

**Korean *jogiyuhaksaeng*'s early study abroad  
and bilingual development in Australia**

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## **CERTIFICATE OF AUTHORSHIP/ORIGINALITY**

I certify that the work in this thesis has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree except as fully acknowledged within the text.

I also certify that the thesis has been written by me. Any help that I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself has been acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

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## ABSTRACT

The local processes of globalisation that have contributed to the heightened symbolic value of English in Korean society have seen an overwhelming desire for English acquisition, termed English fever. For Koreans, good English means a native-like fluency and accent which can be accomplished only by starting early with submersion in an English monolingual environment among native speakers. *Jogiyuhak* (early study abroad) is an embodiment of the prevalent belief that this is the best way to achieve good English with which students expected to become fluent bilinguals.

Through narrative inquiry, this research examines 14 Korean youths' lived experiences in study abroad in Australia, with a focus on academic and language development. The thesis traces the participants' development trajectories in academic, linguistic and social adaptation, and explores self-evaluated bilinguality and their sense of inbetweenness in association with the 'neither-language-is-fully-developed' perception.

The data show that language barriers not only impeded their initial adjustment but also had long term consequences, placing a severe constraint on pursuing academic inquiry in heavily language-dependent fields. The lack of both language repertoires and the associated feeling of discomfort that some participants revealed were related to this consequence.

While such findings indicate a problematic bilinguality and a potentially significant risk of *jogiyuhak*, the data analysis reveals complex and varying bilingualities across

individuals, suggesting that their bilingualities were constructed through their transnational life history and that language proficiency should be viewed as such rather than a set of linguistic skills.

A deep analysis of the 'lack of both language repertoires' perception further reveals the social and ideological aspects of bilinguality. The discursively constructed bilinguality informs the aspects of language as sharedness and membership, suggesting the locally constructed nature of language proficiency and that inbetweenness was related to their transnationality. The 'lack of language repertoires' perception was also derived from the idealised notion of native speakers from both Korean and Australian contexts based on the monolithic and racialised view of language, culture and identity. These language ideologies were fundamentally based on an ontological view of language; language as a fixed entity and hence an object of possession.

This thesis argues that such an ontological view of language is not only misleading in the process of language learning but also reproduces and perpetuates a deficit view of a language learner and a hierarchical stratification in relation to English. Alternatively, the thesis suggests that language should be viewed as social practices in particular locations, rather than a set of skills separate from what one does.

# **CHAPTER 1**

## **NARRATIVE INQUIRY OF KOREANS' EARLY STUDY ABROAD**

### **Introduction**

I would like to commence this thesis with my personal narrative as I consider it ethical to reveal my subjectivity not only as a researcher with TESOL background and teaching experience in Korea but also a bilingual from the same sociocultural and linguistic background as my research participants situated in English monolingual educational contexts. While my subjectivity as an English teacher led me to identify research problems and focus on a specific group of students, my bilingual development and bilinguality through study abroad experience was also intertwined with the research process. I define myself as a consecutive bilingual as I learned English as a school subject in Korea and learned to perform in English while doing postgraduate courses, MA TESOL and PhD in Australia. Thus the long journey of conducting this research was also the process of my further language development in English in an academic context. In this regard I shared a great commonality with my research participants but I was also different from them in that I completed my undergraduate degree in Korea and went abroad as an adult student. My assumptions and initial problematising were inevitably related to my own experience in such bilingual and academic development, and implicitly and unwittingly engaged in the forming of research questions. The self-reflection of this and my own bilinguality helped me further analyse the participants' bilinguality. This dialogic process was made through my own narrative. Narrative is the way I interpret and conceptualise my experiences, and the site that I revisit to re-evaluate my interpretation and conceptualisation and I believed that this was applicable

to the present research. This research is a narrative inquiry into the selected Korean youth's experiences and also my own.

### **My narrative: background to the research**

Why do we have to learn English? Having been born and grown up in Korea, I never thought of this. More precisely I could not even conceive of the need to ask this question. English was there from the beginning or some immemorial moment. I cannot recall how this notion became inscribed in my mind but I remember in my childhood hearing adults saying that anything from America was valuable. I assume that then for us Koreans English was equated with America. English appeared to be modern and advanced. English pop songs sounded sophisticated and English words on T-shirts looked chic and trendy no matter what the words meant. In contrast, products with Korean words on the label appeared countrified and of poor quality. Having the Korean alphabet on T-shirts was unthinkable. It happened once in 1981 as part of a government-led event called 'National Customs 81 (국풍 81)'<sup>1</sup> held allegedly for promoting Korean culture, but it only seemed to be stubborn government officials' propaganda based on language purism.

In the school context, the value of English was manifested in the attention from English teachers to and the intensity of students' envy of those good at English, particularly in high school years when it became harder to get good grades. To be a Maths genius would rarely incur the envy of classmates whereas the highest achiever in English

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<sup>1</sup> In fact this event is known as the Chun Doo-Hwan regime's endeavour to divert attention from the Gwangju massacre that happened a year before.

would face a gaze of longing and envy. The Maths teacher did not ask the class who had attained the perfect mark at the mid-term examination but every year the English teacher did. Once I was even asked to come to the teachers' room by my homeroom teacher and received a compliment from teachers including the English teacher. My friend said to me, 'Are you a human being (or normal)?' as if my grade was almost impossible. Other classmates asked me how I studied English and before I answered, they said that according to the rumour, I studied the English textbooks from the very beginning level again as if this were the key to high scores. It was rather an odd experience that I did not expect. I was known as the one good at English in the school. Apparently I was good only at grammar and translation but it was enough at the time.

English was a compulsory subject again in higher education but there were many other core subjects. English attracted less attention unless one majored in English language and literature, or had a plan to study abroad. There was no longer a need to study English but perhaps all the more reason for this lay in what I discovered in university campuses reflecting Korea's socio-political situation in the late 1980s. It was a dark era. As soon as I entered a university I saw students' protesting against the military dictatorship almost every other day. The campus was full of tear gas shot by riot police to suppress the protests. We first year students were told by senior students about the Gwangju (a city in the southern part of the Korean peninsula) massacre in May 1980 and watched a documentary film secretly shot by a German correspondent who risked his life to get the footage. We learned how the then General Chun Doo-Hwan's military coup was achieved by massacring peaceful protestors and citizens in the city and he later became president. This was never heard from any media, which was completely controlled by the government. There was no freedom of speech or press.

Some thought that the military dictatorship from Park Jung-Hee during the past three decades combined with conglomerate and monopolistic business brought about the current class distinctions and conflicts; some believed that the dictatorship was backed by the American government; others were concerned about the division of Korea and argued for independence from foreign power, particularly America. All complex issues seemed to be inherent in the peninsula. Student activists often dreamed of revolution. Whether they were involved in the then student movement or not, many students were reading banned books that evoked resistance, such as those on Marxism, thinking about ideology and social construction as a means to envisage a better society. For many young Koreans during the military regime, the term ideology was a keyword in thinking about Korea's socio-political situation, and signified more concern about society than individual success and prosperity. For this reason, it was called an era of ideology and a time of grand narratives.

In 1987, however, things began to change. The campus was under surveillance by the secret police. Those active in the student movement were targeted but university lecturers and whoever was critical of the government were not the exception. Once students were caught by the police they were sent to the army where some were said to die from unknown causes; others were brutally beaten and as a result were disabled or paralysed. But a student who was caught early in 1987 died while he was being interrogated. The police announced that it was an accident but people knew the student died from being tortured with water and electric shocks. Furthermore, the Chun Doo-Hwan regime turned down the call for an amendment to the constitution to change to a direct presidential election system. Students from most universities in Seoul boycotted final examinations and held a large-scale protest against the dictatorship. This became a

nationwide mass protest known as the June Democratic Uprising of 1987 that finally led to Chun Doo Hwan stepping down.

Everything then changed very rapidly with the wave of democratisation. Although there was still a long way to go to realise democratisation throughout society, emancipation from political oppression was interpreted in a way that suddenly there seemed to be no evil that needed to be struggled against. Shortly afterwards eastern European communism collapsed in 1989 and Fukuyama released a book entitled *The End of History*, suggesting the end of a battle of ideologies in human history. When a Korean poet published a poem entitled ‘At the age of thirty, the party is over’, it seemed to confirm that the days of dreaming of an ideal and ideology were over. Many of those who had been protesting on the street or politically active went back to work and school; they turned their attention to their personal life rather than politics, to individual desire rather than ideology. With the appearance of novels exhibiting postmodern features, it was said that the age of grand narratives was gone and the era of decentralised postmodern discourses had arrived. It was believed that Korea was going to cast off its status as a developing country and become an advanced country.

Having experienced and witnessed such historic events in my university years, I was completely oblivious of the place of English in Korean society and the potential advantage that good knowledge of English could offer. At the end of my university course suddenly I was reminded of English as I had to sit the English test for an employment assessment. Even then I glanced at the bookshelf to pick a TOEFL book which my brother bought long before and only read a few pages of. The English test was not demanding. This must have been related to Korea’s economic circumstances at



the time that had reached full employment. It was not hard to get a job, although this was limited to males only. Some claimed that English would be more important in the near future, but it seemed to be a distant story for me and perhaps for many Koreans at the time until English appeared on the horizon along with the discourse of globalisation in the mid-1990s.

Today English permeates Korean society at almost every stage and every walk of life. It seems to be that gaining the ability to speak English is a pressing task for everyone, from preschool children to middle-aged office workers. My brother, who was a business consultant and met only Koreans for his work, kept saying that he had to improve his English. I, having completed the TESOL course in Australia and starting a new career as an English teacher in 2001, did not know why he was obsessed with English until he told me that if he used the Korean word, '*yorisa*' instead of the English word 'chef', he would be despised or laughed at by people in his business. Not surprisingly English language schools have mushroomed. Some media commentators and the general public sarcastically refer to Korea as 'the republic of the English language' (영어공화국).

Such circumstances could be beneficial to me as an English teacher working in the flourishing private English teaching industry. However, apart from better job prospects or career success I experienced various conflicts from a pedagogical perspective. At the time I was teaching TOEIC classes and needed to teach specific techniques and skills to enable students to provide the required answers and achieve a high score in the test. From my point of view, preparing for the test would not help improve students' English much. Further, despite the TOEIC (Test of English for International

Communication) claiming its purpose was testing a testee's ability for 'international communication' this would never be achieved by studying this test; given that the test questions all related to life in the US, I myself could not comprehend the meaning of international communication. Indeed high TOEIC scorers who gained more than 900 points often failed the English interview at an employment assessment conducted by Koreans. I felt sorry for my students who came to the morning class at dawn before going to school or work, or the evening class in the dark after a long day, not because of their fatigue from overwork but because of little reward for all their hard work.

However, despite its negative washback, there seemed to be a little voice questioning the validity and reliability of the test, for it was spreading throughout all sectors and domains of society. No voice seemed to ask why an X-ray technician<sup>2</sup> had to take the test, and more fundamentally why it was necessary for him to be able to speak English and which specific language skills he would need in his work. Instead, the story of a high TOEIC scorer with poor speaking skills was circulating among people as evidence of, and thus to ridicule Koreans' low English proficiency. Koreans frequently made self-deprecating comments such as 'I can't speak any single word in English even after ten years of English education', showing the level of their frustration, usually followed by accusations of the Korean government's grammar-centred English education. Such conceptualisation reinforced the perception that English is a difficult language for Koreans to acquire. Alongside this seeming impossibility to gain English proficiency, the intense desire for English seemed to escalate.

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<sup>2</sup> One day when I was sitting in the teachers' room during the break, one of my students came to see me. He introduced himself as a college student training to become an X-ray technician. He explained that TOEIC score was a requirement for graduation, and asked me how he could improve his English.

I found similar conflicts in children's English education. Although it was more enjoyable to teach young children, I soon realised that what they were learning over one year or six months was equivalent to a few hours' study load in the curriculum of middle school. There seemed to be no good reason for them to start learning English as young as Year two to three. Parents, however, had a different idea. One day, I had a phone-call from the mother of one of my ex-students, a Year three primary school girl, and was called on to help her daughter adjust to her new English language school. I visited her and observed that she was memorising all the lines in a formal letter exchanged between adults and reading an article that can be found in an introductory textbook for the first year undergraduate students of Psychology; it was about which hemisphere of our brain controls what functions, etc. To be able to understand the text even in Korean the reader would need to be a high school or at least middle school student. The little girl, who had previously enjoyed English, expressed discontentment and even a dislike of English, asking me to ask her mother to send her back to her previous school.

I discovered that language schools that were running inappropriately difficult levels of curriculum with a heavier study load were more popular among "mothers as their children's education manager" (Park, S. J. & Abelmann 2004) and sending children to these schools was seen as unquestionably the right decision regardless of their children's age, intellectual level and interest. In addition, the equation of English with America was still prevalent. The comment that 'English (as a language) is originally English (the language of England)' is a joke in Korean society pointing to the unquestioned link. English spoken in other countries was extremely unwelcome. At a job interview I was told that I was welcome since I did not have a strong Australian

accent. A Korean teacher who introduced herself as coming from America asked me where in America I came from. Another fellow teacher who had studied in America laughed when I pronounced 'there' without a heavy r-sound at the ending.

Not surprisingly, children in my class laughed at my pronunciation of the word 'aunt' when it sounded different from their previous teacher's pronunciation and they assumed it was not American. I explained that in America pronunciation and accent varies across regions, just as it does in Korea. Then I added, "When you grow up and meet someone, say, from England with an Indian background, are you going to laugh at the person's English pronunciation pointing your fingers like that because his or her English doesn't sound American? Or are you going to concentrate on communicating with the person?" The students went quiet and seemed to think. They may have simply assumed that the version of pronunciation that they were used to from their previous Korean teacher who was known to come from America was the only American pronunciation. But more importantly, such a monolithic view of accent, pronunciation and language in general must have been obtained through textbooks, teaching practices, and through implicit and explicit instructions.

From my perspective, much of the teaching and learning practices in English education in Korea seemed to be unproductive despite the social suffering, individual distress and burden. Most dominant discourses in relation to English education concentrated on the question of acquiring native-like English fluency and accent without consideration of other pedagogical concerns. I thought that more consideration and discussion were needed in relation to questions such as 'what aspects of English Koreans should pursue on what grounds', and 'what perspectives could be productive in Koreans' learning and

thinking of English'. However, the unconditional pursuit of English suffocated alternative perspectives in thinking of English and English education in Korean society. I often asked myself a fundamental question, 'Why should every single Korean be able to speak English', although this may sound odd in an ever increasingly globalising world; it would be good if everybody could speak English in addition to Korean, but is this realistically possible?; and if so, will English really benefit Korean society or individuals as believed?

In an attempt to unravel the questions above, I wanted to explore the consequences of Koreans' pursuit of English and what Koreans believe to be the best way to acquire English, and decided to study abroad once again. This would involve my further English development as an adult learner, giving me the chance to explore my personal assumption that knowledge of English grammar rules and a high level of literacy in Korean would be effective in literacy development in English, which I also assumed would entail fluency. This assumption, which was derived from my own English learning history, was contrary to Koreans' prevalent beliefs manifested in the pursuit of English addressed above.

My PhD research about early study abroad was set against the backdrop of this English related phenomenon in Korea. I assumed that investigating the consequence of desired English proficiency would inform us of a better way to think of the current direction of English phenomenon. I believed that early study abroad in this vein was a good site to go about research since it is the culmination of the English phenomenon in Korean society and the embodiment of Koreans' beliefs in relation to English acquisition. It would also be a good site to test my own hypothesis in relation to English acquisition.

The narrative below shows how the research problems were identified through my experience of observing early study abroad students, called *jogiyuhaksaeng* in Korean. Then I move on to show a brief overview of the extant body of research and the research questions of the present research, and address the significance of the study. Finally I outline the structure of this thesis.

### **The first encounter with *jogiyuhaksaeng*: embryo of the research**

The research problem in relation to early study abroad was identified through my experience in observing a Korean student who had a background of early study abroad. It is traced back to the days when I was doing my master's degree in TESOL as an adult international student in Australia. For the first time in my life I was sitting in two hour-long academic lectures in English, and I failed to grasp much of the lecturer's instruction. I thought that my problem was normal for an adult international student from Korea who had little previous experience of such a situation. After the class, I went up to another Korean student, and said, in Korean, "It's hard to understand the lecturer, isn't it?" Unexpectedly, she looked confident and said, "No. I'm used to listening to lectures." I shrank away in embarrassment and surprise, thinking it was only my problem. Soon to my relief she added that she had completed her bachelor degree in Australia.

Later on I found out more about her background. She had come to Australia at age 16 and had joined a private high school as a boarder, spending a total of eight years in Australia before starting her master's degree. While I was having discussions with other

Korean international students, I noticed that she did not seem to understand the subject of our discussions and often missed the point of arguments and presented irrelevant ideas. One of those Korean students complained that he could not engage in conversation with her. I now think that she probably lacked the shared discourse familiar to newly arrived Koreans but at the time she just seemed to be unintelligent. I also noticed that she did not know the type of vocabulary that I had learned from textbooks in secondary schools, from which I inferred that it was related to her absence from the Korean education system due to early study abroad.

If her Korean was related to the outcomes of her early study abroad, she should be excellent at English for the same reasons. However, it did not take long before I found out that even if she did not find listening to a two-hour lecture in English arduous, her level of understanding of the class content was not sufficient to fulfill subject assignments. She often had to ask her Korean classmates, including myself, about concepts and terminology and sought assistance with her assignments. In fact throughout the course, she was unable to fulfill the subject requirements and relied on her classmates and boyfriend.

While there should be a wide range of educational outcomes across individuals, her case is one possible consequence of early study abroad. More interesting was the question of what led to her difficulty in academic performance, and what was the nature and characteristics of her adaptation and development processes. A news article from *The Washington Post* reporting a story about a South Korean family who recently migrated to America for their children's education offered a small clue; "Wrenching Choice" (Ly 2005):

They are called ‘*gireogi*’, or wild geese – South Korean families separated by an ocean. The parents want their children to be taught in the United States... Education has brought (Hannah Kim) to this classroom and to a white frame townhouse in Ellicott City. But the price of her American education – and her escape from the relentlessly competitive Korean school system – is a fractured family. Hannah’s mother, Jungwon Kim, and two younger siblings, Eugene and Terry are here with her. Her father, Keeyeop Kim, an executive in South Korea, stayed behind to finance his family’s life abroad... Hannah’s afternoons are filled with band practice, private drum lessons and church youth group. Academically, she has thrived, cycling quickly out of ESOL classes and making the honour roll at Patapsco Middle School... “Patapsco is so much fun. This is the best year of my life. Ever,” Hannah declared one evening... Eugene wasn’t the perfect student back home,... but this year has been unusually tough. Of the three children, Eugene is most like his father, often shy about speaking to people he doesn’t know well... Eugene seems to feel his father’s absence most acutely. Eugene has told his mother that he would like to go back to Korea. Because that has not happened, he has made his life here as Korean as possible. All his friends are Korean. When it is “Drop everything and Read” time in school, he pulls out a Korean book. He uses less English than Terry, who is in preschool...

As the title suggests, the article described the family’s choice of early study abroad at the cost of family separation and sacrifice by the father. It captured each family member’s varying experience in their study abroad circumstances with a snapshot of the



young children's life in America. This close-up picture of two siblings' adaptation to American school life during the early years of study abroad seemed to indicate somewhat ambiguous consequences; the eldest child and the mother think their choice best and are satisfied with their new life, whereas the second child shows signs of maladaptation, missing his father and home country, and still having difficulties with English in his school.

The question arising from this snapshot was what would eventually happen: would the second child's difficulty prove to be only developmental and eventually be overcome or may it have had a long-term impact? To answer this question would require assessing their adjustment and development process after many years. In other words a full story would be required to reveal what the problem in the initial adjustment process was, how he could or could not overcome language barriers, and what the experience after the initial period was and so on. These questions formed the embryo of this research project and led to my initial research question; what are the long-term consequences of early study abroad?

### **Extant body of research on early study abroad**

Along with the boom in early study abroad, there have been a growing number of research studies on early study abroad. Most research studies have been focused on the background to early study abroad such as the motivation and cause (e.g. Cho, M.-D. 2002; Lee, Y.-J. & Koo 2006) or the problems and difficulties in the adaptation processes and academic performance (e.g. Cho, S. E. 2011; Jeong 2006; Jo, H.-y. 2007;

Kang, H.-S. et al. 2010; Kim, H. J. 2007; Kim, H. J. & Yoo, S. 2008; Lee, K.-h. 2005; Lee, M. W. 2010; Song, M. et al. 2011, among many).

These studies show that the language barrier is a significant factor in students' adaptation process. For example, Lee, K.-h.'s study (2005) investigating the adjustments and aspirations of Korean early study students in Los Angeles through in-depth interviews with 12 students of high school and middle school ages and eight mothers, reveals that the main difficulties were language barriers. These impeded their academic performance as well as interaction with schoolmates and teachers. More significantly, Lee, K.-h. suggests that such adjustment experiences may lead to maladjustment and delinquent behaviour.

Even in success cases, the aftermath of early study abroad life was not simple or easy when seeking a career and settling down in either society. Song, M. et al. (2011), in a qualitative study of the meaning and outcome of early study abroad used a phenomenological approach to assess the experiences of nine college graduates who completed their early study abroad in the US and had experience in employment. This research reveals that while the participants achieved an enhanced self-identity along with English skills and the capacity to deal with globalisation, they also expressed a lack of language proficiency compared with speakers from either Korean or American society, and exhibited a sense of not belonging to either society. Although these studies reveal that language issues were central to students' *jogyuhak* experiences, they approach the subject from sociological or educational perspective, not particularly focused on language development.

The research examining *jogiyuhaksaeng*'s experiences from a linguistics perspective is limited (e.g. Kim, Y. 2009; Park, J. 2007; Park, J. S.-Y. & Bae 2009; Shin, H. 2010; Song, J. 2007). Among them, Park, J. S.-Y. & Bae (2009) note the significant role of language ideology in *jogiyuhak* phenomenon that valorises a particular variety of English in particular locations through investigating *jogiyuhak* family's experience in Singapore. They suggest that this particular *jogiyuhak* location offers possibilities of contesting the dominant language ideologies and they show how the students' educational experiences in this local context mediate and implicitly contribute to rearticulating their dominant language ideologies. Shin, H. (2010) in her ethnographic study of four Korean *jogiyuhaksaeng* attending high schools in Canada suggests that the students' transnational practice in Korean language and culture led to their lack of English which was exacerbated by their essentialist language ideology concerning 'Authentic English'. Song, J.'s research (2007) also identifies the significant role of language ideologies involved in young children's language socialisation process in the US and discusses their bilingual practice through which language ideologies and identities are constructed, negotiated and interact. These three studies thus are mainly focused on the language ideologies and the identity of *jogiyuhak* students and parents in experiences respectively in Singapore, US and Canada.

Both Kim, Y. and Park, J. are focused on language development from applied linguistic perspective. Kim, Y.'s (2009) study reveals the complex aspects of early study abroad students' English learning process and their cultural and social experiences both inside and outside the classroom. Park, J. (2007), investigated the first language peer influence on English acquisition among primary school age children who studied abroad for a short-term through their parents' beliefs and practice. His study suggested that the first

language has a positive impact of second language development particularly in literacy. He also examined the literacy development in Korean of a high school returnee student who studied abroad for four years as a primary school student (Park, J.-K. 2011) and found that the participant experienced great difficulty in academic achievement in school subjects, Korean and social studies. Overall, however, as Park, J.-K. (2011) points out, *jogiyuhak* students' bilingual development has been understudied. The extant body of research is briefly explored here and some of them will be drawn on later in the following chapters to discuss the relevant issues.

## **Research Questions**

As addressed above, there has been little research conducted on early study abroad students' bilinguality. This research is a response to this paucity. The identified research problem addressed above was developed into the research questions through a literature review, as follows:

- What are the individuals' experiences of the linguistic and academic adaptation process?
- What are the consequences of long-term early study abroad on the individuals' language development and life trajectories?
- What are the roles and meanings of two languages, bilingual use and levels in the individuals' everyday life and life history?

## **The significance of the research**

The extant body of research addressed above have been conducted mostly in the US. In other words, *jogiyuhaksaeng* in Australian classrooms had been absent in research and studies. According to Australian Education International (AEI) South Korea has been Australia's third-largest source of foreign student enrolments after China and India during the recent years up to 2012. Among them the number of Korean students enrolled in school sectors on a student visa was respectively 4,968 in 2010, 3,968 in 2011 and 3,056 in 2012. Despite the decrease in the number of enrolments that seems to be due to the high Australian dollar, the number of these students is not negligible. In addition, long term *jogiyuhaksaeng* who have been successful in their study in Australia are more likely to be prospective immigrants.

Up to the present, however, there is little research conducted on these students and thus little known about them. The present research investigates Korean students' lived experiences in early study abroad in the Australian context, and provides an understanding of these Korean students with a focus on long-term bilingual and academic development processes.

Koreans' early study abroad embodies what is perceived to be the best way to acquire proficiency in English. The research findings offer whether this belief is appropriate or valid, making contribution to the field of second language development. The research also sheds light on other migrant students' academic and linguistic adaptation in Australia and is expected to contribute to the field of bilingualism in migration context,

in which there are contested issues and competing positions. As the research reveals the consequence of monolingual education in migration context, the study offers suggestions to educators, school professionals and educational policy makers in the Australian context who are required to meet the educational needs of this particular population. Lastly, the study is also valuable in providing in-depth understanding of the individual students' experience in early study abroad, and accordingly offers a guide for prospective candidates and their parents, as well as the educators, teachers and educational policy makers in Korea.

### **Organisation of the thesis**

The thesis is organised into four major parts: the background to the early study abroad phenomenon and the associated language ideologies and academic issues (Chapter 2, 3), research processes (Chapter 4), data analysis (Chapter 5, 6, 7), conclusion and further discussion (Chapter 8).

In Chapter 2, the thesis introduces Korea's historical, political and socio-economical context in which the value of English has intensified. It then explores the underlying linguistic assumptions and language ideologies that have led to a boom in early study abroad. In a similar vein, Chapter 3 introduces the relevant linguistic issues including bilingualism in the academic field. Chapter 4 deals with the research process from the rationale for the research design, the research approach, and data-collection to data analysis. This chapter discusses some critical issues in relation to the researcher's positionality and also the dialogic nature of the research process.

Chapter 5, 6 and 7 are the data analysis chapters which are organised to answer the research questions. Chapter 5 presents the participants' lived experiences in early study abroad, with a focus on linguistic and academic adaptation and development trajectories. Chapter 6 addresses the individual participants' bilinguality in terms of what they perceived they could do in which contexts and domains, and traces the factors that led to such bilinguality. Chapter 7 explores the participants' sense of confusion and 'inbetweenness' in relation to their bilinguality and discusses the social nature of the perceived complex bilinguality, revealing the role of language in finding membership and belongingness.

The final chapter concludes the narrated experiences of early study abroad by addressing the relevant issues in the academic field of bilingualism and second language development, and provides further discussion on the entrenched language ideologies of Koreans involved in early study abroad. Then the chapter suggests an alternative view of language and language proficiency.

## **CHAPTER 2** ***JOGIYUHAH* AND ENGLISH**

### ***Jogiyuhak* as educational exodus**

#### **Introducing the concept of language ideology**

This chapter introduces the social phenomenon of Koreans' early study abroad as an embodied form of English fever in Korean society and identifies English as its driving force. It addresses the status and meaning of English as a global language that has been achieved through Korea's local processes of globalisation. That is, English is perceived to be necessary to survive in the era of globalisation. Then the chapter illuminates the highly stratified status among varieties of English against the perceived meaning of English as a global language, which is also manifested in Koreans' early study abroad practices. As such, this research acknowledges assumptions, perceptions and beliefs in relation to English and English acquisition as deeply involved in the early study abroad phenomenon and in doing so, it draws on the concept of 'language ideology' from linguistic anthropology as a conceptual framework.

Language ideology was originally defined by Silverstein as "any sets of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalisation or justification of perceived language structure and use" (1979, p. 173), suggesting a significant relationship between underlying assumptions about language, and language structure and use. This definition seems to be focused on the observable use of language as the object of study, as Lee, J. interprets it, "how linguistic actors interpret or conceptualise the relationship



between language and its use in social contexts is considered as a significant mechanism in the maintenance and innovation of linguistic structure” (Lee, J. 2010, 246). However, the concept of language ideology has broader implications for investigating the reflexive relationship or interaction between language and society, as Irvine defined it as “the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relations, together with their loading of moral and political interest” (1989, p. 255). Studies on language ideologies about English in Korean society (e.g. Park, J. S.-Y. 2004; Lee, J. 2010) show that language ideology is useful in investigating English-related social phenomenon such as English fever in Korean society where English is not yet the language of everyday use. As Lee, J. notes, it can offer “a useful framework in materialising the dynamics between perceptions of English and specific social actions in Korea as well as the local processes that contribute to the hegemony of English” (Lee, J. 2010, p. 247).

