE for the IMFs is more of a personal struggle for the married immigrant mothers themselves, as these women felt lacking in power. What is worthy of study is how even while facing all sorts of challenges and difficulties, these married immigrant mothers still continue teaching, trying to actively face challenges, and trying various methods to overcome difficulties. What kind of power motivates them do this? To answer this question, the next chapter will explore the meanings of HLE that they have realized.



VI. Meaning of HLE Realized by FIMs

The term “meanings” discussed in this chapter is different from “attitudes”. Attitude is only an expression of favor or disfavor toward HL, or a view regarding whether HLE is important or not. Attitude does not address the “why” from a deeper level. Attitude affects the initiation of HLE, while understanding of the meanings of HLE would impact the concrete implementation and persistent progression of HLE.

The meanings of HLE discussed in this study include the psychological activities of different participants experienced during the teaching process. Such meanings may be the participants' intentions or motivations for HLE, their understanding about the essence of HLE, the realized importance of HLE, the perceived benefits of HLE, or the expected outcomes of HLE. These psychological activities all relate to the perception between the HLE and different interest relationships, and are internal factors that affect HLE. Understanding the inner psychological activities and cognitions in the process of education helps to perform education promotion activities following the definite goal.

When asked about the meanings of education, the participants first stated that they believed they should teach. But when asked why they should, few of them made a quick reply. After the interviews progressed, they each started to express many of their potential thoughts, some similar and others conflicting. Some of them intuitively said they didn't feel any special meaning, but when they talked about concrete experiences, they immediately clarified their thoughts and initiatives about HLE. In other words, they didn't reflect much on the meanings of the HLE. They were organizing their deep-rooted ideas and carefully pondering over this question while being interviewed. The meaning of HLE realized by participants was examined from 4 areas (Table 19).

Table 19. List of Key Words Related to Benefits of HLE

Area	Main Themes	Meaning Unites
Giving the child more future possibilities	Social competitive strength	talent in language ability, one more skill, comprehensive competitiveness, easy to learn english
	More prospects	useful, provide good chance, make living, easy to find job, go to chinese university, other countries(Singapo)
	Bond with the Chinese nation	profound contact with China, understanding of china, children's visual field, another route for children
	Children's self-esteem	felt proud, happy, others admire, others do not master it multicultural class in school
Helping mother to better adapt to life	Instinct and Duty	I'm chinese, should, have to, child deserves it, naturally, inadvertently, my parents ask me, my husband wants
	Achievement	sense of achivement, sense of pride, own advantage
	Emotional communication	feeling of speaking Chinese, hardly to express emotion in korean, mind communication, puberty
	Convenience	filial duty, leaving a retreat of life, getting help from parents
Using advantages of multicultural families	Pleasure in life	chatting topikis between couple, family atmosphere, interaction between mother-child, talking secret in public
	Strength of a multicultural family	korean family teaching Chinese hard, others spend millions, make child to be bilingual
	Connection to Extended families	communicate with Chinese relatives, Chinese grandparents, Korean relative want to learn chinese together
Cultivating global talents for national development	National talent	bilingual, trade
	International connection	necessary part that connect Korea and China, beridge of Korean-China

1. Giving the child more future possibilities

Improving Children's Social Competitive Strength

The FIMs in South Korea are, on the whole, in less competitive social stratum. FIMs groups bear various pressures in the process of living in South Korea, including the pressure of adapting to life and the pressure of competition in life. Regarding the education of their children, most of them are in a weakly competitive state. South Korea is a country that heavily emphasizes education. South Korean families invest a lot in the children's parenting and education. Educational institutions such as tutoring classes and specialty training classes are found on every block in Korea. Private expenditure on children's education in Korean families is quite heavy. As indicated in "The 2015 National Survey on Fertility and Family Health and Welfare" report released by the Korean Institute for Health and Social Affairs (KIHASA), the monthly average cost of raising one child in South Korea is 640 thousand won, and 1.28 million won for raising two, of which, private education is the most expensive part of a family's costs, accounting for 30%.

The Li's family income is at a relatively low level for participants; lower than the national average income level, but higher than that in her Chinese rural hometown. She is a very strong person. She got a bachelor's degree through the internet class, and later got a position in a service institution. She wants her children to become outstanding, but she felt the powerlessness of competition in both family economic strength and educational ability. Li deeply feels that the South Korean society invests a lot in the education of children. She said that through seeing Korean children going to various classes, she knew that the competition between their children and the Korean children was in fact a competition between an egg and a rock. Yet despite this weak competitive state, Li thought that her children could enhance their own social

competitiveness if she helped them master Chinese.

I believe that the Chinese education is helpful for our children, whether to the personal development of children or their entrance to the society. ...Korean society is mainly brain-dependent, and it is extremely hard for children to become outstanding.... So our children should compete with the Korean children by increasing the ability which others do not have. What is this ability is? Chinese language! Teaching our children Chinese is to bring them to improve the competitive ability. ---Li

Li felt the pressures of competition in children's education and growth. She believes that compared to native Korean children, multicultural children lack advantages in education, and that Chinese education would help make up for their disadvantages in education. This means that Chinese ability can be a kind of competitive augment. While Yang, who is in a better family environment, did not think her child was in a weak position in education. In contrast, she thought that her child was in a dominant position in regards to education with talent in both language ability and athletic ability. However, Wang has her views about additive competitiveness:

As computer develops, it will be a little difficult to take language as a professional work in the future because all materials can be translated directly by computer. But it will be better if he has a special skill adding to language ability. For him, it is also one more skill, which will increase the comprehensive competitiveness. ---Wang

Unlike Li, Liu deeply feels the competitive pressures from bilingual Chinese Koreans in the workplace. Liu is a bilingual teacher in a primary School. In order to have a good command of Korean, she had sent two children to kindergarten, and she herself went around various educational institutions.

Even though she worked so hard, her level of fluency in Korean is still unable to catch up with the Korean fluency of Chinese-Korean National Minorities. And she feels it is impossible for her to be better than the bilingual teachers of Korean Nationality. She nevertheless believes she should not only know a foreign language, but also be proficient in this language. The need to master a foreign language in the workplace can bring competitive pressures that people may not be able to compete with. She regrets very much that she did not teach her child Chinese when he was young. Although it is a little late, she is now paying much more attention to educating her child in Chinese. She hopes that her child will not be an underdog in social competition but rather play a powerful and competitive role in the workplace.

More Prospects and More Opportunities

"Increasing competitiveness" was an abstract feeling gotten from participants, but "increasing employment opportunity" was the generally-accepted and most direct and concrete benefit that their children would get from HLE. Marriage immigrant mothers all thought that learning another language meant their children got a new skill and would improve his or her living skills. It is more important for Chinese, because it is the most prestigious language in the world; China is playing an increasingly important role in global economy. Thus, mastering Chinese undoubtedly would endow children more and better working opportunities in the future.

Kang, Lu, and Liu have benefited from their ability to speak the Chinese language in their work fields in Korea, which further convinced them that learning Chinese would benefit their children in many aspects. Such benefits would be mostly embodied in employment opportunities. Lu became a housewife after she arrived in South Korea. She was so bored that she was almost depressed. But she was not very good at Korean and did not know what

to do in Korea. Her friends told her "you speak Chinese, why don't you go [apply] to some duty-free shops". So she first went to a duty-free shop in Seoul and later was employed in an airport duty-free shop. She is very satisfied with her job now and deeply feels the benefits of learning Chinese.

Besides the job opportunities in Korea, the participants were more optimistic that learning Chinese was a new route and an additional possibility for their children. Wang's husband died two years ago. She now has to raise three children alone in Korea. She had lived here for 18 years and was somehow isolated from her Chinese relatives. She also does not keep close contact with her husband's relatives. She has had to bear all burdens and thus had very realistic expectations for her children. She thought learning Chinese would provide a guarantee for her children.

Learning Chinese will provide children extra help in the future in seeking a job or in learning other things. Even if they have no specific advantages, knowing Chinese well can also help them to make living. --- Wang

Wang also told me something about her family. Her first child knows some Chinese, which can become her safety net.

My husband died when my eldest son started his high school life, which brought great negative effect to the child's mood. He gave up himself in study for two years. Now in the third year, when he wanted to make study, he finds it is very difficult and this is a shock to him...Now he doesn't want to give up going to universities, but it is really difficult for him to pass the entrance examination. I console him, "Don't worry, my son. If you fail in the exam, you can go to China." I hope that he can go back to learn Chinese for one year and then go on with under-graduating study. Now I attach great importance to his Chinese study and he also realizes the significance of that. He knows that it is an extra choice for him to go back to China for universities. Yet he is still in hesitation, as he really

wants to study in South Korea, he likes the life there and doesn't want to give it up. ---Wang

Li who always emphasized the competitive pressure in Korea also pointed out that learning Chinese would pave a broader way for her children and expand their life outside Korea in the future.

South Korea market is limited. No matter how South Korea develops, the opportunities it can provide to the children are limited. The competition in South Korea is too intense. I told the children that you learn Chinese well, then we can go to China in the future, and if you do not want to go to China, you can go to Hongkong, Taiwan, Singapore, where people all speak Chinese---Li

Li and Yang believe the benefits go far beyond the job opportunities. Learning Chinese they believe would bring many benefits to their children in the future. Though they could not name concrete benefits, they stressed that learning Chinese would help their children in many ways.

We live in South Korea. I think learning a new language has no bad influence on their future development, but instead, it is constructive...Children should learn the languages of both parents. Otherwise, it is a loss because you don't know where to live in the future. The Korean nationality has received bilingual education at very young age, and when they come to South Korea, this is a great help to adapt to the life here. My sons may not live in South Korea in the future. Learning Chinese gives them more chances in the future. ---Liu

I'm an after-class Chinese teacher for infants. I repeatedly emphasize the importance of Chinese to Korean children every day. Chinese is the most-used language in the world. You are never know the Chinese might help the children at some time or other. ... My children should learn Chinese. ---Yang

...And learning Chinese is also helpful to her if she wants to go to Chinese universities. ---Zhang

Forging bond with the China and Broadening children's visual field

In recent years, China has grown into the second largest economy second only to the US, while the Sino-Korea bilateral relationship has been growing deeper. China has become the largest trading partner of South Korea. The bilateral trade volume has exceeded the combined trade volume of US-Korea, Japan-Korea, and Europe-Korea. Under this social background, Chinese marriage immigrant women enjoy an increasingly important social status in their "husband's family", South Korea, owing to the growing power of the "wife's family", China. Because of such power, they are more proud of being Chinese and do not want to lose contact with China and the Chinese language.

Not learning Chinese, the children may neither have chance to make profound contact with China, nor to know the good of China. ---Zhang

Besides, FIWs have a feeling of "native land" towards China, where "they were born and brought up", so teaching the Chinese language to their children would maintain the relationship between them and China. They were willing to teach their children Chinese because the teaching process allowed them to convey their affection for China to their children. Learning mama's language was a link that connected mama's birthplace, rather than an emotional grave.

China has diverse traditional cultures, which are irreplaceable by Korean cultures. For example, Chinese fairy tales, mythologies of the ancient times such as the goddess patching the sky and the King Yu combating the flood myth cannot be found in South Korea. Korean traditional fairy tales are related to China, such as the story of the Cowherd and the Weaving Maid.... South Korea attaches great importance to the traditional education for children. There are a variety of traditional stories or CDs or books in bookstores. But the stories are limited and the content is not as rich as Chinese stories. After all, China has so many years of history... Chinese languages are all related to histories. I now sometimes tell

her the traditional Chinese stories. If the children know the traditional story of China, later when they goes to China, they will have a better understanding of China. ---Ma

As for Chinese characters, Chinese characters company my growth. I find this very good. I have affection to Chinese characters. ...I do think Chinese is very important, but I don't know how to tell him the reasons why Chinese is important. Chinese is very complicated. Chinese is hieroglyph, which makes foreigners very confused. We are used to Chinese and find it very interesting. I'm very glad to teach my children Chinese characters. I want my children to understand his mother's culture, so that he can have a better understanding of the mother. I think only in this way, the children could love their Chinese mother more. ---Yang

Liu was a bilingual and multicultural teacher in an elementary school. To simplify her teaching, she prepares many things related to Chinese cultures in advance. In the past year, she has gathered her two children together every weekend and taught them Chinese like she does in the school.

When I taught them, sometimes I showed them the Fu characters or the antithetical couplets in the Chinese Spring Festival. They were very interested and they would ask questions. Then I would tell them what they meant. Antithetical couplets are generally calligraphy which is written as drawing pictures. I would take this opportunity to give them a few hieroglyphs and let them see how the Chinese characters evolved from drawing into what it is today. They would be interested in the Chinese Characters and then be curious about China. ---Liu

Zhang cited an example. She thought learning Chinese would give her children another view to understand cultures and history.

I do not know whether you watch Korean cartoons, in which all foreign films are reprocessed, and not only the voice but also the backgrounds. For example, the situations in Crayon Shin-chan are all replaced by Korean situations, and the

money is replaced by Korean won. My husband said he did not know when he was young that Crayon Shin-chan is a Japanese cartoon. He thought it was made in Korea. My daughter watched Mulan before, and insisted on telling me that Mulan was Korean. I said she was Chinese, but she said Mulan spoke Korean, so of course, she is Korean. I don't like the child in such a state, in which she thinks all things are South Korean. This means that she is short-sighted. I hope she can understand the cultures and the histories of all nations. Even the historical events, also can be seen from different angles. The learning of Chinese will more or less contribute to this change. I think my daughter is now not that extreme when seeing things. ---Zhang

Wang became a marriage immigrant as early as 1990. Her first child is 18 years old, an adult. Her second child is 15 years old, but the youngest son is only 4 years old. After their father died, the two older sons apparently knew their responsibility. They were edified by Korean androcentrism and were inclined to have their mama follow their advices. They grew up in a cultural background different from their mama's, so they often conflicted in culture and values with their mom.

My two elder sons, especially the eldest one, are like native Koreans and think in a Korean way. When I say that some old Korean poems and pictures are learned from China, my first son will show strong disagreement. Because he believed in the Korean textbooks which said some Korean in the past went to China by his own and did great contribution to China during the years he stayed there. Usually, I don't argue with them. They thought they are Koreans and they should defend for their country. They only know something about South Korea, and know little about China. So if possible, I'd like to broaden their horizon which may help build them a better world view. ---Wang

If you seize the chance of Chinese teaching, you create another route for your children. This also gives him more insight and greatly helps with his life. ---Li

Enhancing Children's Self-Esteem

In recent years, Korean researchers found that bilingual education would enhance the self-esteem of multicultural children. But this effect was valid only in recent years. One year ago when I started the preliminary investigation of this research work, I interviewed a Chinese-Korean who had lived in South Korea for 13 years. She was one member of the first group of bilingual education programs which were training marriage immigrants to become bilingual teachers. She had been a bilingual and multicultural teacher in an elementary school for years and met all kinds of multicultural children who were learning the heritage language. She said frankly that there were basically no children learning the heritage language some time ago. But now the Korean society started to pay attention to multicultural education. It is completely different now, because racial discrimination and exclusivity used to be very widespread in Korea. Even the mamas of multicultural families did not want others to know their children come from multicultural families. So they did not teach their children the heritage language. Many children of Chinese-Koreans still did not know their mamas were Chinese. Under this atmosphere of antiforeign society, teaching Chinese would not make the children proud, but only made them inferior. So except the Japanese immigrants, other marriage immigrant women did not teach their children the heritage language. Instead, they devoted great efforts into teaching their children Korean.

In my interviews, I also found that in terms of raising the children's pride, this was basically not the motivation for marriage immigrants to teach their children Chinese, because they didn't know this was a benefit before they planned the HLE. This positive effect of education has been achieved by the feedback from the external society.

When she (the eldest daughter) was in primary school, her dislike for Chinese

reduced, though she still did not like me to speak it outside. Later, as teachers and neighbors all showed admiration to her ability of speaking Chinese, and many people come to our home to learn Chinese from me, my daughter got some changes in her mind. Now she is very interested in Chinese. She even felt proud that she could speak it. ---Zhang

I told them you have to learn Chinese, because we would go to China frequently and knowing Chinese helps you to communicate with Chinese people. China is developing rapidly now and becomes a strong power. My sons said "China is developing into the largest nation. If I can speak Chinese while others cannot, I will". Things like this. He himself has realized.... ---Liu

When we were in an elevator and I talked to my son in Chinese, other people would say "so great, you can speak two languages at such a young age." This made my son very happy. ---Ma

Liu also told me more details. She said her son realized the superiority when he knew his mama was Chinese and when he was learning Chinese. There were many cases in life and education when he felt proud of knowing Chinese. Liu said some years ago her eldest son went to China by airplane. After he came back, he told other children in his kindergarten this, and they all admired him. Also the multicultural class in his school gave him an ideal stage to play his Chinese language expertise, which makes him feel proud. Kang also mentioned this point:

I spoke with my son in Chinese freely. I spoke in Chinese in front of his friends. Afterwards, they had Chinese lessons at school, so other children often asked my son some questions. This made my son very proud. It was great. ---Kang

2. Helping Mother to Better Adapt to Life

A Mother's Instinct and an Obligation

As for the reason why they started to teach children Chinese, most of the

participants said without hesitation that they "should teach" Chinese language because they were Chinese. But they did not think this behavior should be raised to a manifestation of patriotism. But this is their language, so it seems like an obligation that they should obey with a different cultural and language background.

At the very beginning, they started without too much thinking. I only thought must to teach whatever hard it would be. ---Wang

As a Chinese, I have no reason not to teach my son Chinese. It is not about patriotism. It is just that I think he deserves it. ---Ma

I haven't decided which part of the society to go, but I know I've learnt another language. Especially, I'm Chinese and he's my child, so I wonder if my child should know Chinese. ---Yang

I had no specific motivation of teaching my son Chinese. I only thought my child should learn Chinese, should speak the same language as me. ---Kang

Moreover, this obligation sometimes was a suggestion or request from others.

My parents often asked me to teach my children Chinese. They called it a failure if I didn't do this. They blamed me "Other children all can speak Chinese. If you didn't teach your children, you even couldn't communicate with them."---Liu

My husband wants our children to learn Chinese and learn it well. ---Lu

Each time when I visited my parents, they were very angry (about not teaching children Chinese): "See. Koreans spend tens of millions Won teaching children Chinese and sending them to colleges. They may not make much achievement at last. You have this advantage, but you don't teach your children." They criticized me each time I came to China. This worked each time, as I was determined to teach my children Chinese. I went back to China once or twice each year, but I was criticized each time. ---Li

The obligation of education more or less depends on the mamas' subjective initiative, but for Yang, teaching Chinese is more than an instinctive response. For instance, when lulling children, mamas certainly would hum cradle songs they learnt in childhood. When she told me this, she blurted out “feng er qing, yue er jing, shuye’r zhe chuangling a” (wind blows lightly, moon is bright, leaves cover the window lattice). She believes she did not have any strong consciousness of education back then, but her behaviour allowed her children to contact and know the Chinese language.