Thus, language ideology in this research is a crucial conceptual framework to discuss the socially constructed meaning of English in Korean society that has been deeply involved in Koreans’ early study abroad. Language ideology is further discussed in Chapter 3 to identify a set of prevalent linguistic assumptions in relation to English acquisition that have mediated the early study abroad phenomenon, and as an analytical framework in discussing the participants’ perceptions in Chapter 4.

### ***Jogyuhak, jogiyuhaksaeng, and gireogi family***

Until the 1980s, Koreans leaving for a foreign country for study purposes, known as *yuhaksaeng* (international students), mostly held bachelor or master’s degrees and

aimed to obtain a higher degree (O, O. H. 2008). Seeking an overseas degree was extended to undergraduate education from the mid-1980s as the government partially lifted the policy banning citizens from travelling overseas. It had been illegal for pre-college students to study abroad. Despite this legal restriction<sup>3</sup>, young children and adolescents began to join the queue to fly overseas and emerged as a new group of *yuhaksaeng* in the early 1990s. This group of pre-college students who study abroad are known as ‘early study abroad students’ or by the Korean term, *jogiyuhaksaeng*. While the government decided to lift the restriction on high school students in 2000, study abroad for primary school and middle school students is still not acknowledged as early study abroad according to the official government policy.

Due to their age *jogiyuhaksaeng* are more often accompanied by a parent although some are sent alone. For those who are sent alone, arrangements are made for them to live in the host country including enrolment in school, accommodation and a guardian according to the law of the host country. When children are of primary school age, their mother often accompanies them because of concerns about parenting, taking care of the children’s daily routines, and even to offset any chance of their children becoming involved in delinquent behaviour such as exposure to drugs (Choi, Y. 2005). In this pattern of *jogiyuhak*, children live overseas mostly with their mother while the father remains in Korea and financially supports his overseas family, forming a split-household transnational family.

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<sup>3</sup> In fact, it was only nominal restriction since there was no way to stop young children and adolescent from going overseas for study.

This new form of family has been called *gireogi*<sup>4</sup> *gajok* (wild goose family) after the father's nickname *gireogi appa* (wild goose dad). The father is compared to a wild goose because he travels back and forth to visit his family just as a wild goose seasonally migrates, but also the nickname symbolises his difficult and lonely life.<sup>5</sup> Over time, new nicknames have emerged for fathers living alone in Korea such as 'eagle dad' and 'penguin dad'. Eagle dad refers to fathers who can visit their family overseas relatively frequently owing to their financial situation and flexibility in their work conditions whereas those who cannot afford to visit their families are compared to a penguin that is unable to fly and just stamps the ground. These nicknames signify the different socio-economic status of *gireogi* fathers, and indicate that the *jogiyuhak* phenomenon which used to be limited to the affluent upper middle class has spread to middle class families.

Issues around *gireogi* fathers have received public attention especially when news reports were occasionally released on a *gireogi* father's suicide, reportedly identified as relating to financial problems, emotional difficulty or divorce due to living apart. Although not as sensational as these news reports, Choi, Y.'s research (2005) with in-depth interviews with 20 *gireogi* fathers reveals that in addition to the financial burden most of them experienced a great many psychological difficulties and deteriorating health due to living alone, changes in marital and familial relationship and gradual alienation. Media reports including a series of special features on the *jogiyuhak*

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<sup>4</sup> A wild goose in Korean tradition is known for being monogamous, having a good relationship with its mate and looking after its offspring well. There is a folk belief that when either mate dies, the other remains single for the rest of its life, missing the lost one and looking after their offspring. For this reason, in a traditional wedding ceremony a pair of wooden artifacts of wild geese is displayed on the altar as a symbol of a couple's good relationship.

<sup>5</sup> It seems that a *gireogi* father works hard for his family but is deprived of family life including a marital relationship and this type of living is understood to be hard and a sacrifice.

phenomenon reveal that due to loneliness many *gireogi* fathers reportedly drink alcohol almost every day and some have extramarital relationships (e.g. Kim, J. 2007; Bae, J. J. 2010). It is also reported that those who experience serious financial and emotional difficulty due to long-term overseas remittance and a lonely life come to question the meaning of family and view themselves as “a money making machine” (Jung, J. H. & Nam, Y. S. 2010).

Despite the enormous marital and familial costs, and the financial burden *jogiyuhak* has become increasingly popular over time. The number of *jogiyuhaksaeng* dropped when the country faced the foreign exchange crisis in 1997 and during the ensuing IMF control. It began to increase again from 2000 as soon as the country recovered from its economic downturn and the *jogiyuhak* population exploded during the mid-2000s. The table below shows the drastic increase in the number of *jogiyuhaksaeng* who left the country every year. Notably, the age of *jogiyuhaksaeng* has grown younger and the number of primary school students who joined the queue to travel overseas from 1995 to 2006 multiplied 50 times whereas that of middle school and high school students was approximately eight times.

**Table 1. The annual numbers of *jogiyuhaksaeng* who left the country**

Year	Primary	Middle	High	Total
1995	235	1,200	824	2,259
1999	432	709	698	1,839
2000	705	1,799	1,893	4,397
2001	2,107	3,171	2,666	7,944
2003	4,052	3,674	2,772	10,498
2005	8,148	6,670	5,582	20,400
2006	13,814	9,246	6,451	29,511
2007	12,341	9,201	6,126	27,668
2009	8,369	5,723	4,026	18,118
2010	8,794	5,870	4,077	18,741
2011	7,477	5,468	3,570	16,515

\*Adapted from 2008 and 2012 Analysis of Educational Statistics Information.

\*Source from the Korea Educational Development Institute.

\*It should also be noted that the numbers in the table do not include those accompanying their parents dispatched for overseas assignment and those who emigrated with their entire family.

After the total number reached 29,511 in 2006, however, it sharply decreased in 2009.

The drastic fall in 2009 is interpreted as due to the decrease in the demand for *jogiyuhak* as various English education programs have become available and the negative aspects of *jogiyuhak* and cases of failure become better known (Gang, B. 2011). Indeed, there is an increasing number of various English education institutes and programs available including a branch school that is affiliated with schools of English speaking Western countries (see, Lee, H. & Jang, J. 2011). Some experts, however, believe the drop in

*jogiyuhak* numbers is temporary and due to the country's economic downturn influenced by the world financial crisis from 2007 to 2008 (Lee, J. S. 2011).

Although the size of the *jogiyuhak* population has decreased, parents' strategies and forms of *jogiyuhak* have become diversified. The annual statistics of *jogiyuhaksaeng* provided by the Korea Education Development Institute (KEDI) does not include children accompanying their parents who go abroad for overseas work assignments. According to the KEDI about 30% of *jogiyuhaksaeng* remain overseas for the long term, with the rest returning to Korea within two to three years. Considering this, the total number of those who left the country and remained overseas is estimated, in education circles, to be approximately 180,000 and accordingly at least 50,000 households have become *gireogi* families (Jung, J. H. & Nam, Y. S. 2010).

### **Changing strategies for *jogiyuhak* and parachute kids of astronaut family**

As information on *jogiyuhak* experiences has become available in Korean society through anecdotes, media reports and educational agencies, *jogiyuhak* strategies and forms have evolved and diversified. According to a media report, since the negative aspects of being a *gireogi* father have become known to the public, parents have opted more for *nahollo jogiyuhak* (sending a child alone overseas) and in line with its demand, educational agencies have offered 'programs for students going overseas alone' organised with guardians and home-stay service (Ha, Y. 2006). This form is popular particularly for early study abroad with short-term plans. According to the records

provided by both the Korean and Asiana Airlines, the number of primary students using the ‘Flying Mom’<sup>6</sup> service reached 20,108 in 2007 reflecting the increase of students of *jogiyuhak* alone (Shin, S. 2009).

There have also been alternative forms of practising early study abroad (O, O. H. 2008). Children accompanying a parent who goes overseas for his/her work assignment or study abroad and also those of a family who immigrate to an English speaking country are widely assumed to have *jogiyuhak* as their purpose (Lee, Y.-J. & Koo 2006). For this reason, this type of migration is referred to as *gyoyukimin* (educational immigration) and this term was registered in a book of neologisms by the National Institute for the Korean Language in 1997. It is defined as “immigrating to a foreign country in order for children to be educated in a better environment”. Often a whole family migrates to a Western English speaking country for the purpose of their children’s study abroad. These two forms may seem to be a better choice for a family as there is no family separation. Some of these families obtain overseas residency but become *gireogi* families by sending their children and mother only. Sometimes, the former case also leads to the forming of a *gireogi* family as some children remain overseas after their parents return to Korea at the end of the parent’s overseas assignment.

According to the survey administered by *Dong-Ah Ilbo* (a Korean daily newspaper), one in four Koreans (25.2%) expressed a strong aspiration for ‘educational immigration’ if possible, and 21.8% of the respondents revealed an intention to send their children

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<sup>6</sup> ‘Flying Mom’ is a service for unaccompanied minors that the airlines provide for children of age five to 12 who are flying overseas alone. It is known that most service users use this service for the purpose of study abroad or attending a (short-term) language course.

overseas, followed by 12% who were willing to choose being a *gireogi* family (Lee, I. & Park, M. 2006). The parents' response showed higher rates, with 32.6% voting for educational immigration, with 28.9% for *jogiyuhak* and 15.5% expressing their willingness to be a *gireogi* dad. The survey conducted on 1008 respondents in seven major cities in Korea in 2007 by *Joongang Ilbo* (Korean daily newspaper) and The East Asia Institute (a Korean research institute), reported that 44.7% of the respondents expressed their intention to send their children if they could afford to (Bae, N. 2007).

Further, since the late 1990s<sup>7</sup> there has been an increase in the number of Korean mothers going to America to do *wonjeongchulsan* (giving birth abroad) in order for their newly born baby to be granted US citizenship. These children with US citizenship are sent to America later for study purposes alone or with their mother. Most surprising is *ipyangyuhak* (having their child adopted by those having overseas citizenship). It was broadcasted in 2007 in a Korean TV program that initially adopters with US citizenship were children's relatives but this has been extended to those who have no relationship and do this as a business (O, O. H. 2008, p. 23).

It is also reported that there are *gireogi* fathers who themselves are overseas living apart from their family overseas (Kim, J. 2007). These fathers are mostly sojourning employees, foreign correspondents, and exchange professors who are sent to Asian countries including Japan, and China. They were initially with their family at the time of leaving Korea but have become *gireogi* fathers as their children and wife have left for English speaking countries such as America and Canada. These parents reportedly believe that international schools in those Asian countries are not as good for their

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<sup>7</sup> It is known in Korea that children who are born e.g. in America are automatically granted US citizenship according to territorial principle.



children's English education as schools in America and Canada. The number of *jogiyuhaksaeng* in this pattern is not known simply because it is impossible to identify them.

Interestingly, the phenomenon of sending children overseas is not unique to Koreans, but is also present in other Asian countries including Taiwan, Hong Kong, Mainland China, India and the Philippines (Zhou 1998). Among them, particularly, Taiwanese and Chinese from Hong Kong are reportedly most active in this trend (Hsieh 2008; Zhou 1998). These students are referred to as 'parachute kids', 'unaccompanied minors', 'astronaut child', 'satellite child', etc. These nicknames seem to originate from parental practices of sending children overseas, family separation and remote control in parenting. The nickname 'parachute kids' seems to refer to the Taiwanese parents' practice called 'parachuting', in which children are "dropped off in the U.S. with 'unaccompanied minor' tags to be picked up by relatives or caretakers arranged prior to their arrival" (Zhou 1998, p. 684). Similar to Koreans' *jogiyuhak*, in some cases both parents return to their home country after dropping off their children but often the mother remains with their children in the host country while the father returns to their home country (Tsang & et al. 2003). "The couples who are thus separated", equivalent to *gireogi gajok* in the Korean term, are nicknamed 'astronauts' (Tsang & et al. 2003) as they move back and forth like astronauts between the home and the host country. The nickname 'satellite kids' is used in the same way<sup>8</sup>.

Some research considers only *naholo jogiyuhak* (early study abroad alone) (e.g. Han, Z. S. et al. 2002), or primary school students' going overseas (e.g. Park, J. 2007). The

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<sup>8</sup> According to the report by the New Zealand Immigration Service (2000), more children stayed in New Zealand without a parent.

KEDI's definition is based on visa conditions, focusing solely on an explicit form of *jogiyuhak* and excluding children accompanying their parents going overseas for work assignments and also those of migrant families. O, O. H.'s (2008) definition is similar to that of KEDI's but it focuses on long-term study abroad. He argues that children who remain overseas after their parents have left, and children of immigrants without intent to settle in a host country should be included in the *jogiyuhak* category. Although specific research purposes may limit studies to certain types, it should be noted that all forms and practices of children going overseas are rooted in the same desire, the desire for English and thus the embodiment of the same phenomenon, English fever. I discuss English fever in the next section but before doing so I briefly explore the factors involved in the parents' decision to send their children overseas.

### **Push-out and pull-in factors**

Studies of both parachute kids from Chinese and Taiwanese backgrounds (Zhou 1998; Han, A. Y. 2003; Chiang-Hom 2004; Hsieh 2008) and Korean *jogiyuhaksaeng* (An 1997; Choi, Y. 2005; Kim, H. et al. 2005; Lee, Y.-J. & Koo 2006) identify push-out and pull-in factors that to a great extent are found to be common. The studies commonly point out keen competition for higher education in their societies; entry into prestigious universities especially leads to seeking educational opportunities overseas. It seems that high competition in the educational environment imposes a heavy study load on students and a financial burden on parents who wish to provide their children with private education<sup>9</sup> in order for them to excel over other students. Yet, it is difficult to

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<sup>9</sup> In Korea even primary students are attending cram schools called *hagwon* and private tutoring *gwaoui* until late at night. Koreans are reported to spend US \$ 18 billion on private education every year (de Lotbiniere 2011).

gain admission to a highly recognised university. In studies of Korean *jogiyuhak*, the examination-oriented education system is also criticised as responsible for parents' dissatisfaction with the Korean education. In a few cases, a child's poor academic performance or mal-adaptation to school is reported as a reason. These factors can be placed in the single category of dissatisfaction with the domestic education (Lee, Y.-J. & Koo 2006). On the other hand, as a pull-in factor, the studies single out English acquisition and better education for their children, in which potential benefits are perceived to offset the costs.

Although the reasons identified above are categorised as push-out and pull-in factors, they are in fact interacting and intertwined. Dissatisfaction with the domestic education is at least in part based on the notion that education in Western English speaking countries is better than the Korean education system. The following excerpts from *gireogi* fathers' interviews from Choi, Y.'s research (2005) exemplify this:

*“Korean education is, when children turn three to four, they know they are not favoured. It hurts their heart. When you get hurt in childhood it won't easily go away. There (in the host country) children will not get hurt ... Teachers are real parents! This is the difference between the developed countries and Korea. What's different is, in Korea, only my children are important, only my children. There (in the host country) it's not my children only. Students are all our children ... In one word, they have just a different system.”* (Case 3, a *gireogi* father who sent children to Australia, p. 128, my translation)

*“There (in the host country) ‘Wow, you’re good at this, too. You’re good at painting. You’re good at piano!’ My child has changed. My child says, ‘dad, in Korea I didn’t know that studying is just such fun’. I didn’t know my child was so good. He’s really good. If I had him here (in Korea), he wouldn’t be like that. He wouldn’t. There is such a difference between the education here and the education there.” (Case 9, a gireogi father who sent children to Canada, p. 129, my translation)*

In these excerpts the education in Western English speaking countries is complimented on the grounds that it enables each student to seek and maximise his or her individual capabilities and talents, and values each student’s self-esteem. In this perception, English medium education seems to be utopian in that one’s individuality is highly considered and respected, and at the same time all children are treated as if they were one’s own children. In comparison, Korean education is characterised by rote learning and is heavily undermined as inferior and accused of teaching in a way that stifles a student’s individuality and creativity and for employing teachers who do not treat students fairly.

There are undoubtedly differences in norms, teaching methods, goals, outcomes and curricula between the Korean education system and the education of each English-speaking country. It also seems to be the case that subject learning in Korean education and assessment programs require students to memorise a great deal. However, the discourses about American schools and their education system above reveal Koreans’ beliefs about American schools and their education that may be viewed differently by some members of that society. O, O. H. (2008) notes that when there is no homework

given in an American school, Korean parents will interpret it as pedagogically desirable, whereas they are more likely to complain about the same practice in Korean schools. O, O. H. (2005, 2008) points out that this ideology is also pervasive in Korean educational circles and academia and Korean academics tend to think of American education as the best and ideal.

According to O, O. H. (2005, 2008), in contrast to the idealised notion of American schools, American scholars criticise their education system and suggest adopting Japanese and Chinese models of education. In addition, Barack Obama, the American president, stated in the media that American education could learn lessons from Korean education. O, O. H. continues to address how members of each society conceptualise others' education compared with their own society, adding that in America there have been voices criticising schools for not paying attention to students' academic achievement and for the quality of teachers but Korean parents lack a deep understanding of this. Similarly, in Taiwanese society, English speaking countries such as America are perceived as providing "better educational opportunities" in contrast to the educational system in Taiwan that is viewed as "fierce, having students compete against each other" (Hsieh 2008, p. 13).

It should be noted that the *jogiyuhak* decision is largely grounded in the desire to help children obtain an advantage over other students. High competition is not caused by insufficient educational opportunities at least in Korean society given the fact that 79% of high school graduates went to university in 2005 (Lee, J. H. 2011). Examination-oriented education can also be seen to be in line with competitiveness and the intense desire for academic credentials from prestigious universities. This means that school

curricula, teaching methods, and assessment types are oriented towards examinations but competition also leads to an outlook in which a student should perform and be ranked as higher than other students. For example, when essay writing (논술) was introduced under the rationale of facilitating students' critical and analytical thinking as well as improving writing skills, the private education industry promptly responded and began to offer classes on teaching how to write an essay (논술) and also providing a good summary of books, e.g. for a novel, the introduction of characters, storylines, plots and the analysis of themes. Instead of reading books and writing on their own, students attend cram schools to train in skills and gain knowledge of book summaries in order to perform well in assessments and gain a competitive advantage. In a similar vein, such subjects as Physical Development and Arts that are not included in the university entrance examination have been largely neglected both in schools and by parents and students. Thus, the problem lies in the education system itself but also in attitudes within the wider society in terms of how to gain a competitive advantage and access to social and economic resources and opportunities for social mobility. This is addressed below.

The intense desire for academic credentials from prestigious universities, or Korea's so-called *gyoyukyeol* (education fever) manifests itself in the expansion of the private education industry. The private education market continued to thrive even during the country's economic downturn and Korean parents annually spent up to 20 billion US dollars in 2006 on private education<sup>10</sup> (Park, C.-S. 2007). The Korean *gyoyukyeol* is driven by a widespread perception that educational achievement is "the most powerful

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<sup>10</sup> It is also reported that in 2009 the cost of private education was estimated to be 18 billion U.S. dollars and there are reportedly 95,000 *hagwons* (extra-curricular after-school or cram schools) and up to 84,000 private tutors in Korea (de Lotbiniere 2011).

means to achieve upward social mobility and economic prosperity” (Park, J.-K. 2009, p. 50). There is empirical evidence to support this perception. According to Seth (2002) who investigated Korea’s education fever using a historical approach, Korea has become a meritocracy “in which government, business and other institutions were dominated by the graduates of the highly ranked universities” (Seth 2002, pp. 240-50). Income disparity across academic qualifications and ‘school name premium’<sup>11</sup> provides another clue to understanding Korean education fever.

As Piller and Cho suggest, “English in South Korea is firmly embedded in the structures of competition” (2013, p. 29). Koreans’ intense desire for English is a new but much intensified version of education fever as English education has been central to the private education market. The *jogiyuhak* decision is thus parents’ endeavour to help children gain a competitive edge and an embodiment of English fever. Indeed, “in the Korean context, acquisition of good English skills is often mentioned as one of the primary reasons” for *jogiyuhak* (Park, J. S.-Y. & S. Bae 2009, p. 368). Put simply, English acquisition is presented as the goal of *jogiyuhak* (e.g. Park, J. 2007) or parents interviewed in studies on *jogiyuhak* motivation responded that English acquisition is the main goal of *jogiyuhak* (e.g. Kang, M-C. 2008, Kim, H. 2005).

Specifically, primary school students on a short-term plan for *jogiyuhak* such as one to two years have English acquisition as their goal. In their plan, students aim to attain English proficiency in one to two years and when they return to Korea, their English skills are expected to help them go to a special purpose high school that requires good

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<sup>11</sup> So, for example, as of 2008, graduates from the 13 top universities got paid 14.2% more than those from universities ranked 14 to 50, whereas the disparity was only 1% in 1999. The gap increases to 23.3% with graduates from universities ranked below 51, and 42% with vocational college graduates (Lee, J. H. 2011).

English skills as a prerequisite for admission. Entry into these prestigious high schools that provide instruction in English will in turn ensure entry into a prestigious university (Park, J. S.-Y. & Bae 2009). Also, the *gireogi* family's decision is found "to make children learn English at an early age and to give them a better and more cosmopolitan education in the advanced Western countries" (Koo 2007, p. 31). Thus, while education fever is grounded in the desire for success and social advancement, English is perceived as the main tool to achieve this aim in this era of globalisation, leading to English fever.

### ***Yeongeo yeolpung or gwangpung***

Although there are other parameters and mediating factors, the primary goal of *jogiyuhak* is English acquisition. English education has taken a far greater place in education fever than previously when English was important mainly as a school subject. The size of the English language teaching industry reportedly reached 15 billion US dollars in 2006 (Park, C.-S. 2007), comprising about 40% of the private education industry. According to the Samsung Economy Research Institute, this figure is three times larger than that in Japan (Jeon, H. & Choi, H. 2006). The amount spent per capita is even larger considering Korea's population, is only just over a third of Japan's. Further, this figure does not include the money spent on *jogiyuhak* and adults studying English overseas. The Samsung Economy Research Institute also reports that in 2004-2005, the number of Koreans who sat TOEFL and TOEIC accounted for 19% of all testees throughout the world, with the test fees spent on those tests amounting to 700 million US dollars (Jeon, H. & Choi, H. 2006).



Also the age of the commencement of English education has become younger. The English education market targeting primary school students and pre-schoolers has sharply increased 1.5 billion US dollars every year (Bang, S. 2007). Despite the legal regulation that prohibits teaching English in preschools, English education has extended to infants since the opening of the first private English preschool in Seoul in 2001 that adopted an English only policy for 18 month-old children. Since then, English education for preschool age children seems to have become general. According to the latest survey of 1,200 primary school first and second year students in and around Seoul conducted by the Korea Institute of Child Care and Education, children start learning English at an average age of 3.7 years (Bae, J.-s. 2011).

There are babysitter-companies offering a baby-sitting service with English speaking persons who can talk to babies in English. Nursery schools and playgroups hire native-speaking English staff due to the requests of parents and arts and sports classes are accompanied by a program with a native speaking English teacher. Prenatal English education is also available. Stories of Korean mothers who start English education during pregnancy are often seen in news reports and TV programs; for example, in one newspaper article, a 27 year-old Korean woman who was six months pregnant started her day by reading an English storybook, listening to online courses for prenatal education, and attended church services conducted in English in the hope that her foetus would hear and absorb English (Kim, N. & Kim, J. 2007).

Likewise, with the expansion of the English education industry, modes and forms of English education courses and methods to expose students to English have become much more diverse; comparatively expensive antenatal storybooks are selling like

hotcakes and a business offering an online course for English antenatal education has been growing, bringing about more enterprises. The frequently used buzzwords in the Korean media, general public and academia capture this extreme desire *yeongeoyoelpung* (the sweeping zeal for English), *yeongeogwangpung* (a gale of English), and *collective insanity of English fever* (Kim, Y.-M. 2002). Similarly, Choi states “[it] is no exaggeration to say the whole nation has an inferiority complex about English” (Choi, Y. 2005, p. 126).

Taiwan and China share a parallel situation in terms of their English fever which is described as “a national obsession” (Chen & Hsieh 2011, p. 71). According to the Taiwanese Ministry of Education as of 2004, 590 to 738 million US dollars were estimated to be the output value of the ELT industry and another USD \$ 90 million for the e-learning industry in Taiwan (Chen & Hsieh 2011, p. 71). It is also presented as a “whole-nation movement in the 21<sup>st</sup> century” in Taiwanese society (Chern 2002, p. 104). It is no coincidence that in both Korean and Taiwanese society, English fever and the phenomenon of sending children overseas is prevalent. English fever in both countries is a manifestation of the extended and heightened value of English in association with local processes of globalisation.

## **English and globalisation in Korean society**

### **English in Korean society prior to globalisation**

The status and meaning of English in Korean society has been situated within Korea’s

socio-political, economic and military situation throughout much of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. English education was first introduced in 1883 when Korea opened its doors to foreign powers (Kwon, O. 2000). It was limited to only a small number of students as English was the language of diplomacy with the outside world but was then prohibited by the Japanese colonial regime. The hegemonic status of English in Korean society was established when the US army took over control of Korea and proclaimed English as the official language for the transitional government immediately following the emancipation from Japanese colonial rule in 1945 (Gang, J. 2007). The demand for Koreans with English language skills to mediate with American officials in the military transitional government and Korean society opened the way for English to become the key to social advancement at the time. Since then, “the United States maintained its influence on South Korea as an important strategic location in East Asia, and Korea’s economic and military dependence on the United States continued” (Park, J. S.-Y. 2004, pp. 45-46). Given this ongoing influence of America, English has gained its importance in Korean society throughout the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century with American English a highly recognised variety of English in South Korea (Shin, H. 2007).

The importance of English was evident in the way that it played a critical role in providing an advantage in opportunities to enter into education and the job market. It was adopted as a mandatory subject in secondary schools and also, until 1981, one of the three subjects including Korean and Mathematics in the second round of the university entrance examination, the University-Specific Test, as well as in the first round of the national examination, the nationally unified Preliminary Examination. When the new system of the national examinations was introduced in 1981, again English was allocated a higher weighting than other subjects in the national university

entrance examination. Without gaining a high score in English test it was difficult for an applicant to gain entry into a prestigious university. Knowledge of English was required again when initially seeking employment. An English test was often administered in the recruiting process or the submission of test scores of English tests such as TOEFL or TOEIC was required regardless of its actual use in the workforce.

Thus, until the late 1980s, English in Korean society gained status as a compulsory school subject, one of the key subjects on the national university entrance examination and a test for employment (Park, S. J. & Abelmann 2004) and was officially defined as ‘a primary foreign language’ (Kwon, O. 2000). However, the recent intensification in its value and meaning has been situated since the 1990s in Korea’s local processes of globalisation (Jung & Norton 2002; Kim, S. 2010; Park, J.-K. 2009; Park, J. S.-Y. 2004; Shin, H. 2007). In the 1980s the government began to promote and reconceptualise English as related to internationalisation and modernisation (Park, J. S.-Y. 2004). The promotion of English acquisition was initiated again by the government when the Kim Young Sam government declared Korea’s *segyehwa* (globalisation) project in 1995. English was conceptualised as a means for Korea to participate in the global community and to become an advanced country and thus English education was seen as a primary means to propel Korea’s globalisation. Accordingly, “when the government announced the plan to introduce English to elementary school grades by 1995, [t]he news brought a huge typhoon of English, which swept the whole country into ‘English fever’” (Park, J. 2007, p. 20). This has since led to an explosion in the English education market.

A series of education policies were adopted to facilitate fluency in English for Koreans. English education as a compulsory school subject was extended to primary school in

1997; it was scheduled to begin from the third grade. The Ministry of Education operated a program to assign native speaker teachers to secondary schools and intensified English education by providing a variety of English classes in high schools. The goal of English education was declared to be equipping Koreans with communicative ability in English and much emphasis was placed on oral fluency and spoken language. Accordingly, English education in the Sixth National Curriculum that took effect in 1995 for middle schools and 1996 for high schools has shifted its focus from grammatical knowledge with an emphasis on accuracy to communicative competency with fluency<sup>12</sup> (Kwon, O. 2000). Also, since 1993, a listening component has been included as part of the English test in the College Education Ability Test.

Changes in English education in universities have paralleled those in the school sectors. Universities have intensified English education by increasing the teaching hours for English classes, providing a variety of specific English courses and hiring native speaker instructors. The focus of English classes has shifted from teaching literature, history, and philosophy, etc. through reading materials to practical English with the aim of improving communicative competency.

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<sup>12</sup> English education in Korea originally used Japanese English education methods, and focused on transmitting grammatical knowledge, vocabulary, and reading comprehension until 1993. It was severely criticised for inappropriate and outdated teaching methods. It was also accused of causing Koreans' low levels of communicative competence in English as the content of the textbooks and English tests were mostly a written form of English that excluded colloquial, spoken forms.

## **English and neoliberalist globalisation following the 1997 financial crisis**

Although English was promoted in relation to internationalisation and modernisation from the late 1980s, the intensification of its place and meaning was accelerated along with Korea's neoliberalist version of globalisation that occurred following Asia's financial crisis in 1997 and the subsequent IMF (International Monetary Fund) mandated economic reform.

The 1997 financial crisis, regarded as the worst crisis since the Korean War (1950-53) marked a major turning point in Korean society as it has led to a dramatic transformation in the social structure and values. It began with the foreign exchange crisis that was externally triggered by “the contagious effects of changes in the foreign-exchange rate and interests rates” (Kim, S. S. 2000, p. 274), but the problem was also that the then foreign exchange reserve was almost at bedrock level (USD \$3.9 billion in early December 1997). The IMF provided a 58 billion US dollars rescue package, the largest bailout program in IMF history, on the condition that Korea implemented the IMF-mandated reforms in the financial sector which required liberalisation of trade and investment and a radical corporate restructuring.

The implementation of the IMF program of deflationary measures entailed the worst economic downturn in 20 years in Korean society (Lee, S.-J. & Han, T. 2006). And “[t]he changes under the 3 years of the IMF Intervention were larger than those in the previous forty years” in its extensive and rupturing effects (Im 2000). Koreans

witnessed a number of large businesses going bankrupt or merging, and the subsequent closing down of thousands of small suppliers, which in turn brought about a mass lay-off, bankruptcy of individual households and a large number of credit delinquents. The number of unemployed, 420,000 at the end of 1997 soared to 1.41 million in June 1998, amounting to 1.65 million, thus tripled by the end of 1998. The unemployment rate, 8.7% by early 1999, was higher than that in 1960 (8.4%) shortly after the Korean War. These incidents meant an increase in the divorce rate, family break-ups, suicides rates and homelessness<sup>13</sup>. The term ‘IMF *Hwalan* (disaster)’ widely used in Korean society reflects this harsh reality.

The IMF Intervention was criticised in retrospect for its harsh deflationary measures or “erroneous policies for the South Korean economy” (Koo 2007, p. 31). Notably, the IMF imposed economic measures were based on neoliberal free-market doctrines, espousing “‘competitiveness’ as a core value” (Piller & Cho 2013, p.23). Although there was one-off restructuring of large businesses, the changes were made without large businesses responding to a request for reforms in their business practices, management and corporate governance. Instead, there have been significant changes in employment practices: the decline of life-long employment, more frequent lay-offs, early retirement, an increase in irregular employment and a higher emphasis on personal capacity and performance (Kim, S. 2010). In addition the financial crisis “was rationalised as a result of Korea’s lack of competence in the global market, including

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<sup>13</sup> The issue of homeless people became a new social concern as the number multiplied almost ten times from 500 to 5,000 as of October 1998. It was the first time after the Korea War that large numbers of homeless stayed out on the street, or in the subway station. Then the number decreased to 3,100 in November 2001. However this was putatively due to a large number of deaths among the homeless according to the Humanitarian Activist Doctors’ Society. They reported that more than 400 homeless people died every year since 1998 in Seoul (Yang, J. 2001).

their (perceived) lack of English skills” (Park, J. S.-Y. 2004, pp. 285-86). Accordingly, the intensification of English has been facilitated by this socio-economic context and in the new age of constant job insecurity English has become “a key expression of this new culture of competition and competitiveness and a key terrain where competition is played out” (Piller & Cho 2013, p. 28).

In education fields, prestigious selective high schools (특수목적고) known to be a pathway to a prestigious university require high levels of English skills as a prerequisite for admission and also implement English as a medium of instruction. Numerous universities declared that a certain portion of their admission would be based on students’ English proficiency. In addition, universities began to make English tests mandatory or require students to submit English test scores as a prerequisite for graduation. In the job market, English proficiency is required “not only for initial employment but also for contract renewals and promotions” (Koo 2007, p.13). While English was important at the point of entry into university and employment, it now plays a significant constant role at various points in diverse domains. Piller and Cho define such a gatekeeping mechanism as “the structures of competition” in that “competing on the terrain of English is not a matter of individual choice but a collective imperative” and “it is not the case that individuals can choose on which terrain they wish to compete” (2013, p. 29).

Likewise, English fever has been initiated and formed by a series of government educational policies and the intensification of the place of English in education and employment. Yet, Korean citizens have been active in responding to the financial crisis



and the subsequent IMF crisis in terms of understanding and conceptualising the task of globalisation. They have come to realise that economic globalisation is unavoidable and in order to survive in a global market they should gain a competitive edge and actively participate in a global community. English is now seen as an essential skill for survival in a global market (Lee, Y.-J. & Koo 2006; Park, J. S.-Y. 2004). English has gained the meaning as a global language.

## **English and language ideologies**

### **Meaning of English as a global language**

The meaning of English as a global language involves various aspects in Korean society. A global language refers primarily to a language with which to communicate with speakers of other languages including verbal and written international business communication. Gray (2002) attributes the global spread of English to the skills necessary to work with transnational corporations and world organisations in which the main medium is English. In its sociolinguistic landscape, however, Korea is a comparatively highly homogenous, monolingual nation and English is hardly an everyday language in use (Lee, J. 2010, Park, J. S.-Y. 2004, Yoo, O. K. 2005). The meaning of English as a global language in Korea thus is rather symbolic and associated with an increase in the institutionalised place of English in all levels of society.

In Park, S. J. and Abelman's study (2004) of the educational practices of three Korean mothers of different socioeconomic status, these Korean mothers who managed their

children's English education all expressed a desire to live as a cosmopolitan citizen, although the children's English education was highly stratified across the parents' socioeconomic status. Drawing on the meaning of English as related to becoming "citizen(s) capable of living at home in the world" (Anagnost 2000, p. 412), Park, S. J. and Abelmann suggest that English has gained symbolic meaning beyond its prior local meaning as an important test subject (2004).

Apart from being a requirement for employment, English proficiency is regarded as a symbolic "measure of one's competence" and thus "[t]hose with low English competency are regarded as outdated and lacking proper sociocultural aptitude required for the global business environment" (Koo 2007, p. 13). A lack of English skill undermines the perceived capabilities of an individual (Gang, J. 2007). It is frequently pointed out that the demand for English skills is not necessarily relevant to its required use for job performance (e.g. Gang, J. 2007; Koo 2007; Lee, J. 2010; Park, J. S.-Y. 2004). Such symbolic value is rooted in the ideological construction of English in relation to advancement and globalisation.

Similarly, the promotion of English proficiency has been posited in terms of its economic value on the understanding that English proficiency will bring about the country's advancement and material wealth (Kim, C. G. 2008). The Korean government has been active in producing this perception. For example, during the Kim Dae-Jung administration (1998-2002) English was proposed as an official language in Jeju Island on the grounds that it would bring foreign investment. The connection of English and its economic value was made again by the president Lee Myeong Bak who argued that Koreans' competitiveness would be contingent on their English language ability. The

presidential transition committee supported this claim by stating, “when all people become able to speak freely in English, the GDP of the nation will automatically rise by one percent” (cited in Lee, J. 2010, p. 249). This seems to contradict some cases in which countries such as the Philippines have a low GDP level. In fact, language proficiency itself does not create any material wealth. Rather, this perception disguises the reality that English is not equally accessible but rather it is “a language that creates barriers as much as it presents possibilities” (Pennycook 2007b, p. 101).

On the individual level, the symbolic meaning of English is also related to the perception that English “broadens children’s future job prospects” (Kim, S. 2010, p. 323) as well as ensuring job security. Job insecurity has been due to the changed economic practices and liberalised labour market following the financial crisis. The connection between English and future prospects has been established through intensifying the place of English at every crucial point in education and employment as English serves as “the single most important subject of study, especially for students who aim for college degrees and white collar jobs” (Park, J. S.-Y. 2004, p. 48). For this reason, Gang, J. (2007) argues that English has been used as a means by which Koreans compete against each other, and thus it has been the key to success and social advancement and a ladder to upward social mobility rather than serving a communicative purpose. On the other hand, Kim, H. S. (2007) suggests that the perception that English will ensure success and social advancement is an illusion on the grounds that this is not necessarily the case and those who reaps benefits from English reinforces English fever.

Thus, English serves as a key to success and social advancement, offering real benefits

(Park, J. S.-Y. 2011, Piller & Cho 2013), not in terms related to performance in the free global market but through the gatekeeping mechanisms addressed above (Piller & Cho 2013). Consequently English offers benefits through its established and institutionalised place in Korean society, regardless of its actual use. In this way, the symbolic meaning of English serves to mask the place of English that contributes to social and economic inequalities and is thus a delusion (Pennycook 2007b). This is further discussed in the next section on Koreans' strong preference for American English.

### **English as a global language versus American English**

Along with Korea's ongoing dependence on, and cultural and economic influence from, America, standard American English has long been considered as the legitimate version of English in Korean society (Shin, H. 2007). Kwon, O. argues that the extended meaning of English from a foreign language to an international language should be "culture-free" entailing "an acknowledgement of the existence of varieties of English" (Kwon, O. 2000, p. 81). But English in Korean society is still equated with American English while other varieties are underrated or simply disregarded (Kim, H. S. 2007). The Korean term *oigukeo* (foreign language) is often used to refer to English, which in turn is tacitly equated with American English, particularly the North American accent. The high preference for American English is also prevalent in Japan (Kubota 2002).

In fact, the Korean education system is based on that of the US. Further, highly recognised universities and research institutions are dominated by graduates from American universities and "alumni associations among graduates of American

universities are strong and supporting each other along the career paths of alumni” (Kwon, O. Y. & Park, S.-G. 2000, pp. 22-23). British English is not underrated but it is far less pursued and overshadowed by American English. Except for British English, other varieties of English are rated according to their phonological proximity to the American accent. As the North American accent is perceived as standard English, a Canadian accent is considered as more valuable than Australian and New Zealand English. The latter have been underestimated because their pronunciation differs from American English (Kwon, O. Y. & Park, S.-G. 2000). In the same vein, the ideal native teacher is considered to be a native speaker of American English. To speak English with an accent other than North American is simply to be underestimated. As I mentioned in Chapter 1, I myself had to change my Australian accent when I returned to Korea to teach English after a few years stay in Australia. Likewise, through multiple practices in the English language teaching industry including a preference for teachers from North America, explicitly and implicitly one is constrained to adopt an American accent.<sup>14</sup>

Teaching material is another example. Most private English language schools for primary school children run special classes for studying American school textbooks. The size of the American school textbooks market has been increasing with five or six types of primary school textbooks being imported into Korea. These textbooks are used in private primary schools. According to the So-gang Language program for children run by a university in Seoul, the size of the market of American school textbooks was estimated to be more than 17 million AUD dollars in 2010.

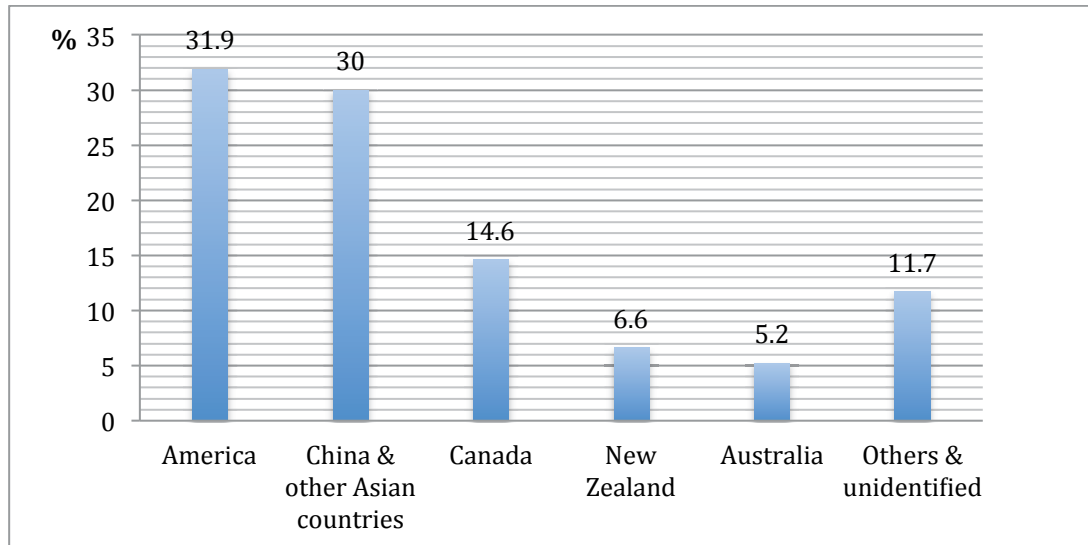
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<sup>14</sup> The same phenomenon is present in Japan. In an email exchange with an Australian ELT who had teaching experience in Japan he informed me that he had been asked by students’ parents to adopt an American accent when he was working in Japan.

The discrepancy between the meaning of English as a global language and the sole preference for American English can be understood in the light of “the Korean conceptualization of the global” that “is also in line with the message of the powerful centre” and that “the world is seen as centred on the hegemony of English and the English-speaking West, and therefore, securing a place within that social order depends on their mastery of English” (Park, J. S.-Y. 2004, p. 285). More specifically, the excessive pursuit of American English represents Koreans’ perspective of an America-centred world order. In this regard, another level of inequality seems to be present among Koreans depending on where their overseas degrees are obtained and which English accent they acquire.

The popular destinations for study abroad run parallel to the perception of stratified varieties of English. The vast majority of Korean international students head for the United States with a very small number flying to Britain. In 2008 the number of Korean students who studied in America exceeded 100,000 and Korea ranked as the largest country that sent students for study according to the Student and Exchange Visitor Information System statistics from the Department of Homeland Security in 2009 (Kim, J. H. & Choi, M. Y. 2008). The most popular *jogiyuhak* destination is also America. According to the statistics provided by the Korea Educational Development Institute (figure 1), in 2009 31.9% of *jogiyuhak* seekers headed for America, and 14.6% left for Canada, followed by New Zealand (6.6%), Australia (5.2%) and Britain (1%). Thus, 46.5% of them headed for North America and only 12.8% went to other English speaking countries (figure 2), even though they are known to have lower costs and living expenses.

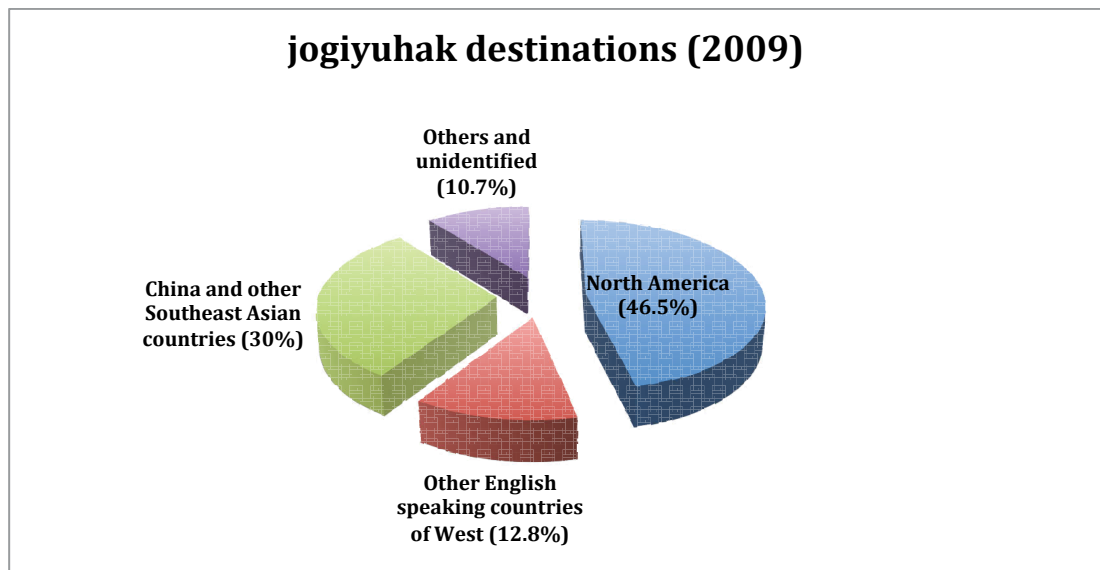
**Figure 1. Percentage of *jogiyuhak* destinations (2009)**



Source: Korea Educational Development Institute 2010.

Note. Southeast Asian countries include Singapore, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Thailand etc.

**Figure 2. Percentage of *jogiyuhak* destination categories in 2009**



Source: Korea Educational Development Institute 2010.

Interestingly a substantial number of the *jogiyuhak* population turned to China including Hong Kong (8.1%) and other Southeast Asian countries (21.9%) such as

Singapore, the Philippines, and Malaysia, in which English is adopted as an official language or English medium international schools are present. These countries in general have emerged as alternative *jogiyuhak* destinations as their lower costs and expenses make them attractive. Singapore has reportedly appeared as a popular *jogiyuhak* destination precisely because of its closer location, similar discipline and educational systems to those of Korea, its perceived safety, and potential offering of attaining two languages, English and Chinese, although English is a primary goal (Park, J. S.-Y. & Bae 2009). Countries such as Malaysia and Thailand have attracted Koreans for their English-medium international schools with lower costs and living expenses.

It is notable since *jogiyuhak* in countries other than North America, particularly in South-east Asian countries seems to conflict with Koreans' preference for Englishes from Western countries based on 'the underlying ideologies that drive the *jogiyuhak* boom' (Park, J. S.-Y. & S. Bae 2009, p. 368), supporting "the hegemonic 'inner circle' countries of world Englishes" (ibid., p. 367). Park, J. S.-Y. and Bae (2009) in their research on *jogiyuhak* families in Singapore suggest that *jogiyuhak* experiences in such multilingual environments may problematise their dominant language ideology of *jogiyuhak* and contribute to its rearticulation, although their research findings do not support such potential implications and Singapore is considered mainly as a bridge on the route to America.

Perhaps, as Park, S. J. and Abelman's research (2004) shows that children's English education in Korean society is highly stratified across parents' socioeconomic status, the appearance of these countries should have stratified meanings. For middle class families, it means chance to provide study abroad experience for their children, which



was initially dominated by affluent upper class families. For upper-middle class families, these countries, however, may serve only short-term *jogiyuhak* as all families in Park, J. S.-Y. and Bae's research (2009) have short-term plan for study abroad in Singapore with America as an ultimate destination. Nonetheless, the emergence of these countries itself has the potential for loosening the dominant language ideologies that privilege American English, as Park, J. S.-Y. and Bae (2009) argue for the significance of these new locations as a social space for potential transformation.

### **Summary**

While English has been a language of importance throughout much of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the current English boom in Korean society has been in line with Korea's local processes of globalisation. Koreans' project of English acquisition project was initiated by the government as essential for the country's globalisation task with the meaning and value of English intensified through educational policies and take-up in institutionalised education and business. While those changes have been dictated on societal levels, individual Koreans have conceptualised the current force of economic globalisation as unavoidable through the experiences of the 1997 financial crisis and the subsequent neoliberalist economic reforms by the IMF intervention programs.

Indeed, some of the participants in this research mentioned IMF in relation to their parents' decision to send them overseas, which suggests that through the experience of the IMF period, English was conceptualised as a means for securing job opportunities. Some of them explicitly linked their English acquisition to job opportunities, showing a

perception that English would secure their future employment. Social success and advancement would be an ideal, but more fundamentally job security seems to have been a keyword for them. Thus, English fever is an embodiment of Koreans' endeavour to better adapt to educational policies and environments and to gain competitive advantage in the era of globalisation. English has been regarded as cultural and symbolic capital that informs class values in Korean society, but now it is also widely perceived as linguistic capital necessary for Koreans' survival in an era of globalisation. As Park, S. J. and Abelman argue, in Korean society "English is a saturated sign: never simply one thing or another" (2004, p. 650), the meaning associated with job security and survival in an era of globalisation is added to class values, success and social advancement.

*Jogiyuhak* is a form of such English fever as "a strategy for capital accumulation, in which the structure of the global economy seems to have the final word on the material value of languages" (Park, J. S.-Y. & Bae 2009, p. 376). *Jogiyuhak* destinations have been extended to any country in which English-medium schools are available and thus it seems that Koreans are willing to go wherever they can learn English (Bae, N. 2007). Yet, it is a stratified educational practice just as children's English education is highly stratified. The practice of sending children overseas in itself should be only available to parents who can afford such expense. It is further stratified among *jogiyuhak* families as can be seen in a set of language ideologies about a stratified variety of English. Although English is promoted as a global language in Korean society, American English is highly recognised with other varieties underrated and disregarded, which to a degree seems to inform the nature of Korea's globalisation and desire to join an America-centred world order. Accordingly, the most popular *jogiyuhak* destination is

America, followed by Canada (it should be noted that 30% in the figure 1 is from the total number of *jogiyuhaksaeng* in multiple South-east Asian countries). Australia and New Zealand make up a small percentage of the whole *jogiyuhak* population.

Thus this list, parallel to the stratified varieties of English from the Koreans' perspective, indicates the stratified educational practices of Korean parents across their socioeconomic status and associated dominant language ideologies. Yet the profile of the destinations suggests the meaning of English as a global language. Similarly, *jogiyuhak* in Australia has ambivalent implications: it is a comparatively more affordable destination but also associated with an underrated variety of English in Korean society. In this vein, *jogiyuhak* in Australia is an interesting research site particularly with those who choose Australia with long-term plan, which this present research has focused on.

While the notion of English as a global language speaks to the pressing need for English acquisition, there is another set of linguistic assumptions that mediate and facilitate the *jogiyuhak* trend, in terms of the question as to how to acquire it better. The next chapter discusses further language ideologies in relation to language acquisition, and moves on to identify and explore the issues surrounding bilingualism in the academic field.

### CHAPTER 3

## ***JOGIYUHAK, LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES AND BILINGUALISM***

### ***Jogiyuhak and further language ideologies: the linguistic concerns***

As it is linked to job security and a matter of survival, the perception of English as a must-have skill in the *segyehwa sidae* (the age of globalisation) seems to be incontestable and has led to the current English fever in Korean society. Yet, this perception alone does not sufficiently account for children's going overseas to acquire English. In conjunction with such a notion of English, there is a series of linguistic assumptions about language acquisition or development that mediate the *jogiyuhak* decision. These assumptions can be identified as 'the earlier-the better', 'monolingual approach/submersion', 'fluency as language proficiency', and 'perfect bilingualism'.

Discussion of these assumptions will reveal that such linguistic assumptions underlie both individual Koreans' educational practices and government policies on English education, although English public education is criticised by many Korean parents. It also shows that these prevailing assumptions about particular ways of acquiring/learning English are rooted in entrenched beliefs about first/second language acquisition/development and their ontological view on first language/mother tongue that are discursively constructed through situated language experiences in Korea as a particular sociolinguistic and cultural context.

## Earlier-better

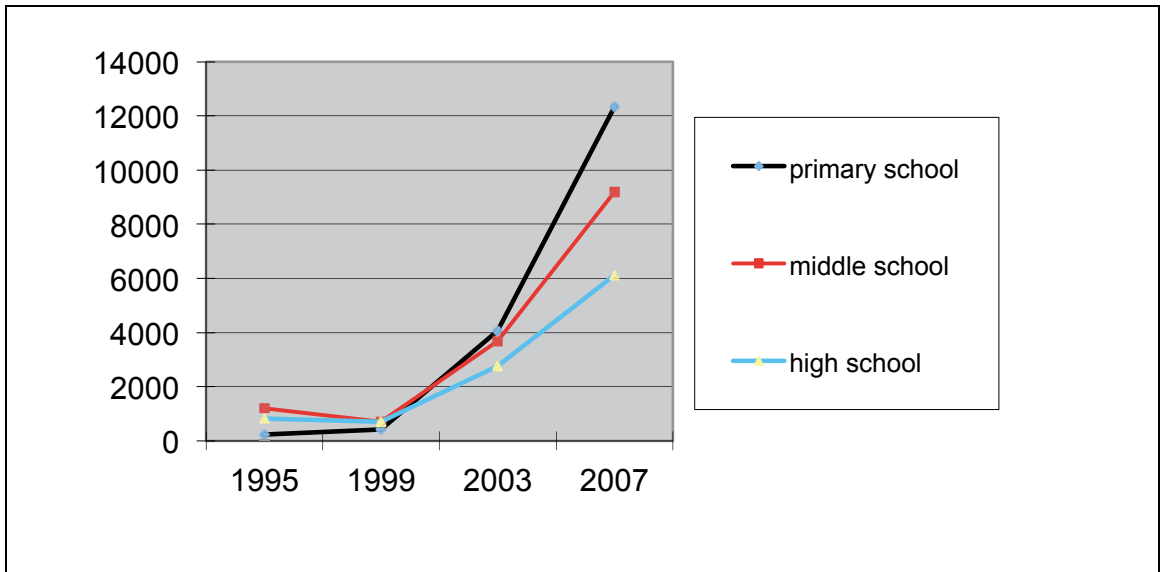
The most dominant perception around *jogiyuhak* is that exposure to English at a young age is crucial for the attainment of a high level of English proficiency or native-like fluency. Put simply, children will learn a second or foreign language more effectively with less effort and pain than adults. This assumption is manifested in the government's reformed educational policy; the commencement of English education as a regular subject from the third grade of primary school from 1997.<sup>15</sup> It may be “the most important innovation in the history of English teaching in Korea” (Kwon, O. 2000, p. 51), but parents' educational practice far exceeds this as addressed in Korean children's English education practices. The number of primary school students consisted of only 10% of *jogiyuhaksaeng* in 1995 but had multiplied 54 times in 2007 and accounted for 44.6%<sup>16</sup> (see figure 3 below).

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<sup>15</sup> The introduction of the English teaching into primary schools was implemented in 1982, but only as an extracurricular activity (Kwon, O. 2000).

<sup>16</sup> The number of primary school students who emigrated with their parents or for overseas assignments in the same year was even higher than this, reaching 71% of the total number.

**Figure 3. Increase in early study abroad of students of primary, middle, and high school**



Source: Korea Educational Development Institute 2010.

The younger-better assumption is not limited to Koreans but is a commonly held folk belief among many language teachers (Singleton 2004). Researchers among the general public are no exception (Marinova-Todd, Marshall & Snow 2000) and there has been an ongoing debate among researchers with contradictory research evidence. It should be noted that the earlier-better position or age factor is derived from adult language learning experiences and thus comes from an adult perspective. As Mao stated, “I studied foreign language late in life. I suffered. One has to learn foreign languages when one is young” (Unger 1982, p. 282). The assumption that ‘a child will learn better without suffering’ must be inferred from the native-like fluency in English demonstrated by children who evidently perform better than adult learners in these areas. This inference should be related to an assumption about a first language or mother tongue, in which adults tend to assume that the child is a native speaker of his or her

first language; if a child is young enough, that is under age of ten or prior to puberty, second language acquisition will be the same or close to first language acquisition.

It is widely perceived that every child masters his or her first language. First language acquisition is automatically viewed as referring to a child learner with perfect mastery (Cook 2010), seeming to suggest that what determines language status, whether first or second language, is age. The very common view of the difference between first and second language that is “the success of first language acquisition versus the failure of second language acquisition” (Cook 2010, p. 152) thus is parallel to the positioning of child learners versus adult learners. Cook points out that the seeming lack of success in second language acquisition is due to the fact that its success is judged in terms of “speaking like a native speaker” (Ibid., p. 153).

Thus, the younger-better position is based on another axiomatic assumption, which is about children’s first language acquisition. The associated notion of less pain and effort conceptualised as an innate attribute of child language learning is in line with this perspective, often invoking the biologically based assumption of bioprogrammed brain function or “the notion of maturational constraints on language acquisition” (Singleton 2004, p. 31). The critical period hypothesis is an extreme position around the age factor suggesting a specific age prior to puberty as the watershed for second language acquisition. According to this perspective, after this age learning will never be effective and one cannot achieve a native-like proficiency. This extreme seems to be refuted by many researchers (e.g. Birdsong and Molis 2001; Cummins 1981a; Hakuta, Bialystok and Wiley 2003) based on their research findings revealing that there is no distinctive discontinuous point around a specific age to suggest the end of the critical period.

While the idea of the critical period is refuted, there are research evidences that seem to support the age factor, with the findings showing a gradual decline in second language acquisition with an increase in age (among many e.g. Bialystok & Hakuta 1999; Flege & Liu 2001; Flege, Yeni-Komshian & Liu 1999; Stevens 1999). These researchers, however, suggest non-age related factors such as higher levels of education, amount of L2 use and amount of input. Drawing on an extant body of research on the age factor, Marinova-Todd, Marshall and Snow (2000) discuss misconceptions about the age factor in second language learning and note that researchers often misattribute age difference in language abilities to neurobiological factors. They suggest, “age does influence language learning, but primarily because it is associated with social, psychological, educational, and other factors that can affect L2 proficiency, not because of any critical period that limits the possibility of language learning by adults” (2000, p. 28). In other words, if children achieve better than adults, it is due to optimal conditions and social contexts for learning.