When mentioning the motivation for her children's Chinese education, Yang always stressed that she was Chinese, so she wanted to teach her children Chinese. There were more things that could not be expressed. But she repeatedly expressed her love of Chinese characters. She also likes Chinese children’s songs. Whenever she hears Chinese songs she feels very warm, especially when hearing songs she heard in her childhood. I believe she has deep feelings in her heart towards Chinese culture. Yang’s hometown is in Weifang in Shandong province, the kite town of China. In fact, many overseas Chinese and Korean immigrants are from the Shandong province of China. Shandong is the town of the Confucius Mansion, a place of profound Chinese humanistic culture. Whether this instinct of education is out of a love of culture heritage or not, the participants did not say, but I cannot help but think of it from this aspect. It was the same for Liu. Though this instinct to teach was disturbed by external factors and terminated for some time, her children lived in an environment of Chinese education since their birth.

When the child was born, I spoke Chinese. For one thing, I couldn’t speak much Korean; for another, maybe Chinese could express more of mother’s love. When I say I love you to the child in Korean, the feeling in this word (love) is not as strong as the same word spoken in Chinese. It seems that Korean is just used to speak, while Chinese can help express my deep feelings to my child. I have

different emotions in my words, so I always can't help speaking some Chinese to the child. Even when I'm intentionally speaking Korean to him, I will speak some Chinese instinctively. ---Liu

A sense of Achievement and Superiority

The mothers all explained it as an instinct or an idea of "I must do it" that made them begin teaching their children Chinese. But when they explained the start of this behavior, they thought HL ability is a self-owned special competitive resource and an advantage from a marriage immigrant mother. So HLE for the children can be considered as a process to realize the special values of marriage immigrant mothers. Liu and Li both abandoned Chinese education because they thought it might interfere with the Korean education of their children. They felt severe regret, pity and a kind of failure.

I regret very much that I haven't taught my child in the child's golden period of language learning. I often tell people around that I have missed the chance, but you must not be wrong... My family also said I only paid attention to teaching others' Chinese, while my own child could not speak Chinese well. I felt as a mother, I was a loser on this point. I try to make up now and teach them with great attention. But I feel very guilty inside. Now the child is very busy, and he feels not that easy as the time when he was a child...If my children don't know any Chinese at all, as a Chinese mother, I think it's my failure. ---Liu

From these interviews, I asked them if they had any advantage or disadvantage over Korean moms. The disadvantage they mostly mentioned was that they were not as good as Korean moms in supervising their children' homework, but their acknowledged advantage was that they created a bilingual bicultural family environment for their children. Some participants thought this exactly was their unique value and what reflected their advantage, because the success of Chinese education was deeply associated with the mother's feelings

of self-achievement. This was strongly mentioned by Lu, who made many efforts to teach her child Chinese.

Living in Korea for 11 years, Zhang mentioned some multicultural families' situations in the South Korean society. She thought the reason why some foreign mothers were despised was their lack of confidence in their lives. She said that no matter whether you teach your child your own native language or not, you should at least let your children understand your own culture and love your language, so that a mother can win the respect of the child. For some people in undeveloped countries, the HLE can reduce children's identity concerns in regards to their mothers and promote mothers' sense of pride. Some participants thought speaking Chinese was a resource and a treasure from mothers that should be given to the children. Whether the children would ask for this wealth depends on them.

Not learning Chinese is a loss. If you say it doesn't matter whichever lifestyle is OK, then don't learn. On the other hand, if you had such conditions (Chinese mom) but didn't learn, you would feel like a loss in the future. ---Liu

Though I can't give more material wealth to my children, I can give him a skill that other mothers don't have. ---Li

Whether he wants to learn in the future is his own matter, but being a Chinese mother, I should pave a way of Chinese learning when he was small. If he wanna learn in the future, he can do more easily than others. But I can do nothing if he doesn't wanna learn. But it's something I should do for him and do it right now. ---Yang

An Emotional Communication with Child

From the perspective of language pedagogy, children have the advantage and "gift" of language learning. Different from Chinese Koreans, Chinese Han marriage immigrant women only had preliminary level or zero Korean language abilities when they came here. During the process of adaptation,

though their Korean ability levels gradually improved, they could not catch up with the language levels of their children. This is because in the social and language environment in South Korea, children naturally acquire far more language knowledge than that of mothers who only undergo self-learning. Despite all the efforts, mothers still lacked a comprehensive vocabulary as well as knowledge of Korean language and culture. In other words, a language barrier existed within multicultural families, and later or sooner occurred between mothers and their children. In this study, the participants' children were all very young, but mother-child communication problems had already appeared. Especially, as the role of mothers in the lives of their children is irreplaceable, which makes the mother-child communication barrier an important but hidden problem in the family.

As for language expression, the participants emphasized they were more able to express their inner thoughts in Chinese and say what they were thinking. They were more able to convey emotion to their children in Chinese. This is what the participants say about the emotional resonance brought by language.

Children's learning of Chinese is also very meaningful to me. After the learning, she can communicate with me not only in language but deeply from the heart. I will not have such feeling if I were in China. In China, it's normal that Chinese mother talk with her child in Chinese. But it's different in a foreign country. In South Korea, I am Chinese, but my child is Korean. She accepts Korean education from her birth. Because of the different growth backgrounds, we have something different deep in the heart. If she speaks Chinese, she can establish mind communication with me (with collision and resonance). Therefore, it is not simply about speaking languages, not. ---Zhang

Besides emotional communication, Liu, Lu and Yang all mentioned children's adolescence.

I think it's not OK if he couldn't speak Chinese. Now I couldn't well express my thoughts in Chinese, let alone Korean. Sometimes when I was very angry, I told him I only spoke Chinese, so "why not learn Chinese well and you can talk with me in Chinese". He should at least communicate with me in Chinese. In the future, for instance during his puberty, he can tell me if he has something secret. ---Yang
A girl who grows up needs mother's Guide. Especially in adolescence, only the communication between mother and daughter can help a girl not go awry. I hope I can tell my daughter my experience and my feelings. This emotional communication between mother and daughter, if in Chinese, may be better. ---Lu

A Convenience for Mothers Themselves

In the Chinese social atmosphere, it is the grandparents that take care of the children, and the grandparents also think it unalterable and nothing abnormal. In Korea, however, though the mother-in-law does offer help, she mostly guides but the daughter-in-law has to do the housework. Several participants mentioned that they were very tired taking care of children on their own, and they really hoped their mothers could come here. "When my mother came here to see me, she was so happy that she undertook all tasks taking care of my child. But these two skipped generations can't communicate, we were only willing but unable to do anything. Lu got some problem in her stomach and always felt weak and was prone to getting tired. Her mother came to help her when her child was very small, but the skipped generations were constrained by the language problem.

My child went to the kindergarten very young and learnt Korean very quickly. She told my mom in Korean what she wanted to eat, but when my mom couldn't understand, she got very angry. After she realized her grandma couldn't understand her, she didn't go to her grandma for help any more, but instead she tangled with me. ---Lu

It was different for MAL who created a Chinese language environment for her first child since he was very young. She got much help from her mother because her son could communicate with his grandma in Chinese. Later, her mother also came here to take care of her second child. She said:

It is a necessity for my children to know Chinese if I want my mother to help take care of them. They could build a good relationship through communicating, and the children would feel no pressure when going back home to see their grandma.... Luckily, my children all could speak Chinese. If they were unable to communicate with my mom, I would have run into big trouble. This would have tired me to death. ---Ma

"Family" is always the port in life, but for marriage immigrant women, "family" at a larger scale means China. As marriage immigrants outside the home country, when crisis or problem attacks the cross-border marriage, their retreat is necessarily to return to the motherland, which is China in this study. Wang found the support for life in Korea going to break down after the death of her husband. This strong woman yet stayed in Korea. Nevertheless, she ever thought of going back to China.

Since my husband has passed away, I am not sure whether we will still stay in Korean in the future. Maybe we will go back to China. ---Wang

Lu and her husband had a large age gap, so she was not very sure about the future of their relation. On one hand, she tried very hard to get adapted to the Korean society. She applied for an online academic degree course and tried hard to improve her Korean. She was eager to make some Korean friends and to find a good job. On the other hand, she attempted to teach her daughter Chinese. She didn't express this meaning frankly:

My husband and I get along well, but I can't tell what will happen in the future. If

our relation went wrong, I wanted to go back to China ... But I can't be separated from my daughter ... Here, though I can say I have adapted the life here, I still feel the lack of many things, because I have no families around. I have not parted from my husband, and he is not willing to go to China because of the language barrier. ---Lu

Zhang had been teaching in a Chinese institute, but after her husband's job change, they migrated to Inchon. Then she stayed at home teaching Chinese. She thought her husband's job was not very good and his income was not high. So they had ever thought of migrating to China, like opening a bakery. She also bought some books to learn how to bake.

My husband has a very regular job, but his income is very low, so I ever thought it would be better if we went to China. ---Zhang

The Chinese traditional cultures are the filial duties concentrated around "respecting parents". One manifestation of filial duty is "being surrounded by children and grandchildren". When surrounded by grandchildren, the grandparents enjoy family relationships harmony (tiān lún zhī lè). Li is the oldest daughter in her family, so she has to undertake partial responsibility. She was born in countryside where the traditional cultures and concepts are still treasured. As the oldest daughter, she paid high attention to her responsibilities for her parents and siblings, but she was a bit helpless because she married a foreigner. She was the interviewee who definitely pointed out the relationship between her filial duty and the HLE. As for the meanings of the HLE, she said:

Another thing is filial duty. If economic filial duty cannot be fulfilled, the children should go back home frequently and accompany their parents, even giving them assiduous and thoughtful attention. Otherwise you cannot instructor influence your children by your own words and deeds. The old people also get comfortable

when talking with the grandchildren. This is also a kind of filial duty. --- Li

3. Developing the Advantage of Multicultural Family

Bringing Pleasure to Life

The couple in IMFs would inevitably suffer from more or less communication problem. The existence of communication problem leads to the hidden trouble in the relationship among family members. A part of the communication barrier between the mother and child can be resolved if the child speaks the mother's language. Thus, the HLE is a special family experience. Many of the participants had realized the pleasure of HLE, which exerted a positive and promoting effect on the family.

Though he (husband) didn't expect our children could learn Chinese very well, he felt he had a great wife because I taught our children Chinese (laugh). ---Zhang

Liu who had married over ten years also had her own thoughts. She believed a couple talked less and less after they lived together longer. Also because they grew up from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, they had little common in communication. However, when the child learnt Chinese, the couple had more to talk and interact. Teaching Chinese was an issue centered around the wife, while the husband would ask the wife more questions, which promoted the couple's love.

The participants thought teaching Chinese not only enhanced the interaction and relationship between couple, but also influenced the interactivity between children. This harmonious relationship exists not only between mother and son, but also includes the father. Especially the masculine patriarchal society in South Korea, the family relationships are too class-like, so the image of fathers is mostly "serious". This image changed when the

fathers started to learn Chinese. His pronunciations were mystifying and pupil-like, which drew closer his relationship with other family members. When LXH recalled the scenes of learning Chinese in the family, she added that:

(When I was teaching our children Chinese), my husband would sometimes repeat. But his bizarre pronunciations made the children laugh. When I recall now, I find the atmosphere in our family has been improved much during the process of teaching. My husband spoke Chinese in a very strange way, which made him cute, however (laugh). ---Liu

Learning a foreign language that is different from the mainstream society has brought many unique living pleasures to IMF. Liu shared with me some detailed scenes between them and their sons.

My made a Chinese time at home for my son. Anyone who did not speak Chinese at that time would be punished. Then they were very excited to supervise each other. The elder brother spoke more, while the younger one had a good pronunciation, so they would correct the mistakes of each other. Sometimes when I gave an order, for example we often say 'quickly' in Korean, I blurted it out in Korean, and then they would be very excited, like they won a grand prize. ---Liu

After they have learnt Chinese for some years, they get pleasures in daily life. For instance when we are outside and other people can't understand us, we can say things that we don't want them to know. Ma told me some slices of life about their experience in the elevator, probably because the elevator is a closed space, so when strangers are together, they are aware of their words and deeds. In this space, children are very excited when they speak a language that others don't know.

My children found one good thing of speaking Chinese that they could speak things that they didn't want to be known. Once in the elevator, my eldest son said "I gonna piss. I'm getting pissed!" His little brother laughed out. They both laughed out while they looked around others ...Sometimes they provoked on purpose. For instance, one time they said "look at that man, his hair is chaotic." Other people found my sons were looking at them, so they talked to my sons. My sons laughed out awfully. ---Ma

Developing Strengths of Multicultural Families

The foreign cultures and foreign language of a foreigner parent are treasured as an education resource, which families with two Korean parents do not have. Because the mother has the linguistic advantage of non-Korean mother language, the mix ethnic child has the potential to master a new language. From this point, this advantage is the benefit from the HLE that is enjoyed by the mother, child and the whole family. In particular, when this language is what the children in the mainstream society want to learn, this resource becomes more superior. However, the resource value of such multicultural families should be achieved only by the HLE. The advantage of this resource would disappear if the HLE fails.

Chinese is very popular in South Korea and attracts Koreans from retired elder to small children. You search Chinese institutes on Naver and will find 1,500, about 3 times that of Japan institutes. Under this atmosphere, we Chinese immigrant mothers feel the advantages we have for our families and children, but we also suffer from the pressure of education.

I have seen many pupils in South Korea who have learnt Chinese for four to five years. They pronounce well. Their parents must have devoted quite a lot, since they could have learnt Chinese to such a high level. All Koreans are learning Chinese, so when I have this advantage, why should I waste? ...Koreans have to select the school to send their children, but I have nothing to worry, because I

can teach my children myself. If I were a Korean, I may not ask my children to learn a second foreign language so hard. I may not do this. ---Liu

Chinese education is very important in South Korea. People all attach great importance to it. Chinese language learners in Korea range from primary school children to fifty or sixty-year-old grandma. They pay money to learn Chinese. So it's unacceptable for me if I don't teach my own children. ---Lu

I met a Korean woman the other day in the playing ground of our community. She noticed me talking in Chinese with my child and said hello to us. Her daughter was the same age as mine, both six years old. She accompanies her daughter listening to Chinese CDs and has persisted for more than one year. I do admire them. You see, she does not speak Chinese, so she has to work hard. I would be shamed if I didn't let my children learn Chinese. I could never waste such education advantage. ---Lu

They would spend millions or tens of millions won, but probably fail. My children are sure to learn well if they spend time, so why don't I teach them? ---Ma

Improving Relations with Extended Family

Since the sib mother language of marriage immigrant women is Chinese, speaking Chinese would promote the emotional construction between children and the maternal relatives and is the prerequisite for relation integration.

If they can't speak Chinese, they will not be able to communicate with my families. What a pity! Actually, not only father's families are important to children, but mother' families are important, too. It's impossible for them to totally avoid contacts with mother's families. Maybe they are young now and can't understand the importance of communicating with the Chinese relatives. But as they grow older, they will realize the need of doing so. ---Wang

After they have learnt Chinese, the children would have a relation with their Chinese relatives that is different from that with their Korean relatives. This is because children are foreigners, and this cross-nation family bond

sometimes is different. Ma was the one who cared much about the relation between her children and her parents. She told me her initial considerations and the present grandson-grandpa relation.

He (my son) thought China was interesting and he liked to stay in my mother's home. He spoke Chinese, so he would felt close to China. He liked Chinese food which he could not enjoy in South Korea. He liked soybean milk and Chinese savior crepe best. He called to my father "Grandpa, I will go back to your home. I don't want candies. I want soybean milk and Chinese savior crepe". My father laughed, "No problem. I will get that for you every day". Knowing Chinese, my son could build a good relationship with his grandparents and his cousins. ---Ma

Nevertheless, this affection of far-away skipped generations was also looked for by many old people.

My father also wants my son to learn Chinese; otherwise he cannot communicate with his grandson. ---Kang

The HLE in South Korea in my study is mainly embodied by the mother language of marriage immigrant mothers, so when it comes to extended families, people think of mothers' maternal home. In fact, the promoting effect on integration of the extended family is not just embodied on the maternal side.

Their grandparents both agree it'd better for the grandsons to learn Chinese. Sometimes family gatherings on holidays, my sons blurt out some Chinese, which makes their grandparents very surprised. Anyway, China is developing better now. My parents-in-law always tell other people their grandsons can speak both Korean and Chinese. ---Liu

Although Lu lived with her mother-in-law, she had a good relationship with her mother-in-law and with the brothers of her husband. First, her

mother-in-law was a sensible person, knowing that her daughter-in-law was a strong person. Her brothers-in-law and sisters-in law all hoped that their children could follow me to learn some Chinese. She also did what she can to help them.

My husband's brother's children had learned Chinese with me. He wanted to study in China. But now the child is in middle school, the curriculum is very busy, and he has no time to learn. I also help him to prepare some Chinese materials.
---Lu

4. Cultivating Global Talents for National Development

When I was screening the participants, I found the marriage immigrant women in South Korea did not receive high education. Only four of the eight participants got bachelor's degree, and two of them were educated from online universities in South Korea. Probably due to their low education level or because they were fettered by the trifles in daily life, their conceptions about the meanings of education were limited to individuals and families. Only WX and LCY gave some macroscopic opinions because they had worked in the governmental service institutions related to multicultural families.

Fostering "National Talent"

The Korean society needs development, because the youngsters are the future of the country. How can I put this? There are so many children from multicultural families. The proportion is very large. For these children, if we could well teach and guide them, if we could take this chance, they will be the pillars of Korea. If we ignore these children and don't know their directions, they are treated like garbage and would cause many social problems. If they can speak two languages, they are familiar with both countries, so they can do any trade or anything at their pleasure. If these children are ignored and not given the chance for free development, or if they are not allowed to understand the mother language of

their mamas, it's like "an egg bumps to a stone" when they compete with Korean children. ---Li

South Korea now attaches great importance to the training of multicultural families, and also pays great attention to bilingual education. Although the bilingual activities prizes style over content, we can see the country know that they should cultivate children. Some time ago kakaotalke group made the recruitment of bilingual children for the global leader development plan. If children can speak both languages well, it is really possible for them to become global leaders. Unfortunately, in the recruitment, few children were qualified. It's a pity that among children from multicultural families, there are only a few of them who can speak Chinese fluently. ---Wang

Promoting International Connection in Various Fields

Li, who complained the policy that children of marriage immigrants should transact visa before going to China, pointed out that when she expressed her views:

Our children are a necessary part that connects Korea and China. Giving them freedom is significant for both China and South Korea. ---Li

Kang whose job was related to Korea-China trades also said that:

Our children are superior over Korean children in doing China-Korea exchange affairs. Our children have Chinese relatives, from who our children can directly know China. But Korean children can understand China only from media or books, which prevent them from truly understanding China. They will become the bridge of Korea-China trade development if they are equipped with two languages. ---Kang

5. Summary and Discussion

By coding the interview data, current research findings indicate that married immigrant women have perceived heritage language education significances from the perspectives of children, mothers, a family, and society.

From the perspective of multicultural children, HLE helps them to learn Chinese, enhances their social competitiveness, and endows them with an additional living skill. All these benefits contribute to their future development and are a major motivation that stimulates most participants to teach their children Chinese. HLE will also enlarge children's vision when judging and understanding the world, improve their comprehension about China, and help to form an emotional connection with China. From the perspective of immigrant mothers, they think HLE is an obligation of foreign immigrant mothers and a reflection of their self-worth. HLE helps them pave a way to withdraw if they feel uncomfortable with living in South Korea. HLE is also a way of filial duty to their parents as it contributes to a meeting between grandparents and grandchildren. From the aspect of a multicultural family, it can be concluded that knowing the mother's mother tongue helps to overcome the mother-child language barrier better. HLE well reflects the advantages of education resources and lingual education that children from multilingual families have. Moreover, heritage language education promotes connections between children and extended family members and strengthens family cohesion. After examining the married women's understandings about education, a deeper declaration and discussion from three different perspectives became necessary.