Thus, although rejecting age as a major factor in determining success in second language learning, the researchers still subscribe to a claim that children reach a higher level of second language than adults. As Hakuta, Bialystok and Wiley, who reject a critical age for second language learning, yet state, “the claim that there is an age-related decline in the success with which individuals master a second language is not controversial” (2003, p. 31). In a similar vein, in his review (2004) of extensive research on the age factor, Singleton explores the research findings that support respectively the younger-better and the older-better position and concludes that younger learners are not globally more nor less better in second language acquisition but children learners in the long run tend to achieve higher levels of proficiency than adults.



On the other hand, Cummins (1981a) suggests that late arrivals have an advantage for cognitive and academic language skills by virtue of their cognitive maturity, whereas younger learners may display better performance at fluency and accent. He proposes that language proficiency is not a unitary construct and there are two different aspects to language proficiency, academic language proficiency and conversational fluency. According to him the studies focusing on different aspects of language proficiency lead to inconsistent research findings. The distinction Cummins draws between different language proficiencies is explored in the next section. He further notes that current representations in research findings showing that younger learners performed better than later learners in ultimate attainment may be due in the long run to ‘the greater amount of time available to younger learners’. Again, age as a factor is not supported but it is accepted as a reality.

What is not addressed in relation to the younger-better assumption is the taken-for-granted assumption that equates first language with perfect mastery. As Cummins suggests, the perceived equation of a child’s fluency and accent with a native-like English proficiency is possible only by an exclusive focus on oral fluency in evaluating language proficiency or level. If literacy development is considered, the notion of the ensured perfect mastery of a first language will be moot. In the same light, Cummins argues that the judgement that a migrant student has reached a peer student’s level in English is due to a biased focus on conversational fluency (2000). A high prioritising of fluency when evaluating language is dealt with again later in this section. Overall, a belief in the age factor is fundamentally grounded in the view of child first language acquisition with a narrow focus on fluency.

## **Submersion or monolingual approach**

Combined with the age factor is another dominant language ideology that submersion of children in Western English speaking contexts is necessary for good English skills (Park, J. S.-Y. 2004), or that Koreans cannot attain a high level of English without the opportunity of living overseas (Park, J. S.-Y. & Bae 2009). More simply, it is believed that just living in an English environment will render English skills (O, O. H. 2008). There is a similar position in applied linguistics that suggests that for migrant students English is best learned by being taught in English only (Crawford 1998). Many schools in English speaking Western countries such as America have a language policy based on this ideology (Park, J. 2007).

This underlying assumption is related to the belief about first language acquisition that “everybody is good at his or her mother tongue, so providing English environment in the same way as mother tongue will lead to good English skills” (O, O. H. 2008, p. 85). Sometimes this position assumes no prior knowledge of English as a better condition for English acquisition. It is this belief in the effect of submersion combined with the ‘earlier-better’ principle that has provided the grounding for early study abroad.

Close examination of the belief in ‘submersion’, identifies a further underlying assumption that an English language environment including an English medium classroom will provide the opportunity to use the language, which will then lead to English acquisition; in short, language use will lead to language proficiency. This idea is reminiscent of the debate in 1998 over the adoption of English as an official language

in Korea on the grounds that it would lead every Korean citizen to become a fluent speaker of English. It should be noted that language use here mainly refers to verbal interactions through socialising. The language speaker with whom a student is associated will determine which language he or she uses most. In this regard, associating with Korean peer students is perceived as undesirable by Koreans since it immediately means less exposure to, and less use of, English. Consequently, in media and among the general public in Korean society *jogiyuhaksaeng*'s socialising with other Korean students is often blamed for the failure of *jogiyuhaksaeng*'s English acquisition (e.g. Kim, B. S. 2000; O, K. C. 2007; Park, H. J. & Kim, S. W. 2006).

Park, J. conceptualises this as “a strong antipathy toward the Korean language influence on the acquisition of English” (2007, p. 27). Suggesting that it is one of the main reasons for the *jogiyuhak* decision, he notes that this antipathy is prevalent among *jogiyuhak* parents and affluent parents deliberately enrol their children in a school with a small Korean student population. According to him, it is strongly believed that “any kind of first language influence slows down the acquisition of a second language” (Ibid., p. 27). Fear for first language influence is also documented in Jeon, M.'s study (2007) on young Korean American college students' ideologies of bilingualism. The study reveals that the participants in her study enrolled in a Korean language class in their university years in order to improve their Korean, since they were confident of their English level. Prior to that stage they were not interested in learning Korean as they were concerned about its negative impact on their English. Excerpts from a recorded conversation between a participant and his parents in Jeon, M.'s study (2007) also show the parent's concern about the influence of the Korean language on his English pronunciation.

The assumption underpinning ‘submersion’ posits first and second language acquisition/ development as incompatible, despite the existence of bilinguals around the world and those who have become simultaneously bilingual. Also, this assumption gives little consideration to the importance of a student’s linguistic and psychosocial adaptation processes that may vary with a number of mediating conditions. Furthermore, although there is research evidence supporting the relationship between language use and proficiency (e.g. Kondo-Brown 2006), language use through interactions per se may not necessarily lead to a high level of language proficiency, apart from the question of whether a situated language environment will ensure opportunity for language use.

Again, the widely held belief in submersion is in line with the focus on fluency or communicative competency obtained through interaction. A native speaker of English is posited as an ideal teacher or a legitimate language input for learning English. This specific position is evident in the recent changes in English education in Korea; fluency is prioritised over literacy and native speakers and native speaker teachers without teaching qualifications or training are recruited in schools. To summarise, the submersion assumption is in line with a focus on oral fluency and the general perception of language acquisition/learning.

### **Oral fluency with pronunciation and accent**

As discussed above, the ideologies of ‘earlier-better’ and ‘submersion’ that support specific ways of language acquisition/learning are predicated on a certain tacit recognition that fluency particularly with pronunciation and accent is a criterion for

judging language proficiency or language level. The widely held view that a child is an ideal language learner, preferable to an adult must be inferred from the fact that a child learner demonstrates a native-like fluency. Even educators and educational professionals frequently interpret a migrant student's oral fluency, when they seem to converse fluently with their peers, as indicating that the student has reached a level in which they are able to work independently in their academic work (Cummins 2000).

As the focus on fluency and communicative competence is emphasised, English education in the Korean educational system has been severely criticised and as noted earlier the Sixth National English Curriculum shifted its focus from knowledge of grammar to communicative competency and fluency including more spoken languages (Kwon, O. Y. & Park, S.-G. 2000). Nonetheless, there is a prevailing ideology that severely undermines Koreans' English levels (Park, J. S.-Y. 2004) and also a strongly held distrust among parent in child English education within the Korean education system: in Korean society it is often said in a sarcastic way that Koreans cannot speak a word in English even after ten years' studying English from middle school through high school to university. The following anecdote introduced in a news article (Kim, D. Y. 2006) exemplifies this perception; in the narrative a Korean employee was dispatched to America on an overseas assignment thanks to his high TOEIC score. He was confident of his English but on his arrival he encountered an unexpected situation. He found it difficult to understand English in a hamburger shop. He had to repeat 'Pardon me?' five times sweating with embarrassment as he did not understand 'Here or to go?' In the article, the expatriate attributed his inability to understand such a short expression to the inefficiency of English education in Korea. He expressed his anger toward English education in Korea, saying "It fails to enable me to buy even a hamburger!"

Furthermore, a native-like pronunciation and accent is often equated with a native-like level. There is in fact a commonly held belief in the nexus of accent and nativeness. As much as pronunciation and accent is equated with a level of proficiency, the pursuit of English pronunciation is intense. Surgery performed on a child's tongue, reported in a news article in the *Los Angeles Times* is a typical example of Koreans' obsession with native-like English pronunciation and accent: parents drag their children under five years old to a clinic for the operation, snipping the membrane under the tongue to make it longer and more flexible, on the assumption that it will aid in producing a native-like 'r-sound', known to be difficult for Koreans to pronounce and distinguish from an 'l-sound' (Demick 2002). A doctor in the clinic portrayed in the article reportedly performed this operation on children under the age of five approximately ten times a month.

In February 2011 a Korean cable TV program entitled 'Mom's got mad about English' shows that tongue surgery is still an ongoing phenomenon by broadcasting the story of a mother whose daughter underwent this tongue surgery six months previously. On the program the mother had her seven-year-old daughter lick jam spread on a plate in order to practice her tongue movement, explaining that pronunciation is crucial in judging proficiency. Likewise, the frenzy for English pronunciation is a central aspect of English fever and English pronunciation with a Korean accent is severely undermined.

It seems that in Korean society, fluency and accent is more often used to demonstrate one's level of English rather than serving a communicative purpose. Koreans' obsession with pronunciation and accent seems to suggest that they believe that as long as they demonstrate the correct pronunciation and accent, they will have universal

comprehension between English speakers in any local context particularly in America. Likewise, the great emphasis on oral fluency and communicative competency since the 1990s is a response to the notion of English as a global language that dictates English for international communication. Seargeant notes that positioning English in such a way leads to the language being “tied to a particular purpose, and its meaning is closed down to accommodate this function” (2008, p. 223). It is a widespread phenomenon at least in language planning and policy but scholars argue that if learning English is for the purpose of enhancing global competitiveness then other aspects of English skills such as literacy that have been disregarded are more important (Lee, J. 2010). The prevailing ideology that considers fluency primarily as language competence is further discussed in Chapter 8.

### **Balanced bilingual or prioritised English**

Last but not least, given the prevalent assumptions about language acquisition, the monolingual approach and early start to English acquisition, what is Koreans’ overall expectation in relation to two languages? It is believed or hoped that *jogiyuhak* will lead to perfect mastery of two languages and a student will be a fully developed bilingual person, as Choi, Y. in her research on *jogiyuhak* family states, “parents want their children to be able to speak both English and Korean perfectly” (2005, p. 182; translation by the researcher). According to this type of bilingualism not only is English expected to be added to their Korean but also underneath this expectation there lies a covert assumption that Korean as a mother tongue is complete in its development and will remain intact. As Schmid and Kopke (2007) note the first language is assumed to

be stable and unchanging.

The belief about the Korean language returns us to the set of language ideologies discussed above. If a child's Korean as a mother tongue is seen as complete, such an evaluation is based on a child's oral fluency that seems to be obtained in childhood. In this view, the aspect of literacy development and its place is overshadowed. As addressed above, a child's Korean is seen as stable and unchanging. This belief about Korean as a mother tongue is naturalised and thus hardly considered perhaps due to Koreans' limited experience of bilingual or multilingual situations in their monolingual Korean society and thus they have little awareness of the matter of language attrition<sup>17</sup> and maintenance.

While many Koreans expect perfect bilingual proficiency, some Korean *jogiyuhak* parents may or should be aware of the issue of the possible attrition of Korean but English is prioritised over Korean in their children's bilingualism. In this scenario, it can be inferred that it is believed that English acquisition will compensate for the potential shortfall in their children's Korean by virtue of the values of English as a global language that will ensure or widen their future prospects and enable them to live globally or live in English speaking countries. These entrenched assumptions about Korean and English acquisition in Koreans' bilingualism, can be identified as being in line with the ontological belief about language that "Language is a Possession" (Sergeant 2010, p. 7). Language is viewed as an entity and an object of possession.

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<sup>17</sup> The term language attrition, precisely first language attrition in this research, is used to refer to gradual decline in Korean proficiency among the participants. Language loss is not the scope of this research since this term can refer to the disappearance of language through generations as well as it can occur on an individual level. However, the original source containing the term 'loss of L1' is quoted in this thesis as it is written.



## **Issues around *jogiyuhaksaeng*'s bilinguality in the academic field**

Bilingualism is a broad term encompassing multi-dimensional concepts. On an individual level, it can refer to bilingual ability or bilingual use. It is also used to refer to the presence of two languages within a region or society, or more precisely, the state of a linguistic community where bilingual individuals can be present as a result of two languages in contact. In discussing the former level of bilingualism, Hamers and Blanc use the term bilinguality defining it as “the psychological state of an individual who has access to more than one linguistic code as a means of social communication” (2000, p. 6). This is posited as a counterpart to bilingualism on a societal level. This study draws on Hamer and Blanc’s term bilinguality in describing and discussing the aspects and characteristics of an individual participant’s being bilingual, bilingual ability, bilingual use and any other bilingual-related issues in their life. The societal level of bilingualism is not the scope of this research and thus bilingualism is used to broadly refer to a set of Koreans’ assumptions about attaining bilingual proficiency or ability through *jogiyuhak*. However, when quoting, the original source will be reproduced as it is written.

### **First language development:**

#### **subtractive versus additive bilingualism**

*Jogiyuhak* is an educational strategy for children’s English acquisition but ultimately aims at bilingual proficiency. As addressed in the preceding section, in Koreans’ perception, English is believed or expected to be added to their presumably impeccable Korean. Such desired bilinguality is referred to as ‘additive bilingualism’ in the field of

bilingualism in that a second language is added to the first language “without detracting from the maintenance and development of his or her first language” and thus “students acquire additional languages at no cost to home language and culture” (De Mejia 2002, p. 40). By contrast, ‘subtractive bilingualism’ is understood as occurring when second language acquisition entails replacing or undermining the first language.

In the bilingualism field, in producing each type of bilingualism various social conditions and education programs are considered to be involved. The distinction referring to different types of individual bilinguality is often considered to be the outcome of “bilingual education programs, or even from bilingualism as a result of societal forces” (Roberts 1995, p. 371). Similarly, Garcia suggests, “When monoglossic ideologies persist, and monolingualism and monolingual schools are the norm, it is generally believed that children who speak a language other than that of the state should be encouraged to abandon that language and instead take up only the dominant language” (2009, p. 51).

Firstly, this is bound up with the sociocultural context in which the individual is situated (Hornberger 1989, 2002), as can be seen in the analogous terms, additive and subtractive contexts. Baker (2011) defines an additive context as a situation in which a language majority student learns a second language whereas in a subtractive situation a language minority student learns the majority language as a second language. According to this explanation, the nature of the context is in turn defined by a language learner’s status; who is the language learner? Thus, in the same sociocultural context such as the US, subtractive bilingualism is considered to occur to immigrant students who are submerged into English monolingual education programs, whereas in Canada

English-speaking North Americans who learn French and its associated culture are regarded as having additive bilingualism (Baker 2011).

“The languages of an individual are rarely socially equal, having different power and prestige” (Garcia 2009, p. 45) and such status and social meaning of languages in the context seems to have a significant influence on determining additive or subtractive bilingualism. Thus, even in English-Spanish bilingual education programs in America, English seems to have a more dominant status than Spanish (Garza & Crawford 2005; Potowski 2004; Worthy et al. 2003). Garza and Crawford explain, “even when schools and families are supportive of bilingualism, sociopolitical conditions that value the cultural capital of the dominant group exert tremendous pressures to speak, read, and write in English-only” (2005, p. 602).

While the sociocultural context that dictates the value and status of languages is considered to be of great influence, each term is also associated with the type of education. Additive bilingualism is considered as in general involving bilingual education or the presence of two languages in education. However, there are various bilingual education programs with significant variations in the programs (Freeman 2007; Roberts 1995); the program models include submersion, ESL pullout, transitional bilingual education, maintenance bilingual education, enrichment bilingual/dual language education, and second/foreign language immersion program. Here, the program models that are relevant to Korean *jogyuhaksaeng* are briefly introduced.

The submersion model, often mistaken for the immersion model, is not a specifically designed education program but simply refers to a situation in which migrant students

are placed in mainstream monolingual English speaking classrooms and thus their first language is not supported. It is known that consequently students' first language is "frequently lost and so the model is also considered subtractive" (Roberts 1995, p. 372). In the ESL Pullout program, students are mainstreamed into classes but pulled out for having English as a second language class. In transitional bilingual education, content area is taught in students' first language and English as a second language. Language dependent subjects such as music and art may be taught in English. But it aims to ultimately transit students' first language to English as soon as possible. The suggested time is not given in these programs, although it takes at least five to seven years for migrant students to catch up to an average level of mainstream students (Cummins 2000). These three models all aim at assimilation into the majority language and culture and are considered to entail subtractive bilingualism in their outcome.

Maintenance bilingual programs are similar to transitional education as subjects are taught in English with first language support but it is different in that the first language is taught as language arts and content area in their first language too. Thus the goal of this type of education is producing students' bilingualism and biliteracy with an expected outcome of additive bilingualism. Enrichment bilingual programs/dual language program in the US are designed both for mainstream monolingual students and for minority students and aim at producing bilingual and biliterate individuals. In the beginning, the majority language students are in a maintenance program in the minority students' language and the latter group of students are in a maintenance program in the majority language. Ultimately they are placed in the same class taught in both languages. The outcome of this bilingual education is additive bilingualism.

Immersion classes were originally designed for majority English speakers learning French in Canada and were expected to produce additive bilingualism. By definition, an immersion classroom is supposed to offer monolingual French as the medium, for which immersion is often viewed as identical to the submersion model (see e.g. Porter 2000). However, there are large differences between immersion and submersion classrooms. The immersion programs are diverse, “from early to late total immersion and from partial to full immersion” (Roberts 1995, p. 377) although “differences in outcomes between these models seem to be relatively minor” (Swain 1978; cited in Roberts 1995, p. 377). The programs include bilingual elements as “French immersion programs in Canada introduce English-speaking children to literacy through French, and later bring English literacy into the program, continuing to develop both throughout the years of schooling” (Hornberger 1989, p. 287).

In addition, pedagogy in immersion programs is based on second language acquisition with the aim of attaining bilingual proficiency, whereas a submersion classroom is designed only for English monolingual students and thus does not give consideration to migrant students’ different educational and linguistic needs (Roberts 1995). Thus the explicit goal of submersion education is indeed the replacement of a migrant student’s first language by the majority language. This brings our attention back to the contexts in which classrooms are situated. Immersion programs refer to a classroom situated in one’s home country, whereas submersion classrooms are located in a migration context, in which one is relocated into a new country and thus becomes a linguistic and cultural minority student.

The discussions so far seem to suggest that unless the language art and content area is

taught in first language, and thus first language literacy development is intended, migrant students' bilinguality is subject to subtractive bilingualism. Particularly, submersion education is closely associated with subtractive bilingualism in that "a minority language speaker has to 'sink or swim' at school without any institutional language support" (De Mejia 2002, p. 40). This educational model is the one that Koreans perceive as ideal for their children's English acquisition.

## **L2 proficiency:**

### **conversational fluency & academic language**

Upon being placed in mainstream schools, *jogiyuhak* students must participate in classroom activities, and learn subject content in English, while simultaneously learning this unfamiliar language. Their initial academic and social adaptation will be related to the extent to which they overcome presumed language barriers until they reach a grade level or sufficient level of English to academically perform. Noting research findings showing that immigrant students who seemed to attain peer-appropriate fluency yet demonstrated low levels of academic performance (1981b, 2000), Cummins proposes two different aspects of language proficiency. These are basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS) and cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) in understanding second language development processes (1980, 2000, 2003).

The former aspect of proficiency refers to a student's verbal fluency and is demonstrated in informal peer interactions outside the classrooms, whereas the latter is considered to be necessary to participate in academic performance. He infers that

conversational fluency and pronunciation are virtually mastered by the time schooling is commenced, while throughout primary and secondary education the acquired linguistic repertoire is intended to be extended into more specialised domains and functions of language. Applying this binary concept to second language development, Cummins suggests that migrant students seem to attain a peer level of conversational fluency within two years but it takes five to seven years on average to reach a grade norm in academic aspects of English (1981b, 2000).

Understanding the different aspects of language proficiency is of significance as often migrant children who demonstrate verbal fluency with a so-called native-like English accent are perceived as having completed English acquisition. Educators are not exceptions; psychologists as well as teachers in Cummins' 1984 study regarded migrants' fluency as full competency in English in academic performance. In this sense, Cummins warns about a risk of students' early exit from ESL classrooms due to the mistaken assumption that fluency indicates that all difficulties with English have been overcome. This can lead to placement in English-only programs in which students' educational and linguistic needs will be neglected and their problems exacerbated. He states, "the fact that educators' conflating of these aspects of proficiency was a major factor in the creating of academic difficulties for bilingual students" (2000, p. 58).

Cummins' distinction suggests that a students' level of the language in which they are educated is a significant factor in their academic achievements in the school setting. In a similar vein, Levin and Shohamy (2008) in their large scale national study with 299 schools and 2761 students investigated academic achievement in two subjects, academic Hebrew and Mathematics, in two different ethnic groups of immigrant students in three

grade levels, Year five, nine, and 11. Their research findings reveal significantly lower levels of academic achievements among immigrant students compared to Israeli local students, which they assume in a consequence of the combination of the language barrier and socioeconomic conditions. Socioeconomic conditions here may allow a student to be able to seek academic and language assistance to overcome their barriers. According to them, these findings are parallel to studies investigating the main factors involved in immigrant students' academic achievements; among factors such as country of origin, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, length of residence and the target language proficiency, language proficiency is widely accepted as the second most influential factor following the socioeconomic status of a student's family as "the most consistently dominant factor" (Levin & Shohamy 2008, p. 3). Likewise, the combination of language barrier and low socioeconomic background were found to lead to worse outcomes (Rumbaut 2005).

They confirm their findings as parallel to research by Collier (1995) and Collier and Thomas (2002) who report that immigrant students without experience in their first language education prior to immigration took seven to 10 years or more to catch up to a grade level of academic performance while those educated in two to three years in their first language took five to seven years. This seems to suggest young children who have no knowledge and literacy skills may possibly have more difficulty with academic adjustment in second language than adolescents who can perhaps utilise study skills with knowledge of literacy in their first language. The study conclusively confirms Cummins' notion of academic language proficiency in relation to school learning, as they state "low proficiency in the language of teaching poses a problem in understanding and producing schoolwork and school performance, affecting school



reading comprehension and writing, and also performance in Mathematics” (Levin & Shohamy 2008, p. 11). Levin and Shohamy suggest that a teaching method specifically designed for immigrants would help their learning processes although they add, “[I]t does take many years of residency and schooling to reach similar achievement in these two areas, if at all” (2008, p. 8).

## **Threshold and Interdependence Hypotheses:**

### **L1 & L2 relationship**

There is additional research that seems to support Cummins’ emphasis on academic language proficiency, revealing the close relationship between migrant students’ low level of academic achievement and their second language skills below a grade level (e.g. Menken & Kleyn 2010; Short & Fitzsimmons 2007; Thonus 2003). These studies also suggest that monolingual education has a subtractive effect on the migrant students’ first language development, which in turn accounts for the negative effect on their second language development and academic achievement. This indicates a need to examine more complex issues such as the lack of literacy in both first and second language, and low levels of academic achievement as Cummins notes, “[m]any bilingual students experience academic failure and low levels of literacy in both their languages when they are submersed in an L2-only instructional environment” (Cummins 2000, p. 174).

This line of thought was initiated by Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa (1976) in their research on Finnish immigrant children in Sweden that revealed children’s low level of

verbal academic performance in both Finnish and Swedish despite their seeming fluency in both languages. Menken and Kleyn (2010) in their research on 29 long-term English language learners' educational experience in three New York City high schools in the US report that the students lacked literacy skills in both English and their first language, although they were orally proficient for social purposes in both languages. In order to explain such research data Cummins proposes the 'threshold hypothesis' and 'interdependence hypothesis'. He argues that there may be two threshold levels of proficiency in both languages and reaching the lower level is needed to avoid retardation but developing beyond the higher level of threshold in both languages is necessary to attain positive cognitive development. Thus "continued development of both languages into literate domains (additive bilingualism) is a precondition for enhanced cognitive, linguistic, and academic growth" (Cummins 2000, p. 37).

While this hypothesis points to the link between bilingual proficiency and cognitive/academic development, the interdependence hypothesis refers to L1 and L2 transfer in terms that "academic language proficiency transfers across languages such that students who have developed literacy in their L1 will tend to make stronger progress in acquiring literacy in L2." (Cummins 2000, p. 173). According to Cummins, 'common underlying proficiency' in academic proficiency makes possible the transfer between L1 and L2 literacy skills, and thus academic performance in both languages. As opposed to the longstanding belief in bilingualism as "a resource of academic retardation and cognitive confusion" (ibid. p. 173), he notes from a number of studies that first language literacy development will not have an adverse effect on second language literacy development. Instead, research studies report the close relationship between first and second language literacy. Cummins also suggests, "effective

development of primary language literacy skills can provide a conceptual foundation for long-term growth in English literacy skills” (2000, p. 39).

This may seem to suggest an automatic transfer between L1 and L2 literacy, but he denies such an interpretation by stating “there is usually also a need for formal instruction in the target language to realise the benefits of cross-linguistic transfer” (Cummins 2000, p. 39). This point was addressed earlier by Hornberger who stated, “highly efficient reading/writing ability in L1 does not make up altogether for lack of knowledge of L2” (1989, p. 286). The aspects and characteristics of cross-lingual transfer may be different among dissimilar languages as Niyekawa suggests, “learning to read in a second language that has no linguistic relation to the first language (e.g., Asian or Pacific language speakers learning European languages) will be “quite different” from learning a second language that is linguistically related to the first language (e.g., French and English)” (cited in Hornberger 1989, p. 287). Cummins, drawing on Genesee’s work (1979), notes the tendency of a less significant correlation between linguistically distant languages, although he acknowledges its significance. He interprets this as “interdependence across languages derives primarily from cognitive and personality attributes of the individual; in the case of linguistically more congruent languages, the relationship derives from both underlying attributes and linguistic factors (e.g. cognate relationships between L1 and L2)” (Cummins 2000, p. 184).

Overall, Cummins’ argument stresses the significance of continued development of first language literacy in addition to second language literacy, or biliteracy. Hornberger (1989, 2002, 2003, 2004) proposes the continua model of biliteracy as a framework for situating “research, teaching, and language planning in linguistically diverse settings”

(2004, p. 155). The framework comprises intersecting and nested continua “to demonstrate the multiple and complex interrelationships between bilingualism and literacy” (ibid., p. 156). The nested continua include three-dimensional continua of biliterate contexts, media, content and biliterate development<sup>18</sup>.

The three dimensions of these continua helps understand all possible instances of biliteracy: respectively micro-macro, oral-literate, monolingual-bilingual dimensions comprise the contexts of biliteracy; simultaneous-successive exposure, similar-dissimilar language structures, and convergent-divergent scripts comprise the media of biliteracy; minority-majority, vernacular-literacy, contextualised-decontextualised continua form the content of biliteracy; within these continua biliteracy development occurs “along intersecting first language-second language, receptive-productive, and oral-written language skills continua” (2003, p. 35).

Here, three-dimensionality represents “the interrelatedness of its constituent continua, but it should be emphasised that the interrelationships extend across the contexts, development, and media of biliteracy as well” (Hornberger 1989, p. 273). For example, orality and literacy are not discrete but rather “share many common features and the features that have been identified with one or the other have more to do with the context in which language is used than with oral versus literate use” (ibid., p. 279). Similarly Garcia, noting that language and literacy are not separable, suggests, thus “they need to be developed holistically” (2009, p. 338). The crucial point that this framework suggests is that “the more their learning contexts and contexts of use allow learners and users to

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<sup>18</sup> See figure 1 and 2 that depict the continua of biliteracy (Hornberger 2004, p. 157).

draw from across the whole of each and every continuum, the greater are the changes for their full biliterate development and expression” (Hornberger 2002, pp. 36-7).

The discussions so far along with the research findings addressed in the beginning of this section seem to suggest the possibility of insufficient language proficiency in two languages. If migrant students’ second language proficiency fails to reach a grade level for academic performance while the first language development is neglected and may be subject to attrition, or underdevelopment, the possible consequences will have significant implications. In this regard, there has been a debate over the construct of ‘semilingualism’ in the bilingualism field. Cummins also used this construct when he proposed his ‘threshold hypothesis’ (1976, 1978, 1979a), although he discarded the term shortly after (1979b).

It was originally proposed by Hansegard (1975), and defined in terms of a lack of language competence in six categories compared with a monolingual speaker; “(a) the size of the repertoire of words and phrases that are understood or actively available in speech; (b) linguistic correctness; (c) degree of automatism; (d) the ability to create or neologise; (e) mastery of the cognitive, emotive, and volitional function of language; or (f) a richness of poorness in individual meanings (whether reading or listening to a particular linguistic system ‘evokes lively and reverberating semantic images’)” (Hansegard 1975, p. 8, cited in Skutnabb-Kangas 1981, p. 253). According to the definition, therefore, semilinguals are those “displaying a small vocabulary and incorrect grammar, consciously thinking about language production, stilted and uncreative with each language, and finding it difficult to think and express emotions in either language” (Baker 2011, p. 10).

The notion of semilingualism has been refuted for various reasons (Baker 2011). Much of the criticism points to its negative label that locates its causes in individuals' internal ability (Edelsky et al. 1983) or "may invoke expectations of underachievement which may evoke a self-fulfilling prophecy" (Baker 2001, p. 9). It also implicates a predefining effect in that by positing this type of bilinguality as deficit, "the attribution of the condition serves as a tracing mechanism for language minority children" (MacSwan 2000, p. 5). The label thus overlooks external factors such as social and economic conditions. Further, the term semilingualism with its pejorative connotations is often used to posit migrants in a powerless position by labelling their language as an illegitimate variety. This "contributes to the social reproduction of hierarchical and unequal societies" (Stroud 2004) with its perpetuating effect on their minority status. For this reason, the term is often considered to take on board socio-political value, or political concepts (Baker 2001). It is also problematic to draw a line as "establishing a cut-off point for who is or is not a double semilingual will be arbitrary and value laden" (Baker 2001, p. 10).

In a similar vein, Cummins' distinction between conversational fluency and academic language proficiency has been critiqued as it is in line with the construct of semilingualism. It has received much criticism: the distinction leaves out the aspect of language in social practice and power relations (Edelsky et al. 1983; Wiley 1996). It is solely determined by tests designed to test academic language proficiency (Edelsky et al. 1983), and also suggests a deficit view of a student's language proficiency, overlooking potentially inappropriate education programs and practices (Edelsky 1990; Edelsky et al. 1983; MacSwan 2000; Martin-Jones & Romaine 1986).

The fundamental problem with the term semilingualism is that it is premised on the concept of balanced bilingualism that refers to being able to perform equally well in two languages in all contexts and in all situations; “equally competent in two languages in all contexts and with all interlocutors” (Garcia 2009, p. 43). In linguistic reality, however, this form of bilingualism is highly unlikely or impossible (Baker 2011; Garcia 2009). Rather, each language is more dominant in different domains, contexts and across situations and “most bilinguals will use their two languages for different purposes and with different people” (Baker 2011, p. 8). This suggests that the problem lies in the perspective of a monolingual speaker as the norm that posits any difference in one’s bilingual use as a deficiency (Baker 2011; Cook 1992, 2002; Garcia 2009; Grosjean 1985, 2008; Jessner 2008).

In order to replace the monolingual view that proposes the bilingual as “two monolinguals in one person” (Baker 2011, p. 9), some researchers argue for a holistic view of a bilingual individual’s languages as an alternative on the grounds that “the bilingual is not the sum of two complete or incomplete monolinguals, but that he or she has a unique linguistic profile” (Baker 2011, p. 9). Drawing on the analogy of a sprinter, a high jumper and a hurdler that cannot compete fairly Grosjean (1985, 2008) argues that bilinguals should not be compared with monolinguals or judged in terms of monolingual norms. Cook (1992, 2002) also suggests that bilingual individuals should be seen as having a multiple competence rather than two persons in one, and thus compared with other bilinguals rather than with a monolingual speaker of either language.

Going further than a holistic view of individual bilinguals, Garcia argues that

bilingualism should be viewed in terms of bilinguals' language practices, which she terms "*translanguaging*" (Garcia 2009, p. 45, italics by the original author). According to her, translanguaging is more than a code-switching or "hybrid language use" (Gutierrez, Baquedano-Lopez, and Alvarez 2001, p. 128; cited in Garcia 2009, p. 45) and "*multiple discursive practices*" in which bilingual individuals "translanguage to include and facilitate communication with others, but also to construct deeper understandings and make sense of their bilingual words" (Garcia 2009, p. 45). For various reasons addressed above, the term semilingualism is not considered as useful or valuable (Baker 2011, Garcia 2009).

While such holistic view and the concept of translanguaging offer an equitable view of bilingualism, there still remains the question of how to deal with "the fact that there are language abilities on which people do differ, with some people being at the earlier stages of development" (Baker 2001, p. 10). Baker suggests, "a more proper approach is to locate the causes in, for example, the type of tests used, material deprivation, in the quality of treatment in schooling and not in language itself" (ibid.). Similarly, acknowledging the pejorative use of the term and its contribution to the reproduction of social inequality, Cummins agrees to discard the label, but he clarifies that his use of semilingualism was to "highlight the consequences of inappropriate forms of educational provision such as lack of L1 instruction/ submersion in L2" (2000, p. 100). As a response to the criticism above, he addresses the influence of coercive relations of power on subordinated students' underachievement and acknowledges that the lack of language proficiency lies in the socio-political context and inappropriate schooling. He acknowledges, "An 'ideological' approach is fundamental to understanding literacy development, particularly in linguistically and culturally diverse contexts" (2000, p. 97).



Cummins notes that those researchers including MacSwan who criticise his distinction as a deficit position, do not consider literacy as included in language proficiency, as MacSwan remarks that language development is complete prior to schooling, and “sees only ‘peripheral’ aspects of language developing into the school years” (Cummins 2000, p. 107). Thus, according to Cummins, they posit language proficiency as independent of educational outcomes. Cummins notes that MacSwan’s position is based on Chomsky’s theoretical perspective that posits language development as complete prior to schooling. In other words, MacSwan’s construct of language proficiency only refers to the mastery of syntax in everyday conversational contexts.

Cummins argues for a significant place for literacy in language proficiency on the grounds that language development continues throughout schooling; “The vast majority of native speakers of any language come to school at age five or so fluent in the language of their homes. We spend an additional 12 years in school focused largely on expanding this linguistic competence into the areas of literacy and helping students acquire the technical language of various content areas such as Science, Mathematics, and Social Studies” (2000, p. 53). In short, the difference is his great emphasis on the role of literacy in language development and its inseparability. He concludes that there are language problems that cannot be addressed through ideological or socio-political approach alone and thus there is a need to support his distinction between conversational fluency and academic language proficiency.

What should be noted here is that Cummins’ constructs are based on the first language development of a monolingual child, in that his comment suggests that fluency is attained prior schooling and literacy is added to it through education. This implies that

such pattern of language development is also the norm in second language development and second language development should follow this process. The timeframe that is suggested for each construct seems to also suggest some kind of developmental order in which literacy will be added to fluency. In reality, the second language development process may happen in diverse ways depending on the contexts and learning environments in which students are located. Consequently, the learning of literacy may entail that of fluency simultaneously but it may also precede learning to speak and even listening. If the outcomes of such different development processes vary as a consequence, referencing a monolingual child's first language development process may not be appropriate.

### **Research on *Jogiyuhaksaeng's* bilingual development and bilinguality**

The discussions so far indicate a risk of producing subtractive bilingualism as a consequence of *jogiyuhak*. Students' literacy development in Korean is more likely to be interrupted due to the absence of Korean medium education. Further, English submersion environments will mean much less contact with Koreans for *jogiyuhak* students. Their Korean can be subject to potential underdevelopment particularly in the case of a very young arrival. In addition to this, if their English has not reached a sufficient level, the consequence can be the underdevelopment of both the first and second language. A deficit view of bilingualism as an ideological and political construct based on the monolingual view has been disavowed. Yet, the holistic view alone on bilinguals' language use and proficiency will not be sufficient to explain the problems that may occur if students perform academically at low levels. If their academic

development is related to their language proficiency in English, this should be addressed in relation to the type of bilingual education and learning conditions.

Cummins' distinction of different language proficiency provisionally offers a starting point for approaching *jogiyuhak* students' academic adjustment and further development. The research findings and related discussions above help us to envisage how significant a student's catching up in English may be in academic performance. Initial language barriers and accordingly an incomprehensible medium of instruction are more likely to impede a student's participation in classroom activities as well as their academic performance. This impeded academic development may last until a student attains a sufficient level of language to be able to understand subject learning.

It should be noted that the suggested time period for the development of different aspects of language proficiency, e.g. five to seven years, even if this is most likely the case, does not necessarily ensure the eventual attainment of a grade norm in academic language proficiency. There can be various scenarios in relation to academic development with a potentially wide range of educational outcomes. Some may remain behind after the suggested number of years and their difficulty in academic performance may also remain (Cummins 2002), while some may be relatively successful. Also, late arrivals may not have sufficient time to catch up to grade levels of academic language by the time they advance to tertiary education. The experiences of *jogiyuhak* students are much more complex as Levin and Shohamy (2008) infer when they state, "immigrants' academic attainments are affected by a complex interaction of multiple factors" (p. 3). In addition, just as "Not everybody is capable of reading and writing at the same level nor does everybody have identical oral repertoires (e.g. oratorical skills,

joke telling ability)” (Cummins 2000, p.103), bilingual individuals may have different levels of language and academic development processes.

The research addressed above in this section tend to focus on students’ language and academic development as an outcome at a specific time, missing the understanding of an individual student’s academic development trajectory, which will be of significance in their exploring their future career path. The present research has intended to explore individual participants’ language and academic development processes that were diverse with various educational outcomes.

### **Summary**

In addition to the notion of English as a global language, there are linguistic assumptions that mediate and facilitate the *jogiyuhak* trend: the earlier exposure, the better for English acquisition, the submersion or monolingual approach, a great emphasis on fluency and perfect bilingualism, and so on. These beliefs are further rooted in entrenched beliefs about mother tongue/first language and its acquisition, which in turn can be categorised as a set of particular ontological beliefs about language, language as an entity with the focus on “internal, abstracted competencies” (Pennycook 2007a, p. 61).

The bilingual proficiency or ability that *jogiyuhaksaeng* desire to acquire can be characterised as a high level of English added to Korean as the mother tongue. Identifying *Jogiyuhaksaeng*’s bilinguality in the academic field in relation to an extant

body of research involves discussions of the notions and associated debates over additive versus subtractive, conversational fluency versus academic language and semilingualism versus multiple competencies. Balanced bilingualism is an ideological construct based on monolingual speakers as the norm and thus labels and constructs that suggest a deficit view are derived from it. Thus, locating a low level of language proficiency in an individual's ability is disavowed but we still need to deal with this issue in relation to bilingual education. According to discussions, it is important to consider the role of literacy development in second language in academic development and its relationship with first language development. This seems to suggest the significant role of biliteracy as a route to additive bilingualism. The next chapter introduces the research focus and rationale that aims at addressing these issues.

## **CHAPTER 4 RESEARCH DESIGN AND PROCESS**

### **Research focus and rationale for research design**

#### **Long-term trajectories, bilinguality, and self-evaluations**

The focus of this research is on *jogiyuhaksaeng*'s bilingual and academic development. The research investigates bilingual development and bilinguality in relation to Koreans' ultimate language desire and the associated language ideologies addressed in Chapter 3. It is assumed that both languages have significant meaning in relation to Korean transnational family life and movement as well as their ultimate goal of additive bilinguality. Further, the study acknowledges a holistic view of bilinguals (Grosjean 1985, 2008; Cook 1992, 2002) that argues for the need to look into bilingual individuals holistically. Solely looking into one language may entail a monolingual perspective of that language and is inherently doomed to place bilingual individuals in a deficit position. Similarly, in her research on two bilingual individuals' development process in becoming bilingual, Taniguchi (2009) adopts Cook's concept of multi-competence (1992, 2002) and explores "the inter-play between learners' first and subsequent languages and their configuration as a whole" (p. 2).

In doing so, the research seeks to obtain the participants' self-evaluations of their bilinguality, rather than rely on any tests. As Piller notes, the prevalent use of experimental methods in research on second language learning is the result of an exclusive focus on phonology and syntax. Consequently, given the neglect of other

aspects of language such as “lexis and the conceptual system, and discourse and pragmatics” (2002, p. 182), a test can only test the set of skills that it is designed to test, at a particular point in time. A test tends to present the test result as an end product, and cannot show the development process. In contrast, this research examines the development process and the multiple domains and language areas in which bilinguals perform. Self-evaluation may be different from the actual language level. In fact, language levels are relative across contexts, contingent on situation domains and interlocutors. Acknowledging relativity of language levels and the limitation of utilising language tests, but also noting the subjectivities of the participants, the research explores the discursive construction of their perceived bilinguality through their self-evaluation.

Also, as research findings suggest a close relationship between academic performance and the level of the language of instruction (e.g. Cummins 2000; Levin & Shohamy 2008), the present study looks into *jogiyuhaksaeng*'s lived experiences in their initial linguistic and academic adaptation and further development trajectories. It explores the consequences of long-term *jogiyuhak* given the suggested timeframe for migrant students to reach a grade-level norm in the language of education is, for example, at least five to seven years (e.g. Cummins 2000; Levin & Shohamy 2008). In doing so it traces their bilingual development trajectories. In order to do so, the study explores and discusses 14 *jogiyuhaksaeng*'s narratives about their lived experiences.

## **Narrative inquiry and life history**

From this focus and the relevant issues, the research sought to recruit Korean youth who had at least five years *jogiyuhak* experience, with the aim of gathering narratives about their lived experiences and their reflections, interpretations and meaning-making as well as their own evaluation of their languages. In this regard, the present research is grounded in a qualitative research perspective that “attempts to make sense of or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them” from natural settings (Denzin & Lincoln 2000, p. 3). Specifically the study has utilised narrative inquiry that “is concerned with the production, interpretation and representation of storied accounts of lived experience” (Shacklock & Thorp 2005, p. 156).

Narrative inquiry shares the same orientation toward the actors’ own point of view and meaning-making in his or her experience with other qualitative research, but it differs in that it posits narratives as a central site of inquiry. The underlying assumption behind narrative inquiry is “the conceptualisation of mutual relationship between narrative and life” (Shacklock & Thorp 2005, p. 157). In other words, our life is shaped by narrative and understood in a narrative form in terms of our making sense of experienced events (Bruner 1987). It is commonly acknowledged that there is a qualitative difference between a life lived and a life told (Chase 2005), yet we experience and understand our lives in a narrative form. As Bell states, “we as human beings make sense of random experience by the imposition of story structures” (Bell 2002, p. 207). In this sense, “narrative is both a mode of reasoning and a mode of representation” (Richardson 1990, p. 118).



Narrative as a mode of telling and understanding from the narrator's perspective further informs the way the narrator conceptualises the narrated life events. This point is of significance in the present research that seeks discursively constructed perceptions of individual bilinguality, and to identify language ideologies, as well as obtaining *jogiyuhaksaeng's* lived experience. Bell (2002) notes cultural differences in story structure in that the selection and patterning of experience is through the "ways that reflect the stories available to us" (p. 207). In this sense, she suggests that narrative inquiry can be a valuable approach in the TESOL field since "a key way of coming to understand the assumptions held by learners from other cultures is to examine their stories and become aware of the underlying assumptions that they embody" (ibid. p. 207). Thus, narrative inquiry is not just story telling but allows explicit analytic examination (Bell 1995, 1997a, 1997b, 2002; Conle 1992; Golombek 1998), through which underlying or hidden assumptions can be analysed. Furthermore, narrative inquiry acknowledges the ongoing restructuring of narratives through adding new experience to them. As Bell (2002) notes, "stories are constantly being restructured in the light of new events, and that stories do not exist in a vacuum but are shaped by lifelong personal and community narratives" (p. 208).

Narrative inquiry is focused on the individual but also encompasses the contextuality of the individual (Hatch & Wisniewski 1995). Particularly, life history provides "an analysis of the social, historical, political and economic contexts of a life story" (Hatch & Wisniewski 1995, p. 125). While life story is merely a personal account, life history as a type of narrative is "the life story located in its historical context" (Goodson 1992, p. 6). Looking at individual and storied experiences as situated within a specific sociocultural context allows us to understand the social construction of our lives and

identities that are present in diverse and complex ways as well as the way an individual interprets and makes meaning of experiences. In this sense, “Life histories allow the inquirer to introduce additional anchor points for understanding the subjective and the structural as mutual informants in understanding our own and other people’s lives” (Shacklock & Thorp 2005, p. 156).

The term ‘lived experience’ in the present study is grounded in this line of thought. The term is borrowed from phenomenology as a research methodology that examines first-hand accounts of personal experience as it is lived “through a study of the structure that governs the instances or particular manifestations of the essence of that phenomenon” (van Manen 1990, p. 10). Although this research is not grounded in phenomenological inquiry, the present study adopts the term to connote the significance of personal experiences within structural forces, suggesting that the individual’s personal experience is not simply personal but situated in *jogiyuhak* contexts common to other individual *jogiyuhaksaeng*.

My research orientation resonates with the rationale for life history as well as narrative inquiry in the sense that the study attempts to understand the participants’ subjectivity situated in a specific context within social structural forces, without losing sight of individual subjectivity as an agent. The life history approach incorporated in this research has also allowed me to trace the participants’ life trajectories with long-term consequences. In this sense, utilising narrative inquiry and life history has allowed me to have a qualitative microscopic lenses to gain access to the participants’ *jogiyuhak* experiences, but also to understand their language development processes and consequences within specific sociocultural contexts.

## **Recruitment process and researcher's positionality**

To seek participants, I approached Korean communities such as Korean churches, the Korean students association and educational agencies, and participated in their services, events and functions including a Korean Youth Symposium. I contacted the Korean Students Association (KSA) in my university and solicited the chief members of the KSA (who were not *jogiyuhaksaeng* themselves) for prospective research participants. At the same time I went to the semester opening party organised by the Korean Students Association in the university. I met a couple of students with a *jogiyuhak* background but as soon as I introduced myself as a PhD student doing research on *jogiyuhak*, they withdrew into silence and looked away from me. Later, the KSA chief informed me that he knew the KSA member with a *jogiyuhak* background who rejected my invitation to participate in my study. He added that this *jogiyuhak* student had a very negative view of Australia as if this were the reason for his refusal. I then approached Korean churches and asked preachers to introduce Korean *jogiyuhaksaeng* to me. The result was nil.

Such experience in seeking participants brought me to the realisation that without any pre-existing relationships and connections it would be difficult to find research participants. The reasons may also lie partly in the gravity of the *jogiyuhak* phenomenon in Korean society. The students whom I met and indirectly contacted through the KSA may have been simply disinterested. But some of them seemed to be reluctant to expose their *jogiyuhak* background and some showed surprise to know that I was conducting research on *jogiyuhak*. This reminded me of the negative image of *jogiyuhaksaeng* in media reports in Korea. From my experience with the participants at a later stage I also

realised that they were not only sensitive about how they were viewed by other Koreans, but also they had a sense of insecurity in relation to their *jogiyuhak* status, perhaps to the same degree as *jogiyuhak* is regarded as a significant issue in Korean society. They were aware of various costs, social meanings and implications as well as other's high expectations of them as some of the research participants evaluated their *jogiyuhak* outcome in terms of balancing the financial and familial costs against their gains.

The importance of a target group membership was confirmed by a Korean researcher, Park, J. (2007) who conducted an ethnographic study on Korean primary school students' *jogiyuhak* in America. His thesis shows that he had a pre-existing relationship with his participants as a teacher of both English and Korean in the Korean community. Also he belonged to a circle of Korean *jogiyuhak* families as his children accompanied him on his PhD research. In his e-mail, drawing on his own experience in which he spent a few years with his participants before collecting interview data as well as sharing the same experience as a parent of *jogiyuhak* children, Park advised me that having a well-established relationship with and understanding of the participants would be crucial.

From this realisation, I turned my attention to my personal network to seek prospective participants. I contacted my Korean acquaintances and friends, firstly a mother of a Korean *jogiyuhaksaeng* who accompanied her son, Peter's study abroad. This attempt was successful. Although I had known them for several years, I knew very little about their experiences in Australia. Peter's friend who had a *jogiyuhak* background voluntarily joined the first interview with Peter. I organised another round of interviews with each of them. I contacted Jane and Peggy with whom I had a pre-existing

relationship. I had known Peggy since she was a primary school student and Jane was a high school student to whom I used to give private tutoring from 2006 to 2008. As Jane was not my student any more at the time of inviting her to participate in my research, I assumed that there was no undue pressure on her. Yet, I explicitly informed her that she did not have to participate in the research and her refusal would not have any negative influence. As she was only 15 years old at the time I had permission from her and her guardian instead of her parents in Korea. Later, by attending church services myself, I was able to recruit two more male participants. In the end the total number of recruited participants with a *jogiyuhak* background was fourteen.

Overall, the process of recruiting the research participants was mostly through personal contact. In this sense my intra-group membership and relationship as Korean was contributory. Pre-existing relationship seems to be crucial not only in recruiting research participants but also for conducting in-depth interviews and obtaining participants' narratives about their lived experience. With the participants with whom I had a relationship or connection, the interview went much more smoothly and for a much longer duration than those without any relationship. There seemed to be a low level of affective filter thanks to the pre-existing relationship as they appeared comfortable in telling me their stories. For example, with Peggy, I only needed to ask a few questions. She revealed very detailed accounts of her lived experiences as if she had wanted to be understood by me.

By contrast, those without any pre-existing relationship tended to provide opinions and often stories told among their communities, rather than their own experiences. For example, they used the third person and reporting sentence types, such as

'*Jogiyuhaksaeng* are like that', 'I was told so', 'People say, ...', etc. Even though I attempted to create a comfortable environment they seemed reluctant to expose their personal experiences.

Initially, I assumed that there was a gender difference in the way the participants answered the interview questions. Male participants tended to provide their opinions in response to my questions, whereas females seemed to prefer to deliver a storied form of their lived experiences with their evaluation before or after they made their concluding remarks. However, such differences may be more related to my gendered identity as a female rather than their gender alone. It tended to be easier for me to build an intimate and friendly rapport with female participants. Thus, when Harry gave detailed narratives about his lived experiences and self-reflections, it was because I was able to engage in a lot of informal conversation with him and shared the common interest in popular culture, which helped to establish a good rapport.

## **Data collection**

### **Interviews and observation**

The major components of my research data comprise semi-structured in-depth interviews with the participants and two mothers of the participants, my own field notes and research journal. A list of questions pertaining to the participants' profile, English learning history, and relevant background information of *jogiyuhak* were surveyed before the interviews. The quality of data is not consistent in terms of the duration of

interviews, and this is reflected in the depth of data. As can be seen in the table below (Table 2), with some participants I was able to have only one round of interviews that lasted one and a half hours but with some others, the interviews were conducted two to three times on different days for two to three hours each time. The follow-up informal interviews are not included in the table. The interviews were audiorecorded with the participants' permission apart from Patrick's mother who did not want her interviews to be recorded.

**Table 2. The outline of approximate interview duration**

Date	Participants	Total Interview Duration
February 2009	Peter & Hall	2 hours and 20 minutes
Feb and March 2009	Peter's mother	6 hours
March 2009	Hall	1 hour
8 April 2009	Patrick's mother	2 hours
12 April 2009	Peter	1 hour and 40 minutes
16 April, 23 Sept 2009	Heidi	2 hours and 30 minutes
23 May 2009, June 2010	Julie	2 hours
12 June	Jack	2 hours and 10 minutes
17 June	Peggy	3 hours
10 July 2009	Jennifer	3 hours 54 minutes
14 July 2009	Helen	2 hour and 40 minutes
16 September 2009	Jane	3 hours
7 October 2009	John	1 hour and 40 minutes
15 April, 11 May 2010	Janis	5 hours

27 May 2010	Harry	4 hours
25 June 2010	Joshua	2 hours

Although the interviews comprise the main data, some participants provided data of an ethnographic nature. For example, I was able to get access to Patrick and his mother's everyday life as I became his mother's friend and visited their house until they left Australia. Patrick's mother informed me that her English was so limited that she was unable to communicate with her son's teacher although she noted some issues to report about her son's English. I accompanied Patrick's mother to a meeting with Patrick's room teacher at the school and had an opportunity to acquire a deeper understanding of the issues that Patrick went through in his school at the time. A year after they returned to Korea I was also able to have an informal follow-up meeting with them when I visited Korea.

Similarly, I had the chance to gain a deep understanding of Peggy's bilinguality as I was able to visit her family and had further naturally occurring conversations with her regarding language related issues. With Jane, I was able to see Jane's English writing and constant follow-ups every year or every half-year. On the other hand, the incidentally organised joint interview with Hall and Peter was interesting in offering some thoughts about the differences between them as well as commonalities among *jogiyuhaksaeng*. As they listened to each other's answers to the interview questions, they promptly responded when they heard different opinions and thoughts from each other, asking questions, discussing with each other and thus eliciting more information.



I also conducted supplementary interviews with two 1.5 generation Korean immigrants who were considered to have successfully immigrated and settled by building up their careers in highly recognised professions. Another supplementary interview was with an agent working in a Korean educational agency known as *yuhakwon* located in Sydney that dealt with bringing Korean *jogiyuhak* students to Australia.

### **Online data and portraits from research and media**

Prior to embarking on fieldwork, from 2007 to 2008 I observed a Korean website, particularly those spaces called ‘Agora’ in Korean (<http://agora.media.daum.net/>). As the title was borrowed from the term referring to an open place of assembly in ancient Greek city-states, these spaces were open to the public for discussions. Postings and replies were uploaded by Internet users, dealing with a variety of topics from individual miscellaneous items to social political and national issues. They included spaces of ‘study abroad (유학방)’ and ‘(foreign) countries (국제방)’ in which subjects were mostly about learning English and overseas experiences particularly in English speaking countries, and some postings sparked debates and discussions over *jogiyuhak*.

I utilised such online postings written by *jogiyuhaksaeng* that I obtained from the Korean website. I considered these online postings and exchanges to be naturally occurring data on the grounds that the writings were not elicited by interview questions or any request but voluntarily prompted at the individual’s discretion. From these postings, I noted that there were some common concerns among *jogiyuhaksaeng* and 1.5 generation Korean immigrants in relation to their migration history. These online

data helped me identify some critical issues from the perspective of *jogiyuhak* students as I noted some themes that received numerous sympathetic responses through these online postings. However, I quoted lines from the postings mainly in Chapter 7 because the analysis in Chapter 5 and 6 was based on the detailed data, whereas the postings exposed terms such as ‘semilingualism’ but focused on their sense of confused identity in relation to their bilinguality.

In addition, the extant body of research on Korean *jogiyuhaksaeng* and migrant students in general in host countries, such as the US and Canada, offered me some valuable snapshots of students’ adjustment processes. Particularly, a close look into students’ classroom performance (e.g. Barnard 2003; Kim, Y. 2009) helped me understand *jogiyuhaksaeng*’s English development and their academic adjustment. Media reports also provided some understanding of the overall issues of *jogiyuhaksaeng* including returnees. These supplementary data helped me familiarise myself with the common issues in *jogiyuhaksaeng*’s early study abroad.

### **Participant profiles and life history**

In line with the research focus and the rationale for research design, I sought participants who had spent more than five years in the Australian education system. Most participants had spent a minimum of seven years at the time of my contact with them for the purpose of this research and thus the age of the participants ranges from 22 to 33. They arrived and commenced their education in Australia at various stages from primary school to high school ages. As exceptions, I included Patrick and Jane who

spent respectively 1.5 years and three years and thus were experiencing comparatively early adaptation processes. Accordingly, the interview data with these two participants tended to provide descriptions of the then current issues and ongoing experiences in their school contexts whereas other participants' interview data are comprised of retrospective narratives.

Jennifer and Joshua are other exceptions who can be categorised as *jogiyuhak* returnees in that they spent only one year in an Australian high school and returned to Korea to join the Korean education system. They re-returned to Australia immediately after completion of their high school to attend an Australian university. Some participants went back to Korea as soon as they finished their undergraduate degree, and some of them gained residency and had a job in Australia after their education or were hoping to do so. Among the participants, only Heidi failed to go to university.

Apart from long years of residence there was no control over other individual factors. The participants were comprised of almost equal numbers of male and female participants; eight males and nine females. In terms of their living arrangements, six participants were accompanied by their mother during their *jogiyuhak* period, although some mothers intermittently moved back and forth between Korea and Australia to maintain split households. Four participants lived with a sibling or with relatives. The remainder of the participants stayed with a guardian in a home-stay or boarding schools. Some of them reported that they changed their living arrangements or pattern over time when they faced difficulties with home-stay food or their relationship with a guardian.

Some participants attended a public high school, some were enrolled in a private school

and some were transferred from a private to a public school for various reasons. Some were enrolled in a school located in a predominantly white Australian suburb, or even a boarding school located in an area without a Korean population, whereas some attended a school in a multicultural suburb with a student population from various cultural backgrounds including Korean. Two participants were enrolled in a high school located respectively in a remote area from Sydney and the island state of Tasmania while the other participants resided and went to school in Sydney. All of them who advanced to higher education commenced their undergraduate course in universities located in Sydney.

With reference to the participants' families' socioeconomic background, it was not uniformly generalizable. Surely the fact that parents were able to send their children to Australia signifies their financial capability, while some were more or less affluent than others. Yet, in some case, it seemed to be hard for parents to manage their children's study abroad from the beginning and perhaps this could be the reason they headed for Australia. The enrolment in a private school itself informs us of the student's family's economic background that could afford high tuition fees. However, some public schools were preferred when they had good reputation for academic achievement and a few participants reported that they transferred to a public school known to be academically advantageous for them. In addition, financial situations seemed to have fluctuated throughout their study abroad. Some parents who were affluent in the beginning went bankrupted in the middle of study abroad. For example, Peter's mother reported that he had to take a leave of absence from his university due to the financial difficulty caused by his father's bankruptcy. Peggy's mother reported a similar account.

For this thesis, first of all, I classified the participants into three categories according to the levels of education at which they commenced on arrival in Australia: primary, (junior) high and high school aged arrivals. As all participants were using English names I selected English pseudonyms, whose initials signify the levels of education in Australia at which the participants commenced. So, for example, the names Patrick and Peggy, indicate that they were all primary school students when they first attended the Australian school system. Jack and Jennifer were junior high school students (junior high is equivalent to Year seven to nine in the Australian school system) and Heidi and Helen were high school students. Organising the participants in this way was convenient but it also relates to the patterns that tend to be shared by participants in each group.