The first issue is about language and identity

Korean researchers investigating bilingual education have pointed out that

learning the mother language of a foreign mother, or the heritage language, would help children to overcome identity confusion and promote identity development and bi-identity formation (Woo, 2014; Park, Rhee, & Park, 2014; Chang, 2015). This view was rarely mentioned by participants in this study. When I guided the topic toward identity, none of them stated that her children displayed identity confusion. They considered their children as Korean.

I do not emphasize he is Chinese. In our competitions, he and I were separated. I didn't care. "You are Korean, we are Chinese". I'm teaching him the language of his mother. ---Yang

Ma's elder child had learned Chinese first and thought he was Chinese, but Ma stressed to him "you are Korean".

At first, my son always said he was Chinese. I told him "No. You are Korean". He insisted "I am Chinese". He liked China as he was spoken to in Chinese from birth. He thought that he was Chinese.[Now] under our frequent emphasis (that he is Korean), he gradually accepted that he is Korean and began to know more and more Korean friends. Last year, he began to say that he is Korean. --- Ma

Some mothers have stressed "you are Chinese" to their children in some situations, but then also explain "you are a Korean with Chinese blood". The Korean social culture focuses on teams. From the linguistic point of view, this is embodied by the frequent use of "wuli" (our). The phrases that people in other countries use to indicate "my" are expressed as "our" by Koreans. Specifically, when someone is talking to other people about their child, they say "our child". The most extreme example is when a woman talks about her husband: she says "our husband". South Korea which has a spirit of collectivism pays great attention to the cultivation of a patriotic spirit and in their lives, Koreans emphasize that their country is the best. Korean children

are full of pride when they say “Dae han min guk” (greater Korea) and “our country”. Such expressions sometimes irritate Chinese mothers. For instance, Zhang said,

I tell her (elder daughter) that she is also Chinese. In addition, she is half Chinese blood, isn't she? My elder daughter sometimes ignores this identity. She thought she had no relation with Chinese. And that the only link between her and China was that her aunt and uncle are there. That's why I often emphasize her Chinese blood. South Koreans despise China very much, even a child will do so. My daughter thinks she is completely Korean. She often says “Our Korea is so great”. Koreans always say “South Korea”. I don't like to hear that. So, once she does so, I will tell her “Yes, you are Korean. But you are half Chinese blood, because your mother is Chinese”. ---Zhang

Even though Zhang was inspired by the Korean custom to say “our country”, when she stressed the relation between her daughter and China, she still declared that her daughter was Korean, or a Korean with Chinese blood. Why do Chinese mothers think that their children don't experience identity chaos? This may first be explained by Chinese traditional ideas and cultural customs. Some Chinese sayings declare that “A married daughter is just like water that has been poured: she doesn't belong to her parents anymore”, and that some folks say “married cock follows cock, married dog follows dog”. In other words, the Chinese concept is that the daughter does not belong to her maiden family but to the husband's family immediately after her marriage. In the past, after a girl married, her registered permanent residence, land and living items at her maiden family's place were all cleared away and her family was changed. The so-called “three races” in traditional ethics—patrilocal, matrilocal, and wifely—do not include the married daughter. If a family was punished for being related to one who had committed an offence, the married daughter was not included, because she was considered an “outsider” and

excluded from this family's punishment. The daughter did not have the same surname. Nowadays, the tradition of "adding her husband's family name in front of her full name" has been preserved in Hong Kong, Taiwan and other places.

It is because of this concept that married immigrant mothers think their children are unalterably and undoubtedly Koreans. Another reason is that unlike married immigrant women from Southeast Asia, children from Chinese-Korean families are not largely different from children from Korean families in terms of appearances. Because of the similarities in looks, growth environment and Korean pronunciation as native Korean children, neither the parents nor the children are criticized or questioned by other people. Owing to the mothers' internal concepts and the external acceptance by Korean society, Chinese mothers never doubt whether their children are Koreans.

The question of whether the children, after growing up, will have the same view as their mothers, may arise. After they have grown up, will they not face the identity chaos during the process of self-identity development? Are they completely the same as children from native-Korean families? As the number of intermarriage families is rising, the number of IMFs in South Korea is also on the rise. Some Korean researchers think that monoethnic South Korea is progressing into a multiracial country. Soon, the minorities in South Korea will mainly be the children from these IMFs. They may be called Chinese-Korean or Vietnamese-Korean. In this study, the concept of mixed-ethnicity children was used to differentiate them from children born in native-Korean families. Other researchers proposed the term biracial children. In general, it is worthwhile to study whether these children will experience identity chaos, and whether the HLE will affect the development of their identity. Subsequent studies should be targeted specifically at these children.

Second, it should be clarified why this study does not discuss the interactions between HLE and raising participation.

Korean researchers mentioned in the research findings on meanings of bilingual education that HLE could help mothers participate in child education. As stressed repeatedly, South Korea is in the early stage of multicultural social development, and the social ethos of squeezing out and discriminating foreign immigrants is very widespread. FIMs mostly come from developing countries, or poor families, so they mainly marry Korean men from the countryside. However, androcentrism is extensive in country families, which rather look with disdain upon these poor foreign wives. Together with the verdant Korean, many married immigrant women, after giving birth, are excluded from child raising (Park, Lee, & Kim, 2014). For this study, the participants were gathered from a downtown metropolis, Inchon, so the participants mostly met their husbands through the freedom to choose their own spouse. Moreover, they didn't live together with their parents-in-law, except Lu, so none of them were excluded from parenting participation. Korean researchers emphasized child raising involvement and exclusion targeted at Vietnamese-Korean families, but the differences between Chinese women and Vietnamese women in their attitudes about life participation should be considered. Regarding the effects of the study's target selection, this study did not find any influence relation between HLE and child-raising involvement.

Third, the reasons for not investigating the assisting effect of HLE on expanding the children's communication scope will be discussed.

This would be discussed from my personal viewpoint. As a married immigrant in South Korea, one key impetus for me to teach my child Chinese was because I wanted to introduce my Chinese friend scope to my child. Before my marriage, I received bachelor's and master's degrees from famous

universities in China. My range of school fellows is a part of my human relation resources. Also, I had worked in a high position for a cross-border company in Beijing. The decades of working experiences had accumulated rich social relationships for me. I have close friends in the fields of academics, media, medical treatments and governmental systems. These social relations and human resources are treasures in my life and should be passed down to my children. Every time I returned to China, I gathered with my friends and took my child to meet their children. If my child couldn't speak Chinese, my resources would not be extended to her, so I have focused much attention on her Chinese education.

However, none of this study's participants had similar thoughts, and the reason might be associated with their living status before being married to Korean men. Though some participants were employed before their marriages, their jobs were at the grassroots level. These participants mostly came from their hometowns or nearby cities, where the economic levels were largely lower than in Incheon. Thus, they did not treasure their human resources in China, and their contacts in China were mostly their relatives. Moreover, the traditional Chinese cultures and modern Korean cultures both presume that a married woman should concentrate on her husband's home and not encourage frequent contact with or care about her maiden family. Thus, even though I strongly support this meaning of HLE, I did not find any influence relation between HLE and interpersonal contact improvement for children in this study.

VII. Conclusion

In this chapter, the major findings from previous chapters are discussed and suggestions for successfully developing and maintaining the HL of children from IMFs are proposed. HL is a resource to be nurtured and promoted and an additional asset to children's future careers and lives. In a globally integrated environment, the HL ability of these children is part of a national competitiveness and an undeveloped resource for the country. This research study, involving Han-Chinese FIMs which are an immigrant group who actively conduct the HLE with their children as research subjects, enables a deep understanding of their practical experience in teaching their children HLE, explores various educational methods used in their educational practice, and analyzes in depth and from different aspects the difficulties and challenges they face in HLE as well as their cognition of the significance of HLE. All of these research issues center on the topic of HLE, and finally form the HLE process of FIMs (Figure 8).

The decision of whether to carry out HLE for the children in IMFs is made depending on the attitude of the children's parents, especially of the mothers who became immigrants through marriage. With positive attitudes toward their HL and HLE, the mothers may start to teach their children HL. During the process of education, diverse difficulties and challenges can appear which hinders the progression of HLE and the development of the children's HL ability. However, when FIMs realize the benefits of HLE for their children, themselves and their families, this stimulates them to continue with the education.