The table below (Table 3) outlines their completed education level in Korea, the level at which they commenced education in Australia, the years of residence in Australia and their then current status at the time of the interviews. Beside the participant's name the school year in which they commenced education in Australia has been added. As can be seen from the table, John and Helen repeated the grade level they had completed in Korea. When the years of the participants' residence were discontinuous, multiple figures indicate their relocation between Korea and Australia in the table.

**Table 3. Participants' profile**

Name & grade* (gender/age)	Departure From Korea	Education In Australia	Years of Residence	Current status
Primary school				
Patrick 1(M/8)	Preschool	Year 1	1.5 years	Primary student
Peggy 2 (F/22)	Mid-Year 2	Year 2	14 years	University student
Peter 6 (M/21)	After Year 5	Late Year 6	10 years	University student
(Junior) high				
Jane 7 (F/15)	Mid-Year 7	Late Year 7	3 years	High school
Janice 8 (F/33)	Mid-Year 8	Late Year 8	14 years	Master student
Jennifer 9 (F/26)	Year 9	Year 9	1&6 years	University student
Jack 9 (M/23)	Year 9	Year 9	9 years	Employed
John**9 (M/31)	After Year 9	Year 9	15 years	Employed
Julie 9 (F/22)	Year 9	Year 9	8 years	Master in Korea
Joshua 9 (M/33)	Year 9	Year 9	1& 2 years	Employed in Korea
High school				
Hall 10 (M/21)	Mid-Year 9	Year 10	6 years	University student
Heidi 10 (F/22)	Mid-Year 9	Year 10	8 years	High school graduate
Harry 10 (M/32)	After Year 9	Year 10	4&9 years	Graduate & Unemployed
Helen**11(F/32)	After ear11	Year 11	14 years	Employed

\*Grade level refers to the year in which the participants commenced education in Australia.

\*\*The participants with \*\* commenced their education in Australia from the school year that they had already completed in Korea.

**Table 4. Participants' study abroad profiles**

Name (age)	Profile
Patrick (8)	<p>: was in Year 2 at the time of my contact. Patrick arrived in Australia late October in 2007 at age five. After having spent a month in a preschool he entered a primary school in January 2008. Overall he spent two years with his mother in Australia and returned to Korea in October 2009. Since then he studied in a primary school in Korea.</p>
Peggy (22)	<p>: left Korea in the middle of Year 2 in primary school in 1995 and was placed in a Year 2 class in a primary school on her arrival in Australia. She lived in Australia for 14 consecutive years without a visit to Korea except once in the first year. In her late university years, Peggy visited Korea. She lived with mother and a younger brother. Her father came to join her and her mother only in recent years.</p> <p>She was a university student at the time of participating in the research.</p>
Peter (21)	<p>: departed from Korea right after the end of Year 5 in December 1999. Due to a visa problem he stayed out of schooling in Australia until the last term of Year 6. He spent three months in an English language classroom before enrolment. From then he spent ten years in Australia visiting Korea almost every other year. He lived with his mother as an only child while his father remained in Korea. As his mother gained permanent residency in his late university years, he simultaneously obtained resident status.</p> <p>He was a university student at the time of interviews.</p>

Jane (15)	: left Korea in the beginning of Year 7 in June 2006. After three months in a language classroom she was enrolled in a high school. Initially she lived with her uncle's family who came for an overseas work assignment. After a year, her uncle went back to Korea but she voluntarily decided to remain in Australia. She visited Korea frequently, once or twice a year over the first three years. She was a Year 10 high school student when interviewed. In 2012, she enrolled in a university course.
Janice (33)	: left Korea at age 13, in the middle of Year 8. After three months of English language classes she joined a private high school in Year 8. One and a half years later, she transferred to a public school. She lived with her elder brother while her mother constantly travelled back and forth to Korea where her father remained, spending three months in each household. On completion of her university course she went back to Korea. She worked in a Hong Kong based company for two years and then three years as an English teacher in Korea. She came back to Australia for further study in 2010.  She was enrolled in a master degree course when I met her.



<p>Jennifer (26)</p>	<p>: left Korea at the end of Year 8 and spent a year in an Australian high school. She went back to Korea for financial reasons and joined Year 9 class again. After graduating from her high school, she came back to Australia for tertiary education. She took the foundational course before she enrolled in a university. She transferred to another course due to her difficulties in academic performance. She regularly visited Korea. Since she has come back to Australia again, she has lived alone. She went back to Korea after the completion of her university course and found employment in Korea.</p> <p>She was an undergraduate student in Australia when I met her.</p>
<p>Joshua (33)</p>	<p>: departed from Korea in the beginning of Year 9 and stayed for a year. He returned to Korea and finished high school. He left again for Australia right after the graduation from high school. After two years, he came back to Korea to fulfil his army service. For financial reasons, he had to transfer to a Korean university and completed his undergraduate degree in Korea. He found employment after graduation.</p> <p>In his high school, he lived with his relatives but since his second migration he has lived on his own.</p>
<p>Jack (23)</p>	<p>: was in the beginning of Year 9 when he left Korea. After three months in English language classrooms he enrolled in high school. Jack spent eight years in Australia living with his elder sister who had come to Australia three years before he joined her. Having completed his university course and a few months internship in Korea, he found an employment in Australia and gained a residency.</p> <p>He was in employment when I met him.</p>

Julie (22)	: left Korea when she was in Year 9. She completed her undergraduate course in Australia. She lived in a boarding school and throughout her university years she lived on her own, visiting her family in Korea every year. After graduation, she returned to Korea. She enrolled in an English medium postgraduate course in Korea. Later she informed me that she found employment in Korea.
John (31)	: left Korea in June 2001. Although he completed Year 9 in Korea he enrolled in a Year 9 class in an Australian high school having spent only two months in a language classroom. He spent 15 years in Australia completing his degree and building up his career except for a one-year stay in Korea for work. He regularly visited Korea. He lived alone in Australia with his parents living in Korea.  He was employed in Australia at the time of interview.
Hall (21)	: was a Year 9 student when he left Korea. After three months in a language classroom, he enrolled in a high school in Year 10 and spent seven and a half years in Australia with regular visits to Korea every other year. He lived alone and when he was in Year 12 his mother and his sister joined him. He was enrolled in a university course in Australia when interviewed.

Harry (32)	<p>: left Korea right after the completion of Year 9, spending four years in Australia. Initially he stayed with an Australian home-stay family and then a guardian family. He lived on his own after he graduated from high school. Shortly after he enrolled in a university course, he found that the course did not suit for him. He dropped out of the course and enrolled in another course. After a year, he went back to Korea to complete mandatory army service. He attempted to go to a university in Korea but failed. Then he came back to Australia, and spent another five years completing a university course and working in a company. He left for Korea again to seek employment but a year later came back to Australia. He was unemployed when I interviewed him.</p>
Heidi (22)	<p>: departed from Korea in Year 10. She spent six months in a language classroom and enrolled in the last term of Year 10 in a high school. She graduated from her high school but was unable to advance to higher education. At the same time she gained residency after her mother. She joined TAFE (Technical and Further Education) courses but dropped out. When I interviewed her she was unemployed. After the initial meeting with me, she was enrolled in a foundational course to join a university in Australia. Later she informed me that she dropped out of that foundational course. She lived with her mother, and her father and elder brother remained in Korea. She spent seven years in Australia without visiting Korea until mid-2009.</p>

Helen (32)	: left Korea after the end of Year 11. After spending 10 months in a language school, she started from the last term of Year 9 repeating Year 10 and 11. She was enrolled in a boarding school located in a remote area from a city in which there was no Korean population. After she enrolled in a university in Sydney she lived alone. Having finished a master degree, she found employment in Australia. She spent 14 years in Australia regularly visiting Korea.
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### **Language of interview**

A bilingual's language choice is contingent on social context, but also on interlocutors and situations. In general, first generation Korean immigrants speak Korean to other Koreans. Perhaps this is a language norm for Koreans but behind this conventional way of language use there is also the linguistic reality that they possess limited English skills. Research evidence shows that this behavioural norm shifts with children of first generation Korean immigrants who were born or arrived overseas at a preschool age and grew up outside of Korean society (e.g. Pak 2003). For this group of Koreans English usually becomes their dominant language once they start schooling in English. They tend to speak English with other second generation Korean peers but Korean with the older generation and their parents who do not speak English well. For the same reason, they also tend to speak Korean to newly arrived Koreans. On the other hand, bilinguals often switch their two languages when they speak to other bilinguals.

As the main data consist of the participants' narratives, there was limited opportunity to observe their language use or behaviour in their life other than their own evaluation. Thus, to see what language they would choose for the interview was of specific interest. For the same reason, their choice of either language version was interesting when I presented them with the letter informing them of the research and the participant's permission form both in Korean and in English. I informed them, before the interview started, that they could choose or switch between languages during the interview.

All the participants except for Peggy and Janice used Korean as the only medium of the interviews. Evidently my Korean background influenced their choice of Korean and they just followed a conventional way of speaking to Koreans in Korean. In this sense, both Peggy's and Janice's use of English during the interviews was interesting; Peggy used solely English whereas Janice frequently switched between Korean and English. Considering the conventions of language use and norms addressed above, my bilinguality may be one of the reasons. More importantly, their language use was related to their bilinguality, and seemed to correspond to their self-evaluated bilinguality. This is further discussed in later chapters on their bilinguality.

## **Data analysis**

### **Analysis process**

The narrated interview data were rich in revealing the unexplored areas of personal life and participants' voices. It was also "messy and complex" as everyday lived experience

(Chase 2005, p. 659) but the complexity of lived experiences also lay in the diversity and difference in the 14 participants' lived experiences in terms of social, linguistic and academic adaptation, a wide range of outcomes and their evaluation about *jogiyuhak* and satisfaction. However, as the focus of the study is on understanding the aspects and characteristics of academic and bilingual development in each individual, such differences should be addressed with the same focus and encompassed under the umbrella themes. This was the most challenging part in writing this thesis.

First of all, I formulated three major categories from the research focus for analysing the interview data. These three umbrella theme categories are the participants' lived experiences in terms of academic adjustment and development trajectories, language development processes in both English and Korean, and self-evaluation of their own bilinguality. Each category of subjects has been developed and constructed as a separate chapter: lived experiences, language development and bilinguality. Particularly as the study examines *jogiyuhak* experience on the continuum of their life trajectories, I set three stages in chronological order and traced the participants' academic development processes. Precisely, I looked into the very early period of submersion in terms of how they coped with language barriers and adapted to a new learning environment, the settling in period to see how their school life and academic performance was after their initial period, and the post-school years showing the resultant consequences.

Secondly, while I was repeatedly reading the transcription, I identified the components of the interview data according to the three themes, highlighted them in different colours and placed them under the relevant categories. From this, some common patterns and significant issues emerged, which in turn I further developed into themes

and sub-themes. For example, while investigating the participants' self-evaluated bilinguality, I noted the commonly expressed sense of confusion, inbetweenness and feeling of discomfort, which was further developed into Chapter 7, bilinguality, inbetweenness and transnationality.

On the other hand, there were distinct stories and differences among individual participants' adjustment processes that yet seemed to belong to the same themes, from which I identified the potentially critical issues and important aspects inherent in their *jogiyuhak*. I sub-thematised them under headings such as finding friendship and companionship and endeavouring to fit into a new school context and placed this in a sub-category covering the establishing of a social life. Identifying different quality of experiences from similar patterns shared by many participants was also important to do justice to the complex research data that in a way seemed to be conflictual. Thus, despite the more salient presence of the harsh adaptation experience in the narratives, the endeavour to find difference enabled me to include a comparatively small voice on smooth adaptation. This in turn led me to identify the influential factors in leading to divergent academic adaptation and analyse the diverse consequences of submersion more deeply.

Similarly, the attempt to capture the pattern of similarities helped me identify significant aspects of language proficiency. For example, the overall dominance of English in an early primary school arrival and that of Korean in late high school arrivals invokes the significant role of the language of education in leading to different aspects of bilinguality. By contrast, the endeavour to encompass differences and diversity such as other participants' complex bilinguality led to further understanding of language

development and proficiency. Identifying or being unable to identify any difference from noted similarities provides a pertinent analytical point. Overall, finding and discussing similarities and differences simultaneously proved to be a good analytical strategy.

### **Researcher's voice and construction of narratives**

It should be noted that the properties of narratives are characterised by the co-construction of researcher and narrator. Narrative construction is considered as co-authoring (Hatch & Wisniewski 1995) in the process of the researcher's listening, interpreting and production of text. It is inevitable that a researcher will add his or her own interpretation to participants' narratives (Bell 2002), or be involved in interpreting and writing (Denzin & Lincoln 2000). Thus, "the researcher's position in relation to the stories of participants ought to be acknowledged" (Hatch & Wisniewski 1995, p. 127). In practice, co-authoring is through the researcher's constructing of narrative texts based on the researcher and the narrator's mutual understanding of narratives, followed by the narrator's acknowledgement of those narrative texts.

Likewise, prior to the fieldwork, co-construction of individuals' narratives were thought to be ideal. In this research process, however, I was not able to gain participants' support for constructing narrative texts and thus the writing of data analysis was through "interpretive processes in interview-based studies" (Chase 2005, p. 664). The interpreting process of interview data entails the mingling of the researchers' voice with the narrator and thus as an alternative, I developed an authoritative voice as the



researcher by “separate[ing] their [my] voice from narrators’ voices through their [my] interpretation” (Chase 2005, p. 664). In detail, I quoted a passage from a narrated whole event under thematic points and presented discussions below. In doing so, I was able to distinguish the storied events from their interpretation, and add my evaluation and discussion.

### **Analytical framework**

The concept of language ideology is drawn on in Chapter 2 and 3 in addressing assumptions and beliefs in relation to English and English acquisition. Language ideology is further utilised in analysing the participants’ narratives, particularly their perceptions of language proficiency, drawing on Seargeant’s tripartite framework (2008). In his article examining the role of language ideology in the academic field of English in the world, Seargeant points out that despite the ideological nature of the subject in the academic field of English, much research is heavily focused on linguistic theory. He suggests that a linguistic focus without consideration of ideological issues will lead to partial outcomes given that “political context is an ever-present influence” (2008. p. 218). But he also notes that research focused on ideological issues without considering linguistic theory can lead to “a relativism in which each side prosecutes its case according to political outlook” and thus “often it is strength of commitment to a chosen cause that primarily determines the ongoing production of knowledge” (ibid., p. 218). Seargeant moves on to argue that in order to avoid each direction’s pitfall, research should consider both political issues and linguistic concerns, proposing a tripartite framework as “an integrated theory of language ideologies and the linguistic

system”. According to Seargeant, two ideological aspects should be considered, “the historic-cultural situation” of the subject and “the purpose of the investigation”, which he respectively refers to as “the context” and “the rationale”, in addition to “the linguistic system” (2008, p. 219).

In a similar vein, the present research conceptualises the subject of the study and analyses the data. The context (the historic-cultural situation) of the study is presented in the exploration of English fever in Korean society and the *jogiyuhak* phenomenon. The study acknowledges the ideological nature of the investigation of bilinguality as in Chapter 3, the question how to view individual bilinguality was discussed, showing that investigating individual bilinguality can be highly ideological depending on what norm bilinguality is based. So, if individual bilinguality is evaluated on the basis of monolingualism as the norm, it is likely to posit bilinguality as a deficit, and a holistic view of bilinguality is proposed to overcome this monolingual view. Likewise, in research with an exclusively linguistic focus, researchers can posit their own linguistic assumptions as norms when analysing and presenting data as well as in shaping and conducting their research.

I believe that it is necessary to consider and acknowledge researchers’ linguistic assumptions that comprise another set of language ideologies as well as to assess the narrator’s own linguistic assumptions or ideology. I identified my voice in the research by placing my discussion separate from the narrator’s language ideology in the lived experiences and considered my own language ideology through the research processes. This is further explored in the next section. This study is also concerned with the nature of language by focusing on levels of language, particularly literacy levels needed for

academic performance. Drawing on yet modifying the tripartite framework in analysing an individual's narrative, I extracted the nature of the language from the narrated language-related experience, while discerning the narrator's conceptualisation of their experience as language ideology. This helped me identify the participants' language levels in terms of their capabilities in various domains and also their self-evaluation based on their own language ideologies, as Seargeant suggests that research should be sensitive to "the processes by which language and ideology are linked" (2008, p. 230). Therefore, the present research attempts to examine both linguistic and ideological concerns when analysing the narratives. This attempt is embodied in the two data analysis chapters (Chapter 6 and 7) with each focused on linguistic theory and the ideological aspects of bilinguality.

### **Researcher's positionality and reflexivity in the research process**

In their book on life history research, Cole and Knowles (2001) claim the need to acknowledge the role of the researcher's identity in a life history research journey. Noting the inevitability of the researcher carrying his or her own research baggage of values, beliefs, experiences, perspectives and so on, Cole & Knowles (2001) suggest that we need to "unpack our researcher baggage" (p. 49) and acknowledge how our perspectives and assumptions are engaged in the research processes. I believe that this point applies to any research framework in that research is designed, approached and conducted through "how we [as the researchers] orient ourselves to the world – our epistemological and ontological assumptions" (Cole & Knowles 2001, p. 48). Similarly, drawing on Seargeant's tripartite framework, I acknowledged the researcher's role and

positioning as being the researcher's language ideology and through constant reflections on my bilinguality, I identified a set of my own language ideologies that had been constructed throughout my lived experience and education.

Initially, as it was derived from my informal observation introduced in Chapter 1, formulating the research problematic was related to my covert positioning as an adult migrant student. I used myself as a 'control group' of *jogiyuhaksaeng* both consciously and unwittingly. In fact, I constantly compared my bilinguality with the participants' throughout the research process. As an adult bilingual who came to Australia as an adult, I assumed that my Korean, especially literacy in Korean was highly developed as I had a strong Korean literature background and English would be simply added without any cost to my Korean. I also believed that in addition to my literacy level and my prior reading, my grammatical knowledge in English would enable me to develop a high level of English. By contrast, I presumed that *jogiyuhak* students took a different route to becoming bilingual from an adults' method of bilingual development, and thus would have different bilingual characteristics. I thought that those students who left Korea before their first language development was completed and who would not have sufficient knowledge of English grammar because it was learned in high school years in Korea would be at a disadvantage.

Importantly, although it was myself who problematised the research subject, in the beginning I did not realise that I positioned myself in opposition to *jogiyuhak* students with associated assumptions. Nor did I note that the way I problematised the research was based on another set of language ideologies. These assumptions were further derived from my beliefs that placed great value on literacy as opposed to fluency. My

knowledge system about language, therefore, was hierarchical in positing that literacy development was more important than fluency on the grounds that it is harder and takes longer to develop and it is literacy that determines educational outcomes. I assumed that literacy in an academic context was the highest level of language development, and therefore literacy development would lead to the attainment of orality and fluency, whereas the opposite direction may not necessarily be the case. Further, I thought that there was a point of complete language development. This set of beliefs is in fact very different from the prevalent language ideologies about English acquisition in Korean society.

Through data analysis, however, the attempt to understand the participants' complex bilinguality led me to reflect on and acknowledge my assumptions as a set of language ideologies about language and language development, and reconsider my own bilinguality. For example, Jane's narratives show that little difficulty in an academic context did not necessarily ensure a high level of language in social interaction. Anecdotes as well as my constant reflection from other second language learners' stories also helped me find a better way to interpret the data. In personal conversation with a university lecturer teaching Korean, he informed me that the students in his class demonstrated a high level of formal language but they were not good at everyday language. I learned to acknowledge that literacy is not a primary and global proficiency and it does not automatically lead to the attainment of orality and fluency. What students were good at was only what they learned. This is discussed in the following data analysis chapters.

On the other hand, I realised that while I was addressing young adolescents' first

language attrition or underdevelopment, I had also naturalised my Korean as stable and fixed. I noted that it was becoming outmoded as I was missing the changing aspects of language, literacy and academic practice in Korean society, although this might not be as drastic and significant as for *jogiyuhak* students. This realisation in turn led me to acknowledge my own ontological beliefs about language; I came to think that language is not simply a set of skills that can be learned and then possessed, but rather it is relational, inseparable from social domains and what we do with that language. In the end, I came to acknowledge that my set of beliefs was my own ideologies about language proficiency and development, situated in, and derived from, my own language learning contexts and history, and formed through my conceptualisation of personal experiences.

Concurrently I noted the commonality between myself and *jogiyuhak* students in terms of being situated in the same sociocultural, linguistic and educational context. Firstly, as a second language speaker as well as a researcher, my educational context was the same as my research participants in terms of English submersion, which I problematised. It would be absurd to propose that submersion is not pedagogically productive to young students but it is so with adult students. I was not different from my participants in that I had a double burden due to the language barrier in English and intellectual work. I was also a linguistically, culturally and ethnically minority student in the Australian university context, as were the *jogiyuhak* students.

Continuous reflections on my bilingual track and bilinguality in comparison to the participants' helped me explore my ontological view on language which underlay assumptions about language development and language ability and allowed me to find a

more appropriate explanation and an alternative way to view language and language development. Thus this self-awareness or reflexivity was constantly engaged in the whole research process and my own positionality was another site for my reflections, ruminations and reinterpretations in order to understand the consequences of *jogiyuhak*. I was able to reflect on and reinterpret my own lived experiences and life trajectory, which in turn I incorporated into the research process.

Just as I began with assumed differences but recognised similarities, I thought that my pursuit of academic study in English was different from that of Korean *jogiyuhak* as a form of English fever on the grounds that it did not lie in attaining highly recognised linguistic capital, class mobility or social advancement. Rather, it was more related to my desire to investigate complex social phenomena, participate in dominant English academia and add my voice, and combined with my bilinguality my trajectory might be different from *jogiyuhak* students. However, my study abroad turned out to be little different from *jogiyuhak* as over time I was facing the same circumstances as they were in terms of finding membership and experiencing ‘inbetweenness’ in a transnational context.

Thus, overall, the research, framed and designed by myself through my own language ideologies, led to a change in my perspective and knowledge system as well as reinvestigating my own bilingually and situatedness and so on. This in turn was reflected in the data analysis and the development of an alternative view of language.

## **Limitations of the research**

I acknowledge that the participants' narratives do not encompass all Korean students' *jogiyuhak* experiences or may not be representative. Yet, the narrative inquiry in this research revealed significant sections of the nature and aspects of *jogiyuhak* for Koreans. The study seeks to gain insight and understanding of the situatedness of experiences in an early study abroad context through some narratives since "any narrative ... embodies – and gives us insight into – what is possible and intelligible within a specific social context (Chase 2005, p. 667). Lincoln in her answers to questions sent by Hatch and Wisniewski (1995), also states that narrative and life history is "always and without exception phenomenological, naturalistic, only loosely coupled (if at all) to 'scientific' notion of causality and/or generalisability" (p. 118).

It is admitted that narrated events are not necessarily identical to those that happened in reality on the grounds that narrative is constructed by a narrator (Chase 2005). As it makes meaning retrospectively, the occurrence of memory attrition is natural and inevitable with the passage of time and a lapse of memory is also likely. Particularly, when an experience is painful, a psychological response is often complete obliteration of the memory of such an event or moment. While this partiality and unreliability is acknowledged, the participants' narratives are still meaningful in the sense that these partial realities hold the worlds they constructed. Further, the participants' narratives have revealed the complex and detailed lived experiences from their own perspectives, which would not be accessible in other ways.



Overall, the narrative inquiry of 14 Koreans who had studied or were still studying abroad enabled me to gain access to their lived experiences, which led to an in-depth understanding not only of the bilingual development of this specific population group in Australia, but also shed light on the questions of what language is and how languages are learned. Language ideology, particularly Seargeant's tripartite framework of language ideologies and linguistic system greatly helped me analyse and conceptualise the research findings. The language ideology framework also led me to acknowledge my own ideologies about language and language development, through which I was able to reconceptualise them.

In the next three chapters, the research findings are explored and discussed. Chapter 5 investigates the participants' academic, linguistic and social adaptation experiences throughout their *jogiyuhak* period and identifies the inherent issues in their *jogiyuhak* experiences. Chapter 6 explores these young Koreans' self-evaluated bilinguality, and traces aspects related to their bilinguality. While Chapter 6 is more oriented toward linguistic inquiry, Chapter 7 discusses the ideological aspects of bilinguality with a focus on the participants' prevalent language ideologies.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### ***JOGIYUHAH AS LIVED EXPERIENCE IN LIFE TRAJECTORIES***

Identifying the contexts in which an individual is situated is always important in that it explains the structural forces that in many ways construct their life conditions. This chapter starts by discussing the meaning for the participants of being placed in a distinct sociocultural and linguistic context along with their associated lived experiences. It then identifies critical issues in relation to submersion in English monolingual mainstream classrooms as a new learning environment and the participants' situated linguistic, academic and social adaptations. It also explores both smooth and difficult adjustment processes. In doing so, it reveals the peculiar and inherent conditions of their language and academic development trajectories. Lastly, the chapter traces the long-term consequences for *jogiyuhak* of such trajectories.

#### **The meaning of the *jogiyuhak* context and *jogiyuhaksaeng*'s status**

**“It’s a new life in which I should survive, not just study abroad.”**

Study abroad is not merely studying in a new learning context. It involves being uprooted from a familiar homeland and transplanted into an unfamiliar sociocultural context. In other words, students in this context are deprived of their social and cultural resources, and have to adjust to unfamiliar social institutions, customs, norms, and culture (Lee, K.-h. 2005). It is not hard to imagine that such adaptation will be a stressful experience as studies on *jogiyuhaksaeng* (e.g. Lee, K.-h. 2005, Song et al.

2011) commonly report that the initial period of Korean *jogiyuhaksaeng*'s adjustment was characterised by a sense of alienation, isolation and marginalisation. Similarly, in Jeong's narrative inquiry of three Korean primary school children (2006), the participants identified their *jogiyuhak* experiences as 'survival', 'risk and challenge' and 'abnormal life'.

Central to this experience was their difficulty due to the language barrier. The lack of English skills made it hard to fulfil everyday duties, let alone adapt to a new school context. One of the participants in Jeong's research (2006) stated: “여기서 영어를 못한다는 것은 기본적인 생활을 못한다는 것을 뜻하죠. 말을 할 수 없다는 것, 그래서 아무 것도 할 수 없다는 것, 생활도 공부도 불가능하다는 것, 아무하고도 어울릴 수 없다는 뜻이죠. # *Here, being unable to speak English means that you can't do anything in everyday life. It means you can't communicate, so you can't do anything, you can't study, you can't do the basic everyday life, you can't mingle with anybody.*” (p. 122, the researcher's translation)

Peter's mother's narratives echo this point and further illustrate that even though a parent stayed with them, it was not of great help to the students when the parent also had limited English skills and knowledge of the local culture (Lee, K.-h. 2005). She observed that with her limited English, she had difficulties in fulfilling even everyday tasks such as talking to shopkeepers. She recalled an incident in which she was not even able to order food that she liked at a takeaway shop. According to her, this was initially due to her unfamiliarity with menus but more fundamentally she could not ask a waitperson to explain menus. For that reason, she and Peter used to eat mainly sushi

rolls. The only alternative way to buy food was by observing and copying others: “가끔 ‘어 저거 맛 있어 보이네’ 그래서 어떨 땐 얼짱거리다가 누가 사가면 불러서 나도 저거 똑같은 거 하나 줘. 그게 음식 이름도 모르고 어떻게 설명도 못하니까. 그리고 살았다! (한숨). # *When we sometimes thought, ‘Oh, that looks yummy’, we waited for a while until somebody bought that food. Then I said to a waitperson, ‘Can I have the same thing?’ Because I didn’t know the name of food, nor could I explain it. We lived like that! (sighing).*” (Peter’s mother’s narrative)

Parallel, or proportionate to her English level as she explained above, the range of their activities was limited to what they could do without speaking English. They were confined to activities in their home such as playing online computer games. In the following excerpt, Peter’s mother spoke of their socially, linguistically and culturally deprived life: “그때 유일하게 서로를 위로해주던 게 *Shopping day*, 쇼핑가는 거야. 가서 장 보고 *food court* 가서 뭐 먹고 올 아들 *trolley* 에 태우는 거야 집에 올 때. 고 재미, 그게 유일한 낙이었어, 우리 아들. 토요일, 목요일만 되면 저녁 먹을 시간 맞춰갔고. # *Those days the only solace to us was shopping days, going shopping on shopping days. After shopping, eating at the food court, I carried him on the trolley on the way back home. That was fun, and that was the only joy for him. Right on time for dinner every Saturday and Thursday.*” (Peter’s mother’s narrative)

For those who were in difficult financial circumstances it was worse, “갈 데도 없고 좁은 집에 셰어메이트들이랑 같이 사니까. # *We had nowhere to go, and had such a small space as we had to share with our flatmates.*” (Patrick’s mother’s narrative).

Even for those from an affluent family background, such limited life conditions, social relations and networks seem to be in stark contrast to those they had experienced in Korea. This informed the change in the participants' status from majority to minority in their new context and also the shift from a comfortable life to difficult circumstances. The changes experienced in this context were often drastic for those who had enjoyed their life in Korea as can be seen from Peter's experiences below.

### **Linguistically, socially and culturally minority students**

***“I thought I was so good but there is nothing I can do here.”***

Throughout the interviews, Peter displayed regret for his *jogiyuhak* suggesting that his academic achievement would have been much more fruitful in Korea as he had not only been outstanding academically and athletically in his Korean school but also dedicated to his study. His mother confirmed Peter's claim remarking that he was a high achiever in school performance, good at sports, Korean traditional martial arts and any activities boys engaged in in those days. He was popular with his classmates and favoured by his teacher. Thus, according to her, for Peter, school was a place of enjoyment and fun that he attended eagerly.

He always led a group of friends that were anxious to hang out with him both in and outside school. Every Saturday, she recalled, Peter and about ten boys enjoyed a series of weekend events, beginning from sleeping over in Peter's house, playing soccer the next morning, going to a bathhouse, and eating out. This weekend event concluded with a visit to a PC game centre together to play computer games. From this, she reasoned,

“지말마따나 한국에선 엄청 잘난 놈이었지. 내가 피터랑 같이 가다가 학교 친구들 만나면 애들이 대놓고 ‘피터는 팔방미인이에요.’ 했거든. 지가 진짜 잘난 줄 안 거야. 지가 생각해도 지가 다 잘했거든, 애들도 그러고. # *As he said, he (Peter) was brilliant in Korea. When Peter and I together came across with his classmates, they said to me, ‘Peter is a Jack-of-all-trades [palbangmiyn in Korean].’ He really thought he was brilliant, because he was good at everything. His friends said so, too.*” (Peter’s mother’s narrative)

By contrast, Peter’s life in Australia was completely different. Once the master of his culture from an affluent family, he became a migrant student who lacked skills and knowledge of his peer culture in Australia. His mother described: “근데 여기 와서 보니까 지가 뭘 할 줄 알아. 친구 하나 없지, 놀러갈 때 없지, 영어 안 돼지. 영어 안 되니 공부도 못하겠지. 뭐가 되는 게 있어야 말이지. 그 말을 처음에는 정말 지가 힘들 때는 안하더라. 그러다가 어느 정도 지가 자리가 잡히니까 하더라. ‘엄마 내가 엄청 잘난 줄 알았는데 여기 와서 보니까 할 줄 아는 게 하나도 없어. 아무것도 없어.’ 내가 그 말 듣고 얼마나 가슴 아팠는지. # *Here, as he said, what could he do? He had no friend, nowhere to go, no English. Because his English wasn’t good, he couldn’t study. There was nothing he could do. This, however, he did not say in the beginning when he was having really hard time. It was when he was somewhat settled down that he said, ‘Mom, I thought I was so good and talented, but after I came here, I realised there’s nothing I can do. Nothing!’ I was heartbroken to hear that.*” (Peter’s mother’s narrative)

The emotional or psychological difficulties he experienced due to the change in their status in turn seem to have had a significant impact on Peter's self-pride. Deprived of family life and his immediate community of relatives and friends seems to have added to the already harsh adaptation in Australia. Janice's narratives below depict this well.

***“We used to go out on Saturday.”***

According to Janice, although she lived with her brother, and her mother stayed with them alternately in Australia and in Korea for three months, it was difficult for her as she had been familiar with an extended family lifestyle in Korea: “이모네랑 주말마다 같이 어울리고 항상 같이 지내다가 여기 오니까 어떻게 할 줄을 모르겠더라고요. # *I was always getting together with my aunts' families every weekend, staying close together all the time. So when I came here, I was at a loss what to do.*” (Janice's narrative). For children and adolescents such as Janice from a more tightly-knit community, living overseas apart from their parents, relatives, and friends meant being deprived of their social network: “그래서 여기 오면 (한국 학생들) 때로 몰려다니는 거예요. 또래들하고 단체로 다니고. # *That's why here (in Australia) Korean students hang out in groups, going with peer groups.*” (Janice's narrative).

In this context, even staying with her brother does not seem to have lessened her emotional deprivation and distress: “집에 있으면 심란하니까 토요일이면 그냥 둘이 나와요. 그게 기억나요. 둘이 *Darling Harbour* 를 오는 거예요. 와서 하루 종일 거기 물가에 앉아 있는 거예요. 오빠도 친구 없고 자기도 막 고등학교 들어가서 힘들고 나도 막 그러니까. 둘이 심란하게 가서 계속 앉아 있다고 해지면 해졌다, 집에

가자, 해서 가고. 그냥 앉아 있는 거예요. 집에는 가기 싫고. 막연하게 가족을 그리워했겠죠. # *We [she and her brother] just went out on Saturday because we were feeling unsettled at home. I remember that. We used to go to Darling Harbour<sup>19</sup> and sit at the waterside the whole day. He had no friends and the life in his new high school was hard, and same for me. Feeling unhappy we were sitting there the whole day. When the sun set, we went back home. We're just sitting there, because we didn't want to stay home. We sort of missed our family.*" (Janice's narrative)

Both Peter's and Janice's narratives point to the significance of being deprived of their social and cultural resources and social network. At the centre of such deprivation, however, there was the language barrier. Peter's 'I can't do anything' perception of reality was derived from his language barrier. In the narrative, Janice talked about her lonely life. A closer reading, however, points to the fact that both Janice and her brother were having a difficult time in their schools. Much of the problem lay in their inability or difficulty in adapting to a new school context due to their language barriers, as the school context was a primary site for their adaptation process. Whether it turned out to be surmountable or not, the language barrier often seemed to be too overwhelming for some participants. In the next section below, their recounted experiences concerning adaptation to school life are explored in discussing academic, linguistic and social adaptation.

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<sup>19</sup> Darling Harbour is the name of a harbour in Sydney famous for sightseeing and thus a crowded place.



## Submersion in a new learning environment

### Incomprehensible classroom instruction

Insufficient English skills will immediately mean difficulties in participating in school activities and academic performance. A vast majority of the participants from all age ranges on arrival reported that they experienced great difficulty in understanding classroom instruction during their early adaptation period. The level of incomprehension of the class instruction was such that, “죽는 줄 알았어요. 진짜 한 마디도 안 들렸어요. #I felt like I was dying. I couldn't understand any single word.” (Hall's narrative). This immediately meant interference with performing classroom activities and fulfilling required tasks. For example, Janice had a zero score in her school report, as she did not know that there was homework.

Similarly, Barnard's study of the private speech of a 11-year-old Korean boy, Jack, in a New Zealand school classroom shows how crucially foundational having sufficient linguistic competency is in a new “learning environment which, although perhaps superficially similar to classrooms in their home country is founded upon very different educational beliefs, attitudes and practices” (2003, p. 166). Jack's English level was thought to be ‘minimal.’ He only knew the alphabet and some basic words and he was therefore given ESL (English to speakers of Other Languages) support, which meant four to five hours of withdrawal from classes per week. In his mainstream class, however, he was completely isolated since he was unable to communicate with his classmates, even boys who tried hard to help him. The boy's recorded private speech for

seven months reveals that he was not able to achieve the set objectives of the curriculum due to his inability to understand the language of classroom instruction. In particular, his increased use of self-directed expletives and expressions of grief in Korean over time shows the evident level of Jack's distress and frustration. This was caused by his inability to understand class instruction and to respond to his teacher in the class. The study shows that more surprisingly, his English level was found to have remained at a minimal level after seven months in an English mainstream classroom and reports that in the end he dropped out. Barnard's study casts doubts on the effectiveness of submersion when a student's language level is insufficient to understand classroom instruction.

In the present study, Harry provided a detailed narrative. In his first year in an Australian high school, Harry selected Visual Arts in which he had an interest. According to him, he did not expect any problem with doing the subject as he assumed that he would only need to draw pictures. But one day, about six months after his enrolment, he went to school to find out that there was a test in the subject Visual Arts. As he did not know about the test, he was not prepared. He recounted how he took the test as follows: “시험문제가, ... ‘뭘 말이야?’. 그냥 문제 하나 있고 백지예요. 근데 기억에는 아마 ‘무슨 시대에 무슨 유화에 대해 설명을 해봐라’. 시험 있는 줄 알았으면 공부를 했겠죠. 근데 뭘 말인지 모르니까 내 기억에 말도 안 되는 말을 썼어요. 시험결과가 나왔는데 100 점 만점에 3 점. # *The test question was, ... [talking to himself] ‘What does it mean?’ There was only one single question on the completely empty sheet. In my memory, the question was probably ‘Explain some kind of oil paintings at some time periods or so’. Had I known that there was a test, I would’ve*

*studied. Because I didn't know what it meant, I remember, I gave an answer which didn't even make sense to me. The test result was three points out of 100.*" (Harry's narrative)

In experiences such as these, their inability to comprehend classroom instruction prevented them from fulfilling the tasks independent of their level of ability and understanding of the content. For participants with such listening difficulties, classroom learning was simply hard, so many of them reported that they relied on textbooks: “*방법이 없죠. 공부는 해야 되니까, 책을 읽었죠. 수업은 버리고 교과서로 공부했죠. # There was no other way. Because I had to study, I read books, giving up on classes, studying with textbooks.*” (Hall's narrative). At least, these participants had literacy skills with some knowledge of English, with which they were able to read and understand textbooks, unlike Peggy and Peter who respectively reported that their knowledge of the English was very limited. Yet, the literacy levels of many participants were not sufficient for academic performance at their grade levels and participants reported adopting survival strategies to overcome their language barriers in their school performance. The later section, ‘Double-edged strategies for academic survival’ continues the discussion on their reported strategies for academic survival.

### **Absence of institutional assistance**

With insufficient English levels for academic performance, participants experienced great difficulty. The harshness of the sink or swim situation without sufficient English skills seems to have been exacerbated when they had no one who could understand the

specific needs of new migrant students and provide assistance. With appropriate academic assistance their adaptation processes might have been less turbulent and have had better educational outcomes. Harry complained that even though he had almost zero points at the test, he did not have any assistance in the school: “정말 아무도 안 도와주고, 정말 선생님도 저를 불러서 도와주고 그럴 생각이 없었어요. 그때 제 기억에 분명히 진짜. 못하는 애가 있으면 선생님이 애를 불러서, ‘너 왜 이렇게 못하냐? 너 어떤 부분이 필요하냐? 아니면 도움을 주면 네가 할 수 있겠냐? 할 의지는 있냐? 없으면 너 \*\*\* (알아듣지 못함) 하겠다.’ 이런 말을 해주는 것도 아니고 그냥 방치해요. 전혀 신경도 안 쓰고. 그런 면에서 도움을 받을 사람도 없고. # Really, no one helped me. Even the teacher didn’t intend to help me. Seriously! I really mean it as far as I remember. The teacher could call the student when s/he did poorly and said, ‘Why is your performance so poor? What kind of help do you need? Or if I help you, will you be able to or are you willing to make it? If not, I will \*\*\* (unintelligible).’ [Harry seems to give this scenario based on the Korean school contexts.] But my teacher didn’t do so, just neglecting me. He didn’t care at all. I had no one to get help from for that matter.” (Harry’s narrative)

Harry continued to recall that once he was asked by a head teacher why he was so quiet in the school and if it was because of his English. But the teacher does not seem to have understood Harry’s problem. According to Harry, as he responded in English the teacher said that his English was not so bad as to make him behind in the class. This is a typical example of mistaking oral production as indicating a sufficient language level for school literacy. This is addressed in the discussion of Cummins’ distinction between BICS and CALP in Chapter 3. The consequence can be very different depending on

whether such aspects of a migrant student's linguistic and academic adaptation are understood in schools. Park, J. (2007) notes in his research on primary school children's early study abroad that a bilingual teacher in the school who understood this issue offered much helpful assistance to newly arrived Korean children in the school. As Harry remarked, because no one understood this issue or paid attention to his difficulty, his solution, not knowing what to do, was to simply withdraw from the subject. Similarly, Lee, K.-h. (2005) points out that whatever difficulties and unfamiliarity *jogiyuhak* students were confronted with, resolving their problems was solely the students' responsibility.

***“As if I were a bird”***

Peggy's experiences were not an exception. Peggy, eight years old on arrival, reported that she had to struggle alone to survive in her school. Her English level was more than limited for she recalled that the only word in English she knew on the very first day in her new school was 'toilet' that her mother had taught her in case of an emergency. She learned English from the Alphabet in the ESL class but other than this, she had little assistance. It is easily understandable that she had a harsh adaptation process: *“It's very hard. It is really, really hard for a child to grow up in a society where she has never been or heard of or seen.”* (Peggy's narrative). Peggy further described her frustration of those days: *“You know as a child how many hardships I had? I felt so lonely. I was feeling so lonely that I nearly had depression. I didn't know that existed when I was a child. Apparently they do. Children do have depression.”* (Peggy's narrative)

Her comment draws our attention to the potentially serious consequences of submerging a young child in a new sociocultural context since a young child such as Peggy is not

sufficiently mature to conceptualise what s/he is experiencing. This may make it harder for her/him to deal with problems. While most participants in the research, according to their narratives, experienced similar circumstances in that their issues in academic and linguistic adaptation were not dealt with or considered on an institutional level, the problem seems to have been aggravated for Peggy as she was not able to conceptualise her depression. The adaptation task itself was hard but her situation in which she had no one to help or guide her also contributed to her lonely and difficult struggle. In addition to little academic assistance in the school, her mother who had limited English skills was unable to assist her in participating in school life. Thus she struggled to survive on her own: *“Mom didn’t speak any English. It was really hard for me and my brother to cope, to cope with homework, and like studies and going to excursions ... When it’s anything that was English, it was hard, very, very, very, hard [in a very emotional overtone].”* (Peggy’s narrative).

She recalled a few incidents in her school in which she experienced trouble with other students due to her lack of English and expressed her regret, *“It would be nice if you have someone who can help you, saying, ‘Oh, no. You shouldn’t do this’, or ‘Yes, you should’, someone to guide you.”* (Peggy’s narrative). Similar to Jack in Barnard’s study (2003) addressed above, even though she had an ESL class in which she learned the English alphabet, she was isolated and had to struggle alone in her academic adjustment and experienced catching up in English as a process of isolation: *“I had to go to ESL class. When they [her peer students] start learning a proper formatting writing skill, I learned a, b, c, d, all entire beginning of the language. I felt left out and very behind. Very behind, because kids are learning all this new languages, I’m just studying the very basic beginning, from basic, very beginning. I felt isolated. I tried. When I go home,*

*I do my homework. I did this, I did that. Everything I tried to be part of it, it is not easy as it is thought. I mean adults are saying that it's easy for kids. You know kids, it's not. It's really hard. It's not easy.*" (Peggy's narrative)

Peggy further drew on an interesting analogy to her own experience, "dropping a baby bird": "I had no guidance ... I was like, I thought as if I dropped from the sky and 'Now do this by yourself'. Have you ever thought that? (in an emotional overtone) You drop out of nowhere. And you're like, 'Oh, oh, I've got to do this but I don't know how.' (in sarcastic and funny way). I felt like that every day. It's like when the bird,... I always think, you know, when the eagle bird start to fly? First of all, parents help you. But when do you know how they help you? They drop them. Literally, dad eagles drop eagles. And then they start to flicker. If they're still going down, 200 meters down whatever, they catch them and then do that again until they fly. Do you know how hard that is? I feel sorry for those little birds... I thought Korea itself is the only world. You know that kind of child growing up herself with total strangers who can't even communicate with. It's really hard ... For even adults to go overseas, it's hard. How about the child? I would be like, 'Ha? What?'" (Peggy's narrative)

Further, unlike other participants who reported that they had tutoring lessons to catch up in their subject learning, Peggy reported that she had hardly had any extra-curricular lessons, seemingly due to her family's financial circumstances.

## **Cases of smooth linguistic and academic adaptation**

Cummins (2000) notes that migrant students are confronted with the task of catching up with the content of each new subject through a new language while learning this unfamiliar language at the same time. As a consequence their learning of the class content can be impeded. In the same vein, the narratives above suggest that interference with academic performance inheres in abrupt submersion without a sufficient level of the language of instruction. Indeed, a number of the participants reported a harsh academic adaptation due to their language barriers, although some participants including Jane, Jack and John, declared that they had little difficulty with their academic adjustment.

### ***Discrepancy in school curriculum and “I repeated the same school year here.”***

As illustrated in Chapter 4, John completed the Year 9 curriculum in the Korean education system, yet he purposefully enrolled in Year 9 in an Australian high school, although it was the last term of the year. He commented that in this way subject learning was not demanding for him and thus the burden of his adaptation to a new learning environment seems to have lessened. In other words, because the contents were familiar or easy, he had sufficient time to get used to the language. He remarked that although it was hard for him for the first two years in his high school due to listening difficulties, studying was not hard: “별로 힘든 거 없었어요. 공부도 별로, ... 그냥 한국에서 하는 것에 비해 좀 쉬웠으니까. 공부는 듣는 건 잘 못해도 교과서 보면 아니까 아무래도 공부에 있어서는 영어 때문에 어렵다 이런 건 없었어요. # *I didn't have hard time. Study wasn't really...(hard), because it was rather easier to study than in Korea. I*



*wasn't good at listening to the class but I was able to understand by reading textbooks. So, I had no difficulty in studying due to English.*" (John's narrative)

Whether his literacy level was sufficient, at least the level of intellectual demand was not too high for him to catch up. Jane provided a similar description of her schoolwork: "수업 따라가는 건 문제 없었어요. 해봤자 7학년 때는 붙이고 색칠하고 받아쓰고 받아적고 이런 게 다였어요. # *I had no problem with catching up with classroom contents. The class activities in Year 7 were all about pasting, painting, dictating and writing down, etc.*" (Jane's narrative). She reported that as she was enrolled in the last term of the school year in Year 7, she did not have an annual school report, but in the next half year she won the top place in Mathematics, and achieved an A grade in five subjects. At the end of the year, she won an award for her high achievement. According to her, it was not hard for her to have such a high level of academic achievement.

Participants frequently commented that the Australian school curriculum was not demanding compared to the Korean curriculum in the equivalent school year, particularly in Mathematics and Sciences. Further, in Korean society students tended to learn the subject content beforehand in order to gain an advantage over other students. Jack also remarked that despite incomprehension of the class, studying was not hard for him: "그게 한국에서 공부하다가 여기 오면 처음엔 되게 쉬워요. 수학이나 과학이나, 한국에서 더 빨리 배워요. 한국에서 중 3 때 배운 걸 여기서는 고 1,2 때 배우고 하니깐....느리기 때문에 대충 내가 한국말로만 이해한다면 쉽게 내용을 이해할 수 있는 그런 정도였어요. # *If you came here in the middle of being schooled in Korea, it's really easy in the beginning. Whether in Mathematics or Sciences, you*

*learn much ahead in Korea. What you learn in Year 3 in middle school (Year 9 in Australia), here you will learn it in Year 10 or 11.... Because it was so behind that as long as I could roughly understand in Korean, it was easy to understand the contents.*"(Jack's narrative)

Both Hall and Peter said that they were the top students in Maths and Sciences in their high schools. Peter's mother recalled that Peter won the top place in Year 7 and 8, the second place in Year 9 in Mathematics and Sciences thanks to his advanced learning in Korea. Jack gave a similar account, recalling his high school years in which 60 to 70% of those good at Maths were Korean and Chinese students and the latest arrival from Korea ranked in the top place in Mathematics. Peter, Hall and Jack respectively revealed that they liked those subjects and were good at them. This tendency is more evident in Jane's case. She reported that Mathematics was her weak learning area in Korea but in Australian mainstream classrooms, she won the top place in the first year.

While Jack and John revealed that the initial academic adjustment was not hard despite listening difficulties, Jane reported little problem in understanding classroom instruction in addition to her smooth academic adjustment. Joshua also reported little difficulty in understanding classroom instruction. His background in English learning may account for this. Unlike many participants who reported little experience in English medium instruction prior to *jogiyuhak*, Jane, Joshua and Julie stated that they attended extra-curricular after-school classes or had private lessons focused on listening and speaking.

Jane in particular had far more involvement in English education in her life in Korea. According to her, she started learning English in her kindergarten, had private lessons

from an English-speaking tutor for three years in her early primary school years and then attended an after-school English language institute throughout her schooling until she left Korea. Through this extra-curricular English education, she learned English language skills including spelling, grammar, reading, and listening.

In addition, her prestigious private primary school placed a great emphasis on English education offering English as a subject from Year 1 with a one-hour English lesson every day. She learned English grammar, spelling rules and practised conversation in the class. Half of the schoolteachers were speakers of English from non-Korean backgrounds. Also, in the class the students played foreign games with teachers in English, through which, she recalled, “그때 많이 배운 거 같아요, 아무래도 영어로 게임을 하니깐. # *I think I learned a lot at the time, because I played games in English.*”

She continued to have private English lessons for her grammar and essay writing for two years after she arrived in Australia and it was at this time that I met her as her private English tutor. Her difficulty in fitting into a new classroom lay in peer interaction, which is discussed later in the section.

### **Double-edged strategies for academic survival**

***“We have rather fixed choices.”***

For those with listening difficulties, studying through textbooks was the only way to catch up with the subject content, but many students did not have sufficient literacy levels for academic performance at their grade levels. They revealed that they still had difficulty in comprehending textbooks. For example, Hall reported that while he relied

solely on textbooks, he failed almost all his subjects except for Mathematics throughout the first year of his *jogiyuhak*. In particular, he had an almost zero score in History and Geography in School Certificate Tests<sup>20</sup> because: “너무 어려워서 못하겠더라고요. 그 두 과목은 읽는 것도 안 돼요. # *Those two subjects were too hard for me to study. In the subjects, I couldn't even read and understand the contents.*” (Hall's narrative)

For Hall, there was no choice but to avoid those subjects. As those humanities subjects were not compulsory after Year 10, he selected solely Maths and Sciences. He said that in this way, he was able to maintain a high level of academic achievement. Similar to Hall, Harry remarked that after withdrawing from the subject Visual Arts he took Physics and Chemistry in which he had less difficulty. He generalised his experience of a *jogiyuhaksaeng*'s academic performance saying that *jogiyuhaksaeng* at a similar age on arrival to him had limited options for subject selection. According to Harry, preferred subjects included English for ESL (the English subject for speakers of other languages), Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry and Japanese, whereas Arts, History and Geography were the lowest priority. Science subjects were preferred simply because Korean students could not do other subjects whereas Japanese was easy to learn for Korean speakers and to gain good marks.

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<sup>20</sup> “The School Certificate is awarded by the Board of Studies NSW to eligible students at the end of Year 10. It prepares students for success in HSC study, training and apprenticeships or in the workplace. It also provides a detailed picture of a student's strengths and achievements at the end of Year 10 of schooling.” (Retrieved from <http://www.boardofstudies.nsw.edu.au/schoolcertificate/>)

On the other hand, HSC standing for the Higher School Certificate refers to “the highest award in secondary education in New South Wales. To be eligible for the award, students must complete Years 11 and 12, satisfy HSC course requirements and sit for the state wide HSC examinations.” (Retrieved from [http://www.boardofstudies.nsw.edu.au/hsc\\_exams/](http://www.boardofstudies.nsw.edu.au/hsc_exams/))

This pattern of subject selection was in fact frequently found in the narratives of other participants including Peter, Jack, John, Jane and Harry. Mathematics was reportedly Korean students' strong learning area. More precisely, what divides subjects into those two categories, manageable and unmanageable, is the levels of literacy they could manage or understand for their study. In other words, Science subjects are less demanding than Humanities subjects in terms of literacy levels and the degrees to which language is involved in understanding the contents. Often in Maths one can answer the question without getting deeply involved in reading and writing. In some cases, Maths' language can still be the barrier: for example, Peter's mother narrated an incident in which she checked his test sheet and discussed it with Peter. According to her, he gave a wrong answer to a question that was easy for him because he did not understand the language of the question. This echoes Levin and Shohamy's research findings (2008).

It should be noted here that Peter, Jack and Hall had aptitude in Science subjects in that they were good at these subjects when they were in Korean education. Thus, for these participants, concentrating on these subjects was not only advantageous for their academic results but also in line with their subject preferences. In contrast, the implications of this sort of constraint on academic performance due to language barriers can be significant for those who may prefer to explore subjects requiring a high level of literacy. This is discussed below in Harry's narratives.

Jane's narratives show that her academic development was not linear and reveals an interesting aspect of *jogiyuhaksaeng's* academic development. Jane recalled that she had little problem in her initial academic adjustment and attained a high level of academic achievement. She reported that from Year 9 taking school examinations

became hard. According to her, her test results were still good and she won third place in Mathematics, yet studying itself became difficult. In Year 10, in her fifth year in Australia, things further changed: “지금 이제 어려운 게 막 생기더라고요, 수학과 공부하는 게 갈수록 부담스러워지죠. # *Now it started to be difficult, even in Mathematics. Studying has become a burden.*” (Jane’s narrative).

It seems to be a common experience for the participants given that Jack made the same comment that from Year 11 the level of Mathematics became very difficult. The ascending levels of intellectual demand in subjects in late high school years may be applicable to local students for whom English is the first language. The consequence is more significant again in studying Humanities subjects. Jane reported her performance at recent school examinations, “영어시험이 되게 어려웠어요. 이번에 독해 시험이 너무 어려웠어요. 지문이 한 세 장 되더라고요. 아예 안 읽었어요. 못 읽겠더라고요. 시간이 너무 없어요... 독해 못 하는 건 알았지만 이 정도인 줄은 몰랐어요. 이번에 시험이 죄다 에세이더라고요. 지리 역사, 다 에세이고... 그냥 못 하겠더라고요. 충격 받았어요. # *English test was very hard. This time reading test was too difficult. Reading passages were about three pages. I didn’t read them at all, because I couldn’t. There wasn’t enough time ... I knew I wasn’t good at reading comprehension, but didn’t know I was this poor. This time all the tests were writing essays. Geography and History, they were all essays... I just couldn’t. I got shocked.*” (Jane’s narrative)

While Hall’s and Harry’s difficulties in subjects can be seen as due to insufficient time to catch up to a grade level of English, Jane’s account is interesting in that she

experienced this after having spent four years in an Australian high school. One possible explanation could be that, as she mentioned in her narrative above, her literacy level in Humanities subjects was not up to the grade level. However her academic achievement was high as the intellectual standard of the subjects prior to the final years of secondary school was not very demanding. When, in the final years of high school, the literacy level of grade norms in the subjects escalated too rapidly along with ascending levels of intellectual demand the discrepancy between her literacy level and a grade norm in those subjects became larger.

It cannot be said that the experience of accelerating difficulty in catching up to ascending levels of intellectual demand and academic development in the school curriculum is limited to migrant students. Rather, it is probably a common experience to all students including local peers that learning the new content of subjects is more demanding with the escalating intellectual demand. Yet, in Jane's case, the level of difficulty she experienced in those Humanities subjects was notably high compared with her academic performance in other subjects and this seemed to be related to her literacy development in English, as she mentioned that she did not endeavour to improve her literacy in English. Not surprisingly, she stated that reading novels and essays was difficult and poems were beyond her capability.

Such a change of circumstance seems to have had significant consequences for Jane's subject preference and academic focus which changed drastically in her school years in Australia. According to her, in Korea English was her favourite subject as well as her strong learning area whereas she was not good at Mathematics. At the time of the interview, however, she expressed her dislike of English while she reported a high level

of academic achievement in Mathematics due to a comparatively less demanding Maths curriculum in Australian high school classrooms. Her narrative above shows that her academic record in Mathematics in Australian high school classrooms contributed to her overall high achievement. On the other hand, English, once her favourite subject became a burden on her academic performance and thus she was unable to enjoy a sense of achievement.

At the end of her accounts about school examinations, Jane acknowledged the need to read books to improve her English. Perhaps, literacy development takes a long time and persistent endeavour and thus it seems hard to achieve. Jane seemed to incline toward Mathematics, once her weak subject, and concentrated on maintaining a high level of academic outcomes in Mathematics, as she mentioned that she had tutoring for Mathematics only. Perhaps, her emphasis on high academic achievement may have been influential in the change in her inclination toward Mathematics at which she was already proficient. After a few months, she reported that she took Economics as an elective subject because she found it manageable. Previously, she had stated that she never liked or had any interest in subjects in the Business field, and had expressed a wish to become a schoolteacher or interpreter. But after taking the subject, she said that she had come to consider it as her future career.