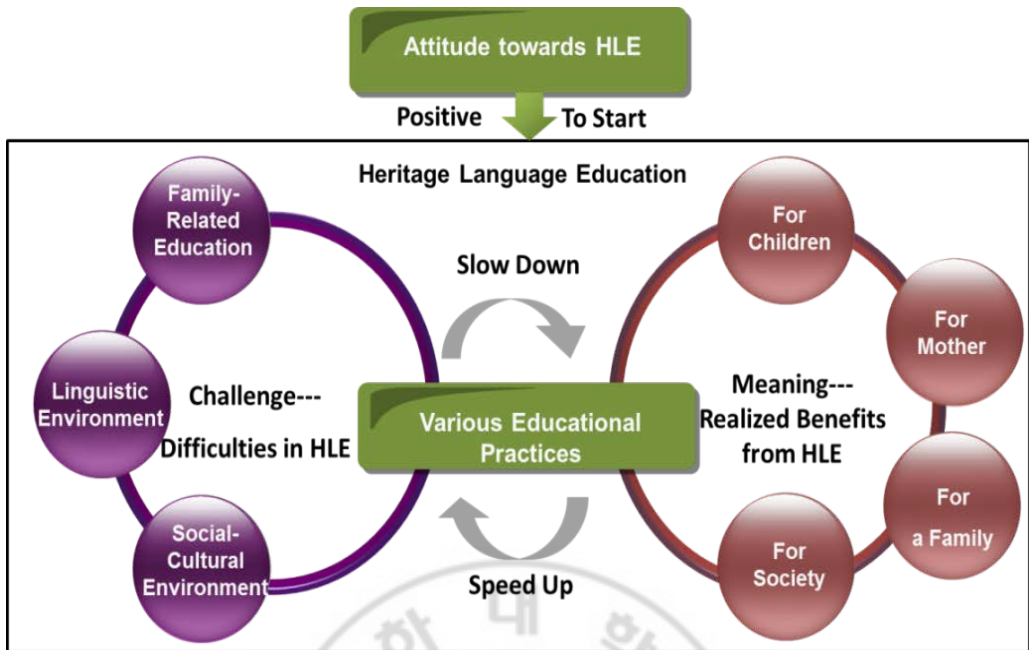


Figure 8. HLE Process for FIMs

Immigrant parents are the main and only teachers of HLE in IMFs. The fact that FIMs are the only HL speakers in the families means that HLE is developed through their personal actions and other family members need to support their educational behaviors and realize that they play the decisive role in the education of children; i.e., HLE requires the family's support. On the other hand, FIMs are mostly people who are married Korean and came into Korea alone. Unlike immigrants who traveled to foreign countries in whole families, they lacked a social network when they first came to Korea. This led them to develop their HLE mainly through family-based practices which required them to have a certain degree of personal educational skills and education-related knowledge. Moreover, it has been only 10 years since Korea introduced the multicultural policy, so policy support of a sociopolitical environment for immigrants is not perfect, and there is a lack of necessary social support for promoting HLE. In an educational environment absent of support, FIMs can only try to educate their children through various personal

education practices. The difficulties and challenges in all aspects of education have brought great obstacles to their educational practice.

The attitude discussed here refers only to an expression of favor or disfavor toward HL, or a view about the importance of HLE. If mothers have a positive attitude towards HL and HLE, they can instinctively educate their children without special motivations. Their understanding of the significance of education, awareness of HL and various beneficial relationships, and expectation of HLE educational outcomes and other psychological activities are referred to as motivations that inspire FIMs to provide continuous and in-depth education of HL to their children. In short, because the relevance of HL to FIMs' own culture and language, HL can be taught in the absence of special educational motivations as long as a negative attitude is not present. However, the continuous development of HLE requires a clear understanding of educational significance to produce a continuous educational motivation. The awareness of the educational significance of HLE is important for promoting HLE, because HLE is easy to begin but challenging to continue. Having a profound understanding of HLE's implications will help form positive educational motivations to work at overcoming difficulties and infuse the practical behavior of FIMs into children's HLE. Results from previous research studies and discussion can lead to various findings.

OPOL approach is effective but difficult to continue

In IMFs, the FIMs' persistence in speaking HL to their children encourages the formation of a family language communication environment: OPOL. Allowing children to learn HL naturally is an effective method, however, parents should start this approach when their children are born and then persist in communicating with the children using HL. As many scholars have pointed

out, the promotion of HLE requires the encouragement of family language reproduction, using HL in children's early childhood and continuing with this approach for as long as possible (Baker, 2008; Fishman, 1991). However, as time goes by, problems often start appearing. Since exposure to the two languages is rarely equal—especially once the child starts interacting with the outside world—the language with less input receives less attention and the balanced bilingual environment they have always been in contact with is destroyed. As mothers and children improve their Korean, the language in mother-to-child dialogue is increasingly converted to Korean. If the mother did not deliberately continue to talk with the child using HL, communications would be completely converted to Korean ones. In addition, when using the OPOL education method, it is easy for a child to achieve the basic communication skills of daily conversation, but it's challenging for them to make improvements on this basis alone; therefore, the help from other education approaches is needed.

HLE involves many challenges

From the educational practical experience of the interviewees, one can see that HLE is not an easy task, especially in the IMFs. On the one hand, HLE has its own particularities, as it is an education somewhere between mother tongue instruction and foreign language instruction and most people have not experienced this kind of education. On the other hand, FIMs are the only HL speakers in the family, and they usually lack friends with the same language background in Korea. As the main or only HL educators, FIMs can only practice through family-based education. Even when they put a lot of effort into their children's HLE, it is difficult for them to ensure the development of their children's HL ability. Non-cooperation of the children, an insufficient language environment, lack of supporting educational measures, lack of experience in

education and other issues can be troubling for the FIMs. Often, many FIMs give up because they cannot solve the problems that arise during HLE. Some realize the necessity of HLE and strive to find external assistance other than their own's to continue the children's HLE. Research indicates that it is relatively easy to allow children to master basic daily conversations, but it is difficult to develop their language ability beyond this point. In general, challenges that arise during HLE can make it difficult for FIMs to achieve the desired effects alone. They require outside support for success.

Balance in multilingual education is tough to maintain

HLE in multicultural families is not only a part of bilingual education, but also a part of multilingual education. How to properly balance Korean, English and HL from various aspects of education is a challenge for most FIMs. As the main language of social life, Korean cannot be ignored. On the other hand, English education is extremely important and closely related to future education and employment in Korea. English is introduced into children's education very early, and is prevalent as early as kindergarten. HLE is attached to children's existing education, which is wrestling with Korean and English education. In terms of limited educational time and resources, it can be difficult for mothers to balance the relationship between the three. Participants clearly know that Korean is the children's mother tongue, which certainly should be put in first place. From a broad perspective, it is acceptable for children to not speak English, but English is formal teaching content, is part of children's learning achievement evaluation, and is related to entrance exams, so it cannot be dismissed either. Chinese needs to be mastered, but Chinese language ability is not part of children's learning ability and knowledge control ability evaluations. Therefore, the final situation indicates that HLE is necessary for FIMs to include in their children's education, but this kind of instruction

hinders their routine education. All three languages contain important points to be focused on, but it is uncertain which language will really have an impact on children's future development. Korean and English education have current and visible impacts on children, while the impact from HLE cannot be realized yet, so HLE is easy to relinquish. To prevent multicultural families from giving up their children's HLE, it is necessary to provide multicultural families and their children with a better understanding of the educational significance as well as to incorporate HLE into formal educational evaluations of children to a certain extent.

Effects from social environment on HLE are clear

The vast atmosphere for HLE created by society plays a role in HLE. As the Korean government has begun to focus on social integration and bilingual education of multi-cultural families, the interviewees who previously did not attach importance of Chinese education for the children had a change in attitude towards education. At the same time, during the process of Chinese FIMs teaching their children Chinese, only a few difficulties and resistances were examined from a socio-cultural aspect which would have to be considered because of changes in the Korean social policy environment. Excluding Wang (who now works in a multi-cultural educational institution of the government), the other participants' children were all born or arrived after the Korean government began implementing the multicultural policy in 2006. Therefore, they haven't felt the assimilation pressure in Korean society, and have generally not experienced any social exclusion or discrimination. To the contrary, in the last ten years, the development of trade between China and Korea has been active and Korea initiated the upsurge of learning Chinese. All of these factors have helped to create a relatively good external atmosphere for Chinese education of the participants' children. Consequently, a friendly and inclusive

social environment will play a supportive role in HLE. In order to promote HLE, such a social atmosphere needs to be fostered.

Appeal points for HLE between the society and the family is inconsistent

FIMs and multicultural families conduct HLE for their children mostly with the motive of personal benefits, along with the secondary effect on the children's future development. During the process of education, FIMs have realized the benefits that HLE would bring to them and their families. These perceived benefits have stimulated them to continue. FIMs teach their children HL from the perspective of personal benefits, while public opinion advocates HLE or BLE mostly from the perspective of benefits for the macro-level of society. Korea prefers that multicultural families pay more attention to HLE from the comprehensive perspective of society integration. In comparison, when China propagandizes “Chinese Language and Culture Education” for overseas Chinese, it stresses the dissemination of Chinese culture and the concept of the large Chinese family. In other words, society cares about the macroscopic benefits, while FIMs focus more on personal benefits, or namely, microcosmic benefits. These two types of benefits reach the same goal by different routes, but the differences between the appealing elements may result in disconnecting the social supports and requirements from family education. To better stimulate the implementation of HLE with children by FIMs and multicultural families, the educational implications of HLE at the individual level should also be reinforced in the promotion of social integration and cultural heritage.

Implications

Children from multicultural families are the future members of society in Korea. To ensure effective interaction among members, the language and culture of the society should coexist at the policy level (Park & Han; 2010). As this study demonstrated, HL as a personal resource can help children with immigrant backgrounds to improve their social competitiveness, and as a national resource, it can enhance a country's reserve forces of talent in international competition. Therefore, the government should give more attention and support to HLE education. Unfortunately, however, although policymakers have begun to increase focus on HLE, the policy effects are not good. HL as a resource has experienced a severe loss. As Salomone (2011) indicated, the potential that still lies with HL speakers has not drawn sufficient consideration from policymakers. In the current political educational environment, the actual situation for HL speakers is that many of them are increasingly losing their conversational skills, not to mention their literacy skills. To promote Vitality of HL, Grin (1990) created a Capacity-Opportunity-Desire (COD) framework as an economic approach to the maintenance of minority heritage languages: Capacity development is the development of personal language proficiency and language use, through both formal teaching and informal transmission of the language; Opportunity creation is the development of domains in which the use of the language is natural, welcome, and expected; and desire involves creation of investment in learning the language, because proficiency in it brings certain rewards. The COD model offers government a tool to promote policy development in supporting HLE .Based on the Capacity-Opportunity-Desire framework and the results presented in this study, several policy suggestions to promote HLE of multicultural families in Korea are presented, including: constructing educational environments, forming public opinion guidance, and providing

development opportunities.

1. Constructing Educational Environments

Forming communities with the purpose of promoting HLE

In Korea, foreign immigrant communities are rare. The representative is Chinatown, created by Chinese old-timers who came to Korea 100 years ago. But the social and cultural differences between FIMs Chinese old-timers and FIMs Chinese new-comers in Korea result in differences in their cultural identities. The differences lead to a process in the social integration between them. At the same time, the two have different living areas in Korea. Chinese old-timers use Chinatown as their core residence, while Chinese FIMs and other FIMs have different distribution characteristics, i.e., they are dispersed around Korea in all levels of administrative regions. The inconsistency of living areas makes it difficult for them to promote their own children's HL by taking advantage of the community in Chinatown. The best way is to take advantage of the current Multicultural Family Support Center. Currently, there are 217 Centers in all levels of administrative regions in Korea, which are very helpful social organization resources. These centers have always supported multicultural families and have very open communication channels with them. The government could establish and develop FIMs communities which are linked by HLE through the Multicultural Family Support Center network. These centers have always played an important role in promoting the education of Korean immigrants, and they should also be allowed to play a role in promoting HLE for multicultural children. This study suggests that the FIMs community constructed with centers as intermediaries, should carry out a targeted HLE program, and create social networks of people with the same language and cultural background, inherit culture and shared educational resources to support the effective implementation of HLE.

Currently, foreign immigrants are dispersed throughout Korea, failing to form an atmosphere of community. Likewise, they are unable to promote their children's HLE through the power of the community like immigrant groups in other countries can. Successful HLE of multicultural families can only be achieved through family-based practices. Although the distribution characteristics of immigrant residential areas will likely not change, Korea has formed a community that is linked by centers and focused on HLE education. This community organizes the children in order to conduct HLE with a clear educational purpose. Luo & Wiseman (2000) found that due to pressure from mainstream society, Chinese parents feel it is hard for their children to maintain Chinese proficiency. The only thing they can do is to send their children to weekend Chinese schools or to speak more Chinese with their children at home. However, there are no external educational opportunities such as weekend Chinese schools for Chinese immigrants living in Korea. This study shows that weekend schools for HLE could be established in the community. Benefitting from FIMs as an educational force, targeted educational content and method could be designed that focuses on the children's characteristics, under the guidance of experts in education, so as to effectively promote HLE. HLE, an education based on personal behavioral forces, can be allowed to develop into an education process incorporating social groups.

Constructing FIMs social networks

The purpose of a social network is not just to bring FIMs together, but also to create a social platform for children with the same linguistic and cultural background. By researching the factors that influence the heritage language maintenance of Chinese immigrant children, Wang (2012) pointed out that social networks contribute to the improvement of language proficiency, or at least can prevent it from quickly decreasing in the situation of an overwhelming

trend in language shift. Participants in a social network would at some point become part of a peer group who values HL. Possessing HL ability would be critical for gaining access to, getting full membership in and/or achieving a prominent position within the particular social group. A regular gathering of children with the same language background can not only form a circle of friends, but can also help the children realize that many peers are experiencing the same family language environment, that many people in Korea speak the same language as their mothers, and that it is not strange that their mothers don't speak Korean. This kind of gathering can aid children to form a positive cognition of HL and reduce their resistance to speaking HL. Moreover, the partnership should be long-term and sustaining.

Language cannot be separated from culture; for more successful HL learning, heritage cultures need to be taught along with HL (Feueverger, 1997). Community provides a platform for children to present heritage culture. Every ethnic group has the instinct to pass on its culture and language is the natural carrier to facilitate most of it (García, 2003). Celebration of cultural traditions and religious occasions, and the use of the HL in ethnic stores and restaurants provides children with a diversified language input, including vocabulary that would not typically be used in a home setting (García, 2011). Celebrations and other activities provide language input outside of the family. The language community also provides space for the sharing of educational resources, such as libraries (Reese and Goldenberg, 2006). The community not only provides the language and educational environments, but also provides educational resources with the role of circulation through, for example, community libraries. In foreign countries, sufficient books in one's native language are not available, so parents are unable to provide enough books for their children. As Shin (2005) indicated, the lack of appropriate reading materials in the HL is a pervasive problem in many language minority homes. Since HL books tend to be more

difficult to locate and generally more expensive than books written in DL, community organizations and local libraries can assist in acquiring and circulating HL books to a wider community. The scarcity of HL books makes the value of community as a communication platform more effective. MMIs can use this platform to increase the circulation of educational resources, and also to organize activities such as reading books to let children share resources and communication.

Enhancing the practical ability of family education in HL

While building the community, the importance of family education in HLE cannot be ignored. Even if a program is established, its success is not guaranteed without the support of the HLLs' families. Fishman (1991: xii) stated that attempting to maintain a minority language through controlling the language of education, the workplace, the mass media and governmental services, without having sufficiently protected the intergenerational transmission of heritage language is like "constantly blowing air into a tire that still has a puncture." Family is always the beginning of HLE and it should be achieved through the intergenerational communication of language. A few practical suggestions regarding the promotion of family-based HLE include: research work should be followed up on, parents' training content should have overall practicality, and HLE should be advanced as soon as possible.

HLE's characteristics determine that the earlier the education begins, the better. This study confirms that the participants' educational effect is better when HLE is started earlier. Currently, 80% of children from multicultural families in Korea are under the age of 12, and they are in the critical period of language acquisition. In addition, when children are young, their life is still focused on their family, they have more time to spend with their mother and have frequent linguistic interactions with them. These interactions are the main

intergenerational transmissions of HL. Therefore, for the family HLE effect, HLE should start as soon as possible. In addition, HL is regarded as the country's potential international competitive resource. With so many children in the golden learning period of language, promoting HLE in a timely manner is a strategic national decision for the future development of Korean society, and urgent for policy decision-making regarding the level of implementation.

The specificity of HLE and the fact that parents as the educators do not have the relative knowledge of language education, become problems during the HLE process. The government is then required to provide educational instructions to FIMs. First, having a correct understanding of HLE is important. Parents' persistence plays a key role in the sustainable development of HLE, especially when it occurs in situations where societal support is minimal or non-existent. Second, there is a difference in the development of language ability between bilingual children and monolingual children, so parents should be aware of this to better understand the language development characteristics of their bilingual children. Third, an overall educational instruction based on HLE's unique method is also required. Döpke (1998) stated that with respect to their children's bilingual development, these families are certainly not 'advantaged'. Such families need to know how an individual parent can manipulate the micro-level of interaction in order to generate a linguistic environment in which the HHL can flourish. Most parents are not language teachers and not able to consciously monitor their language nor plan stimulating language experiences for their children at specific times. To ensure a rich minority language context for children, it is more beneficial to advise parents with respect to their overall language choice decisions.

The amount of research focused on foreign parent's language education in Korea has been increasing yearly since 2009. Research topics are mainly divided into four fields: current bilingual education programs, bilingual

education, interaction related to bilingual education, and suggestions for policy improvement (Chen & Huang, 2016). Most of researches studied on the government-run bilingual education programs. One of the major concerns for bilingual programs in U.S. is the lack of texts that are written specifically for heritage learners of Korean (Lee, 2002). Research studies of bilingual education in Korea have also pointed out the lack of teaching materials. Shin (2005) indicated that books written for second-generation immigrants about heritage culture and history and the immigrant experience are also very much in need. Therefore, relevant textbooks need to be developed. In Europe and the United States, the multi-cultural society has long been formed. The learner's background relationship with heritage culture and heritage language along with diversity of the HL mastery, increase the difficulty of the compilation of teaching materials. Korea's multicultural children are mostly 2.5-generators (Rumbaut, 2009). HL is the home language of foreign parents, and the family language education environment is clear, which provides more advantages for the compilation of teaching materials. Moreover, the preparation of teaching materials should be timely. Additively, a few researches related to family-based bilingual education focuses more on the influencing factors during the process of education as well as the importance of bilingual education, and research on educational practice guidance is almost non-existent. Therefore, research in academic circles should focus more on educational practice with the significance of educational guidance.

2. Forming a Public Opinion Environment

Only when bilingualism and HL proficiency are appreciated and respected by mainstream culture will HL development prevail and not require special efforts to maintain. Social atmosphere has a great influence on HLE. "Natural, welcome and expected" (Grin, 1990) public opinion is very important to HLM.

For the construction of a public opinion environment, several proposals are discussed.

Social atmosphere should encourage FIMs to talk with child in HL

Successful language-maintenance strategies usually involve the initiative of the linguistic minority communities that provides the impetus for language-planning efforts which must start with intergenerational language transmissions at the level of the family (Fishman, 1991; Hornberger, 1998). In order for HLE to be conducted smoothly in the family environment, the government should first encourage and promote FIMs to speak their own language to children at home. As research shows, mothers will express a lot of social and cultural concerns when speaking her native language. To overcome this dilemma, the government should create a social environment that believes it is an enviable thing to speak a minority's language. As has been repeatedly stressed, the mother is the only HL speaker in the family, so if children are to succeed in HLE, the mother needs to be encouraged to speak HL only. While the 'one parent, one language' principle is not a sufficient condition for the simultaneous development of two languages, in families where only one of the parents represents the minority language, it appears to be a necessary condition (Döpke, 1998). In such families, the linguistic input is automatically impoverished by the fact that input is limited to mainly one person (Cross, 1981). Frequent switches into the majority language further detract from the minority language input both in quantity and quality (Lanza, 1997).

Mainstream social opinion should support HLE

First of all, it's important to pay attention to the guidance of teachers and experts on HLE. At the same time, while the government needs to actively create a family culture atmosphere conducive to HLE, mainstream social

opinions should also be supportive of HLE, especially those viewed as authorities by the parents, such as teachers. If a child's teacher is against HLE, it could easily cause a situation in which the children's HLE is stopped. For example, De Angelis (2011) argued that the power that parents afford teachers and administrators regarding language can extend outside the classroom when they advise parents about language use and encourage or discourage parents to preserve the HL. Teachers who believe that HL skills might interfere with the acquisition of a new language might discourage students and families from using the HL (De Angelis & Dewaele, 2009). Ultimately, this well-intended, but heavily misleading approach to becoming bilingual jeopardizes students' cognitive, linguistic and affective development (Cho et al., 2012; DeJong & Harper, 2005). Therefore, public opinion authorities and mainstream public opinion have a great effect on whether parents carry out HLE with their children.

Second, the concept of HLE needs to be strengthened. The current policy in Korea is to highlight HLE by emphasizing bilingual education, which, as the word suggests, refers to education in both languages. This can lead to confusion and loss of focus in policy formulation and academic research. Bilingualism is an elusive concept for language minority populations. Although immigrants desire to be bilingual in both their native language and the language of the host society, they experience enormous pressures to choose one or the other and often ending up with neither (Hornberger, 1998). The current bilingual education program for multicultural families in Korea performs Korean and foreign parental language (HL) educational activities in the same program. However, there is a great difference between Korean and HL in terms of educational contents and educational methods, so bringing them together under the concept of bilingual education may result in the loss of both types of education.

HLE significance should be better understood by the public

The entire community needs to understand that as part of global economic integration today, HL in multicultural families is a competitiveness of national development and a national resource for the country and society. Fishman (1980) argued that in the absence of functional specifications, the two languages compete and the minority language will gradually be relinquished. This social consensus plays a significant role in the promotion of HLE in multicultural families. In addition, the HL speaker, especially HLLs, should be aware of the educational significance of HLE. The benefits that HLE can provide are obvious in terms of micro or macro: individual interests or group interests. Existing research studies argue convincingly that developing HL speakers' linguistic and cultural knowledge to advanced levels is valuable for the students, their families and communities, but also for an individual's sense of personal identity and connectedness to their past and to their extended families, and more broadly, for society (Fishman, 1991; Hornberger, 2003; Li, & Duff, 2008). The children of HLLs have limited understanding of the interests of the group because of age, life experience and other factors. To allow them to better understand the meaning of HLE so as to form learning motivation, the reality of personal interests should be strengthened while emphasizing concepts such as cultural heritage, social integration, and global leadership.

3. *Providing Development Opportunities*

Lo Bianco (2008a, 2008b) further developed the COD approach and argued that society needs to increase young people's linguistic abilities, create and reward opportunities for use of the language, and foster a positive desire to use the language, in order to increase the viability of heritage language. In

order to promote HL vitality, opportunities for HL speakers should be developed in sociopolitical contexts so that they have the desire to learn HL. Development opportunities for children are mainly further studies and employment. Employment depends on a country's economic structure and current development. Although some positions can be fostered through policy, employment opportunities are mainly determined by market demand. Conditions for further studies are based on the established educational system, and the reform of the education system can form a positive desire for the use and development of HL.

A policy program that needs to be considered involves promoting the development of HLE through educational system reform. HLE is currently disconnected from children's formal schooling and HL language proficiency has no effect on their academic assessment. Moreover, HLE has a negative impact on children's commitment to formal schooling. This situation may result when HLE becomes an abandoned educational task in the child's education process. As members of society, the exclusion of their HL from formal education content is a manifestation of inequality in social education (Nieto, 2009). HLE will be greatly advocated if social educational systems pay attention to teaching minority languages. Korean-American's Korean education in the United States can be considered as an example. For the first time, in 1997, Korean was included as one of the elective subjects on the SAT II, which assesses students' knowledge of a particular subject for college admission in certain districts with high concentrations of Korean population (e.g. Fairfax County, Virginia and New York City). This has stimulated interest and motivation for learning Korean among young Korean Americans and their parents (Lee, 2002). Hurh (1998) reported that there are more than 25 Korean schools in the Chicago area which offer intensive courses in the Korean language and culture for students preparing to take the SAT II in Korean. These

measures serve as initial steps in successfully developing and maintaining Korean because Korean is recognized as a legitimate academic subject.

Korean-Chinese preserve their HL well under the policy that requires that Chinese government to support minority language education. In China, one of the supporting policies regarding improving ethnic minority education is to establish ethnic minority schools in China, which give ethnic minorities the opportunity to learn their own language and culture through formal education. Another one is a special National College Entrance Examination. Ethnic minorities can develop exam content based on their own teaching content, or they can use their own language in general, which allows students who receive formal education through the HL and the use of DL to have equal opportunities in examinations. At the same time, the Chinese government also encourages and promotes the HLE through the “Bonus points” policy (Table 20). With the support of government, many Korean-Chinese have made remarkable educational achievements and most of them are fluent in speaking both Chinese and Korean, and their average education level is much higher than the national average level. Features of Bilingual National Exam for Korean-Chinese students can be summarized into three aspects: first is special literary exam. It consists of Chinese exam and Korean exam as one subject exam. Chinese exam is held six months before National Exam and Korean exam is conducted at the same time as the National Exam. Second is translated exam paper. Except literary exam, other subjects’ exams are the same nationwide; however, the translated Korean version is available. Third is “Bonus Points” policy. If the national exam is taken in Korean, 10 points are awarded; if in Chinese, 5 points are added to the college entrance admission exam score (Kim, Chen, Huang, 2014).

As the number of multicultural family children increases, establishing bilingual schools for linguistic minorities should be considered. Although the

percentage of multicultural families' children in Korea is not as high as it is in China and the distribution is more dispersed, the relative educational administrations need to rethink restructuring schools "so that they will be able to deal effectively with the growing diversity to prepare future citizens who will be able to compete in a global world economy that will be knowledge and service-oriented" (Banks, 2008). Moreover, multicultural education represents a way of rethinking school reform because it responds to many of the problematic factors leading to school underachievement and failure (Nieto, 2009). The predictive percentage of Korea's foreign immigrants and their children will reach about 21.3 % of the total population in 2050 according to the 2008 State of the Future report. The demographic changes taking place in Korea means that the responsibility for educating children from multicultural families will not only rely on how to specifically provide bilingual education. This responsibility should also ponder how to reform the education system and college entrance exam system in order to raise the achievement of all students and provide them with equitable and high-quality education.

Korea's education system has added some foreign languages into the entrance examination as second foreign languages. However, because the exam content is too simple, and the design is based on most of the children from native-Korean families, children from multicultural families feel that their HL ability is not "rewarded". Thus, a further educational reform based on the purpose of promoting the development of language diversity is needed. Since Korea's multicultural families and multicultural children have not yet reached the full scale of the country, considering the concentrated area of foreign immigrants in Gyeonggi-do as pilot subject, experimental measures attempting to promote HLE through educational reforms should be conducted.

Research Limitations and Future Directions

One limitation of the study is that the effect of siblings' language use on one's HLE was not touched. Based on family-based practices, this paper discusses the implementation process and methods of HLE. Within the family, in addition to language learning from the mother, language learning between brothers and sisters also has a great effect. Parents are the main factors but not the only factors that may influence HLM. Within families, siblings were found to talk to each other mostly in the dominant language (De Houwer, 2009; Lambert, 1997). Since currently the second child in IMFs are young, this study primarily associates the first child's developmental language competence with the mother's HLE practice for this discussion. HLE in Korean families with many children deserves further in-depth studies.

This paper is a study considering the Han-Chinese FIMs that is currently undergoing HLE as a single-case. The study results are only applicable to the understanding of some FIMs' HLE. It's important to emphasize that the study objects do not present the overall phenomenon of HLE for Korean FIMs' children. Chinese FIMs in Korea are mainly divided into two groups: Chinese-Korean and other Chinese. Chinese-Korean FIMs are confused about the cognition of their identity and their mother tongue, and their attitude towards their children's Chinese education is different from other Chinese FIMs (Chen & Kim, 2016). Many Han-Chinese FIMs provide no Chinese education for their children or give up on it, for a number of reasons. Apart from the difficulties of the HL education practice presented in this study, the social atmosphere of the Korean singles culture can lead to discrimination and isolation of immigrants as well as their children from society. That's why FIMs choose to abandon HLE and assimilate themselves and their children into Korea's social culture (Chen & Kim, 2016). Moreover, because of the prestige

of the language effect, the use of language and attitude toward the language, languages which are perceived as more valuable in each society or community attract higher levels of language loyalty and tend to be maintained easier. The “high-power” stage involves use of the language in higher education, employment, mass media, and government (Fishman, 1991; Park, 2008; Reese & Goldenberg, 2006). In today's world, the Chinese language is one of the high prestige languages. At the same time, the bilateral relations between China and Korea which have been active for nearly two decades, have created a Chinese-learning passion in Korean society, which creates a very good social atmosphere for Chinese HLE. This is something FIMs in other countries do not have. This means that for these FIMs, HLE is facing greater challenges and difficulties, and they may lack positive supportive attitudes for their children’s HLE from the very beginning. Non-Chinese FIMs’ HLE practical experience, education difficulties and awareness of the significance of education should be directly addressed.

Understanding HLE experiences will provide practical information to immigrant parents, educators, scholars and policy-makers. To promote HLE, the education department should strengthen understanding of HLE for the FIMs who do not actively educate their children in HL, and the research results in the study of educational significance provides reference information for this work. For FIMs who are devoted to their children’s HLE, the education sector can refer to the study’s educational practices and practical difficulties to provide them with the educational support that meets their needs, and can also adjust overall educational policy planning in light of the policy recommendations section. In the current era of globalization, transmigration, and internationalization, HL is an important resource for both personal development and national development. HLE focus is a measure with national strategic significance. This research into the practices and significance of HLE, based on

Han-Chinese FIMs, provides some valuable information for future research and practices of HLE.



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