### ***First language support and HSC exam strategy***

Another strategy for these students' academic survival was seeking first language support. Even in preferred subjects, in some cases literacy levels do not seem to have been sufficient as Harry complained, “이제 한국말로도 어려운 애긴데... 영어로



도대체, 이게 뭐 어찌라는 건지...# *It would be hard even in Korean ... In English I had no idea what it was...*” (Harry’s narrative). His account indicates the increased difficulty in understanding the subject content when the language was experienced as incomprehensible. He sought a solution by resorting to first language support. He recalled that he asked his parents in Korea to send Korean reference books on Mathematics, Physics or Chemistry. According to him, studying through Korean books was not sufficient because even though he understood the concepts in Korean he had to study English books again in order to answer the test questions. Thus, he studied an English textbook and when he could not understand the concepts at all, he attempted to understand them by studying the equivalent content in Korean texts. After grasping the concepts in Korean he came back to the English textbook and continued to study: e.g. in order to understand the concepts of ‘action and reaction’ in Physics in English, he consulted a Korean reference book. Harry added that many *jogiyuhaksaeng* used Korean books for study as he did.

Harry’s narrative seems to suggest that to be able to perform in a particular language, it may be necessary to learn the relevant content in that language. Besides, having private lessons from Korean tutors is not only seeking academic assistance but also another form of first language support. Many participants revealed that they had tutoring and some of them commented that having private lessons was prevalent among *jogiyuhaksaeng*. This adds more weight to the argument pertaining to the inefficiency of monolingual education: when the language of instruction is incomprehensible, learning of content will be hindered.

A limited range of subject selections was applied to the HSC (Higher School Certificate) examination. The narratives show that particularly in Year 10 to 12, to advance to higher education *jogiyuhaksaeng* strategically choose Mathematics and Sciences, whether they liked them or not, so that they could gain high scores in the HSC examination. Hall recounted that his strategy to proceed to university consisted of concentrating on subjects in his strong learning areas such as Sciences subjects. Hall added that there was another strategy to gain a high score in the HSC examination:

“과외하면 할 만 해요. 다 해요, HSC 보는 애들은. 여기 호주 애들도 웬만하면 해요. HSC 전략이 있어요. 영어는 어차피 단기 투자로 보는 과목이 아니잖아요. 영어는 이렇게 가서 그냥 어느 정도 맞고 차라리 물리 화학 수학 내가 잘하는 과목을 과외도 받고 해서 잘 하자, 해서 개네를 확 잘해서 잘 됐어요. 스케일 시스템 아세요? 어려운 과목은 점수를 더 많이 줘요. 60 점이 나와도 99 점으로 쳐주고. 한국애들이 그래서 그런 과목을 많이 해요. 스케일 좋은 과목. 과학이 주로 어려운 과목이라 스케일이 높거든요. 근데 전 과학, 수학을 원래 좋아해서. #

*With gwaoi [private tutoring in Korean] you can make it. Whoever sits for HSC has gwaoi lessons. Even many Australian students have private lessons. There is a HSC strategy. English is not the subject that you can improve with a short-term investment. I thought, ‘In English, I just maintain my current level because it’s hard to get a high mark. Instead, by having gwaoi I should have higher scores in Physics, Chemistry and Mathematics that I am already good at.’ And that was successful. Do you know scale system in HSC tests? You can have a higher score in difficult subjects so if you have 60 points, it will be taken as 99. So Korean students took such subjects allocated high scales. Science was a high scale-subject because it is difficult. For me, it’s good because I liked Math and Sciences already.”* (Hall’s narrative)

Conclusively, for Peter and Hall such strategy was advantageous to their university entry but with Harry and perhaps Jane as well the implications of these strategies seem to have been more complicated. Harry, who was interested in areas of Creative Arts, was constrained in his selection of subjects and ended up in another field which in different circumstances he would hardly have considered. Jane's subject preference drastically changed according to her academic performance levels, which may not have matched her aptitude. She was constrained to choose Economics in which she had not previously been interested, although she reported later that she liked the subject. In the end, she enrolled in a Business course for her university degree. In Harry's case, he seems to have been distracted from exploring an academic course for his future career which he might otherwise have chosen. His narratives about his life trajectories seeking a career that offered self-fulfilment and a meaningful life show the long-term consequences of such constraints on pursuing areas of study. This is discussed in the last section.

## **Establishing a social life**

### **Seeking companions or confronting unfriendly climate and discrimination**

In Park, J.'s (2007) research on Korean children's early study abroad in the US context, primary school children were often found to cry saying that they did not want to go to school and some even showed physical symptoms such as "developing a tic – an uncontrollable face movement and a lot of red allergic spots due to stress" (p. 156). This

could also be the case with local students, but the point here is that these symptoms were caused by stress from submersion in a new language and sociocultural environment. The narratives in the present study reveal that an immediate community of friends can be a buffer against such harsh adaptation to an unfamiliar environment and offer a supportive social network. Barnard's study (2002) also shows that a friendly and supportive classmate assisted a migrant student to participate in classroom activities. An unfriendly or hostile climate seems to add harshness to a migrant student's already tough adaptation.

For young children, having companions can be crucial to their psychosocial, linguistic and academic adaptation. The 'I don't want to go to school' incident presented below seems to relate more to having no companions and friends in a new school and facing an unwelcoming and unfriendly climate in classrooms rather than the frustration of sitting in a classroom listening to an incomprehensible language. The narratives show that establishing a social network is another challenging task for newcomers.

***Let me have a day off, please!***

The narrative of Peter's mother provides a detailed description of relevant experience. Peter had no classroom learning for the first year after his arrival in Australia except for three months in English language classrooms. When he was enrolled in a high school, it was the first time that he was involved in subject learning in an Australian mainstream classroom. Peter recalled that on his arrival, he could not even say, 'I can't speak English'. His narratives suggest that sometimes a student's social adaptation can be more important than academic adaptation. It seems that Peter's harsh adaptation was more related to his finding companions. His mother recalled the very early days in

Peter's high school: “아침에 교복 입고 가방 올려메고 신발 신고 현관문 앞에 딱 서서 ‘다녀오겠습니다’ 인사까지 해. 그리고 돌아서서 문을 반쯤 열다가 다시 돌아서서 ‘하루만 학교 안 가게 해주세요.’, ‘왜?’, ‘그냥요.’ 이유가 따로 없어. 아픈 것도 아니고 무슨 일이 있는 것도 아니야. 첩엔 애가 왜 이러나. 며칠은 힘은 들겠지. 그러다 말겠지, 곧 적응하겠지. 며칠은 그랬다. 근데 이게 삼개월이 가는 거야. 하루도 안 거르고. # *In the morning dressed up in a school uniform, and putting on his shoes with a bag on his back, he walked to the entrance and even said the greeting, ‘I’m going to school [a typical greeting of Korean school children]’. Then while opening the door half, he turned around and said to me, ‘Let me have a day off just for today.’ ‘Why?’ ‘Just because’. He didn’t give any reason. He wasn’t sick, and nothing happened. In the beginning I thought, ‘Why is he doing this? Probably it’s hard for a few days but he will stop. He will adapt soon.’ I thought that way for a few days. But it lasted three months, not skipping even a single day.*” (Peter’s mother’s narrative)

According to her, it was extremely painful for her to observe him conducting this daily routine every morning as back in Korea he had enjoyed school life so much that he never wanted to skip a class. She recalled that he insisted on attending school even when he was sick and thus the harshest punishment for him was telling him not to go to school. Interestingly, however, his memory of this incident seems to have faded. When asked in a later separate interview about any special incident in those early days, Peter’s answer was negative. In the following interview with his mother when I commented on this, she promptly replied, “그렇게 고통스런 경험을 기억하고 싶겠어? # *Would he like to remember such a painful experience?*” (Peter’s mother’s narrative). She acknowledged that Peter and she might have different perspectives or interpretations of

a common experience, but also added, “근데 이걸 생각이 아니라 실제로 있었던 일이니까. # *But this is an incident that actually happened, not an opinion.*”

In her memory, that morning ritual ended after three months when he finally managed to make friends during a school excursion, which she interpreted as the reason he wanted to go to school whether he understood the class or not, “캠프를 갔다오고 나서 학교 안 간단 소리가 없어졌어. # *After going camping, he stopped asking for a day off.* #” (Peter’s mother’s narrative). She continued by recalling what Peter told her some time after; he was smiling all the time in school in order to look easy going as he was afraid that his classmates might not talk to him. She acknowledged Peter’s endeavour: “나 그 말 들으면서 가슴이 찢어지는 줄 알았어. 친구도 없이 혼자 벨벨거리고 돌아다니는 놈이 실실거리고 웃고 다녔다고 생각해봐. 것도 애들한테 나쁜 인상 주기 싫어서 자기도 힘들어 죽겠는데 그런 거까지 미리 계산에 넣었다고 생각해봐. 그러니 그 하루가 저한테는 얼마나 고역이었겠어. 아침마다 학교 안 가게 해달라는 소리 나올 만했지. # *I was heartbroken to hear that. Imagine that at school he stayed alone with no friend, but strolled smiling. It was already hard for him to be in the school, but he had to think how he came across to other students and behave accordingly. How hard it was for him! Of course he deserved saying ‘Allow me a day off’ every morning.*” (Peter’s mother’s narrative)

It seems that for Peter, having no companions was more important than academic adaptation. Gaining recognition or acceptance is no less significant than academic adjustment for a newcomer shaping a new life nor can it be separated from fitting into a

new school context as Jane's narratives below demonstrate.

***I still don't want to go to school***

For Jane, English was her favourite subject in Korea. *Jogiyuhak* was her own decision as well as her parents' and she was strongly motivated to acquire English when she arrived in Australia accompanying her uncle's family who came to Australia for an overseas work assignment. She reported that she had little problem with academic performance and English as a medium of instruction, but identified her difficulty as lying in peer relationships. According to her, from the first day in her new school, she was embarrassed to face her classmates: “교실에 들어갔는데 어떤 애가 너 영어 할 줄 아니? 이러면서 놀리는 거예요. 처음부터 당황했어요. 그때는 가만 있었죠. 버디라고 해서 도와주는 애가 있어요. 버디로 지원한 애는 도와주지 않고, 저를 버리고 갔어요. 다른 친구한테 두고 가는 거예요. 근데 그 친구도 싫었나 봐요... 그냥 다 낫설고 그래서... # *As soon as I came into the classroom a girl made fun of me, asking me if I could speak English. I stayed still. The school had a 'buddy' to help a new student and the girl who volunteered as a buddy didn't help me and left me to another girl. But she sort of didn't like me, either... Everything was unfamiliar...*” (Jane's narrative)

She recalled that she cried at home on the second and third days in her school feeling sad and upset because she was unable to understand her classmates' English and to participate in their conversation: “눈치를 딱 봐도 내 얘기 하는 것 같은데 못 알아들으니까.... 모든 게 다 힘들었어요. 아침에 학교 가기가 싫더라고요. # *I could see they were talking about me, but I couldn't understand what they said... Everything*

was hard. In the morning I didn't want to go to school.” (Jane's narrative). She expressed her disappointment: “학교 광고지 보면 외국 학생들하고 같이 웃고 있잖아요. 저도 그럴 줄 알았어요, 같이 어울리고. 그런 게 아니더라고요. 나름 충격을 먹었죠. # If you see a school brochure they (international students) were laughing with foreign students [referring to local students of a hosting country]. I thought my experience would be like that, too, mingling with them. It's not the case. I got sort of shocked.” (Jane's narrative)

Jane revealed that she had a group of friends in her school but her peer relationships or friendship with school friends did not improve much even after she had spent three years in her school. Her feeling of not wanting to go to school due to her peer relationships continued until the end of Year 10: “저는 사실 아직도 친구들하고 되게 서먹서먹해요. 가까와지지 못하는 거 같아요. 학교 가면 같이 지내긴 하는데... 쉬는 시간에 얘기도 하고 밥도 같이 먹는데 학교 밖에서는 안 만나요. # I still feel awkward with my friends. I can't get close to them. At school, I stay with them ... talking with them at recess and having lunch together, but I don't see them outside the school.” (Jane's narrative). To the question of why she did not associate with her friends outside the school, she answered with tears in her eyes: “만나고 싶지 않아요. 저는 맨날 학교가 가기 싫거든요. # I don't want to see them. Every day I feel like I don't want to go to school.” (Jane's narrative)

A closer look at her narrative reveals that she believed that insufficient English was central to her problem. As a reason for her not being able to participate in peer



conversations, she stated: “*Because I’m not good at English. #내가 영어를 못하니까.*” (Jane’s narrative). When I pointed out her high academic achievement, implying her high level of English, she explained, “*여기 애들이 blabla 하잖아요. 그게 안 된다는 거예요. #Locals speak like blabla, but I can’t do it.*” (Jane’s narrative). She added that her way of thinking was different from that of her local friends, which meant she sometimes got hurt. It is interesting that she had difficulty in understanding and participating in peer conversation while she reported few problems with academic adjustment and English as a medium of instruction. It suggests that a certain level of literacy relevant to school performance in a particular sociocultural context may not necessarily ensure fluency in peer conversation in a different sociocultural context.

It was not merely Jane’s fluency but also her minority status within her peer interactions that positioned her English as inferior. She described her minority status in her peer interactions: “*전 한국에서는 그냥 내가 말을 하면 친구들이 몰려들고, 이런 대우를 받아본 적이 없는 거예요. 나름 친구들이 많았고 친구들 욕을 해도 내가 하고 욕을 들어도 내 친구들이 어떻게 해주고 그랬는데 이런 대우는 처음이에요. 예를 들어 왕따를 하면 내가 하면 했지 여기 오니까 내가 그 입장이 되니까 그렇더라고요. 친구들 많았어요. 말도 잘하고. 내가 얘기하면 들어주고 호응해주고. 여긴 내가 말할 기회가 없는 거 같아요. # In Korea when I talked, my friends just gathered around me. I have never been treated like this. I had many friends and it was me who was badmouthing others. When someone spoke ill of me, my friends supported me, but here it’s completely different. For example, back in Korea I alienated someone, but here I am left out. So you know how I feel. I had many friends that gave positive response*”

*when I talked (in Korea). Here I have kind of no chance to talk.*” (Jane’s narrative)

Jane reported in a follow-up interview that her problem with relationships with friends was resolved as she transferred to another school in Year 11, in which she formed a group of friends from Korea and others from Asian migration backgrounds. She reflected on her peer relationship with non-Korean Australian born local students in the previous school and said that she had a very tough time, but while associating with them her English improved remarkably. She explained that she came to this conclusion after she met some Chinese students in her new school who only associated with their Chinese peers. According to her, these Asian migrant students’ English levels were not very high even though they had spent almost the same number of years in Australia as she had. She believed that it was because they mingled with their co-ethnic peer students, only speaking their own language.

## **Impact on academic performance**

*“I’m going to school to play a monkey.”*

In the Australian context, the participants were ethnically, linguistically and socially minority students and they were often confronted with discriminatory treatment or an unwelcoming classroom climate in schools. In Janice’s narrative, the problem with her adaptation lay not only in the little assistance available to her with no attention paid to her adaptation, but also a hostile classroom climate. According to Janice, her teacher denigrated her, as well as her classmates: “선생님이 나한테 ‘난 네 영어 하나도 못 알아들겠어’ 라고 한 뒤론 그 학교에선 귀를 닫고 살았어요. 선생님도 그랬고

애들도 그랬고 분위기가. 누구 한 명을 데리고 가서 이렇게 해주고 그런 친절하  
분위기가 아니었어요. 힘들었죠, 되게. # *Since my teacher said to me, 'I can't  
understand your English at all' I turned deaf ears to everybody in that school. Teacher,  
classmates, and the whole classroom climate were all alike. It wasn't a kind climate to  
pay attention to and help a particular student. So it was very hard.*" (Janice's narrative).  
She added that many other teachers treated her in a similar fashion, which seems to  
have contributed to forming a hostile classroom climate. She described her one and a  
half years in that school as a nightmare: “전 악몽이어서 그때 공부한 거 하나도 기억  
안 나고요. 그때 오로지 괴로운 거 밖에 없었기 때문이에요. # *It was such a nightmare  
for me that I couldn't remember what I studied. At the time I was only suffering from  
distress.*" (Janice's narrative)

This unhelpful classroom environment had a significantly negative impact on Janice's  
self-worth and also on her school performance. Her self-esteem was damaged to such a  
degree, she recalled, that she even thought herself to be stupid: “사람이 이렇게 다  
가고 있으면 나 혼자 원숭이가 돼서 다니는 느낌, 정말 나만 혼자 바보같이. # *I felt  
like only I became a monkey walking around there in a crowd of people, like only I was  
a fool.*" (Janice's narrative). She remembered that she said to her father in the morning  
when he visited her in Australia: “아빠, 인제 가서 또 원숭이 놀이 하고 올께. # *Dad,  
I'm going to school to play a monkey.*" (Janice's narrative)

Janice continued by saying that she did not do her homework simply because she did  
not know about it. Nor did she study since she did not understand the classes. Her poor  
performance in the school was largely due to her insufficient level of English, but her

school performance also seems to have been affected by the discriminatory treatment she experienced: “그 학교에선 안 들린다고 생각했고 들을 수 없다고 생각했고. 어느 순간 들리고 있었을지도 모르는데 난 귀를 닫고 있었던 거예요. 난 싫어 싫어, 이랬던 거예요. # *I thought I didn't understand and it's impossible to listen to and understand (English). I might have understood at some moment but I still kept my ears shut. I was like, I hate it, I hate it.*” (Janice's narrative)

This narrative shows that Janice's English was affected by her classmates and teacher, and further how that language proficiency can be used to exercise power and marginalise a linguistically minority student. Evidently Janice had language barriers to start with but the problem seems to have been exacerbated by how she and her English were approached by others. When others described her English as poor and unintelligible this reinforced her weak performance in English as she turned a deaf ear to her classmates. This seems to have affected her self-worth and negatively constructed her English: “내가 영어를 못하니까 사람들이 날 싫어해. 날 바보 취급하고 날 구박해. 근데 난 영어를 잘 할 수가 없어. 난 영어를 못해. 나 영어 못해, 영어 못해, 영어 못해. # *Because I'm not good at English, people disliked me. They treat me like an idiot, and they are mean to me. But I can't be good at English. I'm not good at English. I'm no good, no good, no good.*” (Janice's narrative)

As she believed that her English was not good, she asked her parents to send her back to an English language school. The situation took a reverse turn when she was transferred to another high school after one and a half years. In her new school, she continued, she was told by a teacher that her English was quite good considering the number of years

she had been in Australia: “그 소리를 듣는 순간부터 입이 트였어요. 우후, 나 바보 아니었어. 그런 다음부터는 공부도 좋아하게 됐고 영어로 일기도 썼어요. 10 학년부터 12 학년 끝날 때까지. # *From that moment I opened my mouth. Wow, I wasn't stupid. Then I got to like studying and began writing a diary in English, from Year 10 to the end of Year 12.*” (Janice's narrative)

At the end of the story, Janice reflected that even though she grew to enjoy her school life in the new school the initial harsh experience was so intense that it became her first impression of everything in Australia and determined her long-lasting perception of white people: “백인 아기 보면서 ‘아, 이쁘다’ 했다가 소름이 짝 끼쳐. ‘재들도 크면 똑같애. 다 저렇게 될 거 아냐. 재들도 베이스엔 다 지네들이 잘났다고 생각해.’ 그게 완전 심했죠. # *Seeing a white baby, I thought, ‘Wow, pretty’ and then straightaway I got horrified. ‘They will be the same when growing up. They will all become like that. Basically they think they are superb.’ I had too much of that kind.*” (Janice's narrative). While Janice conceptualised her racialised perception as a consequence of her experience, this experience seems to have had a deep impact. She commented that she could not remember ever being happy in Australia. Overall, the experiences described above by the participants seem to have significantly affected their levels of satisfaction with their life in Australia, sense of self-worth and academic performance. This suggests that peer relationships have a significant impact on young children and adolescents.

## Changes in study habits and perspectives

***“Mom, others got more wrong answers.”***

In the course of establishing a new life in the Australian context there were various changes in participants. In Peter’s case, his focus on and commitment to study changed in his new life in Australia. Both Peter and his mother described above that he was a high achieving student in Korea. She recalled that he was highly competitive with his rival students and keen on maintaining his reputation as a top student: “옛날 한국에서 시험 쳐서 한 문제나 두 문제 틀렸잖아. 그러면 한 이틀 내가 볶이는 날이야. 나를 잡아. 계속, ‘엄마 나 그거 맞을 수 있는데 왜 틀렸지? 엄마 너무 짜증나.’ 그런 식으로. 며칠동안 지 까먹을 때까지 나를 괴롭혀. 한 두 문제 틀리는 걸 못하는 애야. # In Korea, when he got one or two wrong answers, then for a couple of days I was pestered. He was giving me a hard time, saying ‘Mom, I could’ve got the right answer. Why did I give a wrong answer? Mom, it really ticks me off.’ Until he forgot it, he bothered me. He couldn’t allow any one answer to be wrong. He should get all right answers.” (Peter’s mother’s narrative)

Peter’s attitude dramatically changed in Australian high school classrooms. His mother recalled the incident in which Peter had a very low mark for the first time. Peter’s response surprised her when she commented on his low mark, ‘엄마, 딴 애들은 더 많이 틀렸어. # Mom, other students got more wrong answers’. She continued her narrative: “점수를 80 점대를 받아오기 시작하더니 70 점대로 내려가. ‘야, 피터. 네가 80 점대 받는 것도 엄만 처음 보는 건데 70 점은 좀 심하지 않냐?’ ‘엄마

*average 가 육십몇 점이야.’ 그렇게 바뀌는 거야 애가. # He got 80 marks and then his score dropped gradually to 70 something. I said to him, ‘Hey, Peter. I have seen your marks below 90 for the first time and isn’t 70 marks too poor?’ He answered, ‘Mom, average mark is 60.’ He changed like that.” (Peter’s mother’s narrative)*

She found an explanation for his change in attitude from his disposition in particular situations. According to her, Peter learned to use a computer program on his own by reading a book (sent from Korea): “애는 아무리 어려워도 지가 좀 알겠다 싶으면 기를 쓰고 덤벼서 다 끝내놓는 애야. 근데 아무리 쉬워도 처음에 ‘어, 좀 어렵네, 잘 모르겠네.’ 하면 지레 포기해버리는 애거든. 근데 영어가 저한테 그거야. 여기 와가지고 영어가 자기한테 너무 큰 벽이야. 그래서 아예 포기를 해버린 거야. 그러면서 공부 자체에 흥미를 잃어버린 거야. 저한테 너무 어려운 벽이니까. # *Even though a task is extremely hard, he is out to complete it if he thinks he can manage. But although it may be such an easy task, if he finds it ‘a bit hard or isn't sure’ in the beginning, then he hastily gives up. English was this case for him. Here (in Australia), English was such a barrier for him. So he just gave up and lost his interest in study, just because it was too difficult for him.” (Peter’s mother’s narrative)*

Perhaps, the level of English in his high school education was too demanding and overwhelming for him after being absent from school for a year, due to a visa problem, in his first year in Australia. Also for Peter who could not tolerate having even one answer wrong, losing control of his studies may have meant a lot more than just getting a low mark on a test. As can be seen in his comment ‘I can’t do anything here’, the feeling of helplessness must have damaged his self-esteem. Besides, as he was unable to

alter circumstances over which he had no control, he had little option but to discard his strict academic standard which he could not maintain. This in turn led to his loss of interest in studying. As evidence, Peter's mother added that Peter refused to have tutoring lessons in English while having lessons for other subjects. Jane's change in attitude toward English was similar. She no longer enjoyed studying English, once her favourite subject in Korea. Whether or not Peter's mother's interpretation is appropriate, it is interesting to see the perspective that her narratives offer: Peter's change in attitude was not simply the result of structural forces in the *jogiyuhak* context, but rather how he was influenced by and responded to a situation.

Peter confirmed the change in his commitment to study and school performance since he came to Australia. But he gave another reason for his inattention to study saying that it was a consequence of his mingling with friends. The experience of being deprived of friends seems to have had a great influence on his outlook. He singled out cultural difference and the language barrier as the most difficult part in his *jogiyuhak* life but also added: “아까 제가 말했듯이, 대부분이 한국으로 돌아가요. 그러다보니 친구들이 하나 둘씩 사라져요. 친구가 안 남는 거. 사람의 소중함을 알게 됐죠. # *As I said before, most (Korean jogiyuhaksaeng) went back to Korea. As result my friends disappeared one by one. There was no friend left. I came to learn the value of people.*” (Peter's narrative). For Peter who used to be surrounded by a number of friends in Korea and had few friends in his first year in Australia and also after the difficult and lonely first three months in his high school, having companions must have been crucial and signified integration into a new society. According to his mother, soon after he made friends with local peers in his new school in Australia, he spent much of



his time with his school friends who visited him every day and spent every weekend from Friday to Sunday afternoon at his place. Consequently, according to Peter, he neglected his study as he was concentrating on mingling with his school friends.

## **Changes in life style**

***“I thought I ruined my life, but it wasn’t only me.”***

Heidi’s narrative points to another example of the potentially significant meaning and role of a peer group and friends in a *jogiyuhaksaeng*’s life. In Heidi’s case, it led to changes in her attitude, perspectives, commitment to study, and her life style. According to Heidi, she was a studious high achieving student in Korea, ranking within the ten top places in the entire school in Year 10: “공부 말고는 할 게 없더라고요, 한국에서는. # *I got nothing else to do except study, in Korea.*” (Heidi’s narrative). In her new life in Australia, however, her focus shifted from school performance to hanging out with friends: “고교 두 달 동안은 한국 친구 안 만났어요. 어느날 \*\*\*[지역 이름]에 갔더니 한국애들이 동네 길에서 다 인사하고 다 알고 지내더라고요. 그게 부러웠어요. 그래서 맨날 나갔어요. # *For the first two months in my high school I didn’t have any Korean friends. One day I went to \*\*\*[a suburb] and there Korean students all knew each other and greet on the streets. I was envious, so I went out every day.*” (Heidi’s narrative)

Consequently her life changed. She played truant from school, staying away from her studies and hanging out with other Korean students: “그래서 한국애들하고 어울리기 시작하면서 놀기 시작했는데 교장이 한국 학생 2 명을 자른다고 했어요. 워낙

한국학생들이 결석 많이 하니까. 그래서 조심해야겠다고 생각했는데 결국 잘리지는 않았어요. 애들이 ‘야, 학교 빼먹고 놀러가자’ 고 하면 그냥 놀러가는 거예요. 하도 그러니까 엄마가 나가 살라고 했어요, 못 참아주겠다고. 유학생들 중에는 혼자 사는 애들도 있었는데 2 bedroom 에 세 들어 사는 애 집에 어떨 땐 50 명씩 지낸 적도 있어요. 한 방에는 여자애들이 자고 또 한 방에는 남자애들이 자고. # *So I was hanging out with Korean students. Then the principal said he would expel two Korean students, because Korean students were absent so many days. I thought I should be careful. Anyway, he didn't do it. When friends said, 'Hey, let's skip the classes and go out', then I just followed them. I kept doing it too much and my mom told me to move out because she couldn't bear it. Some jogiyuhaksaeng lived on their own and at some point, 50 people stayed in a two-bedroom accommodation. Girls slept in one room and in the other room boys slept.*” (Heidi's narrative)

Evidently, such misbehaviour could occur because there was a lack or absence of parental supervision. Although Heidi lived with her mother during most of her *jogiyuhak* period, this was not the same as living with her entire family and parents. Heidi herself pointed out the negative aspect of being a *jogiyuhak* without parents: “부모님들 없으니까 유학생들끼리 모이잖아요. 생각 없이 *gangster* 들하고 어울리고. 좀 자기가 우쭐해지는 것 땀에. 여자들도 그런 거 있어 가지고 괜히 *gangster* 들하고 어울리고 누가 자기 때리면 자기는 복수할 수 있다, 그런 거. 그런 생각 땀에. 누가 *care* 해주지도 않고 *homestay* 도 돈만 받지 애가 들어오든 안 들어오든 신경 안 쓰고 *guardian* 도 같이 안 살잖아요. 그러니까 그냥 학교만 가라, 이거예요. 비자 땀에 학교는 가요. 학교 끝나면 그냥 애들하고 모여서 이상한 것만

하고, 유학생들끼리... # Jogyuhaksaeng get together because they had no parents. Without thinking, they mingle with gangsters, because they feel puffed up ... such as, If anybody beats them, they can take revenge, that kind of thought. No one cares about them, and homestay family gets paid but doesn't care about whether the student comes back home or not and a guardian doesn't stay with them. So, they are like, 'As long as you go to school'. Jogyuhaksaeng go to school because of visa problem, but after school they get together and do something silly..." (Heidi's narrative)

It seems that in addition to the absence of parents, the lack of social networks and the negligence of guardians all allowed their misbehaviour to occur. She continued to recount *jogyuhaksaeng*'s misbehaviour that she both experienced and observed, such as going to casinos and pubs. They were also extravagant with their friends when they received a remittance from their parents. Consequently, she was unable to proceed to university after graduating from her high school.

Heidi's life story appears to place a negative emphasis on associating with other Korean peer students. In fact, this is prevalent perception in public, media reports (e.g. Nam 2008; Gang, C. 2008) and also in research studies (e.g. Choi, J. S. 2007). Media reports show that many Korean *jogyuhaksaeng* only mingle with their Korean peers and they can become involved in delinquent behaviour (Nam 2008). Research reports have found that more than 50% of the respondents in the Canadian context were truant from school (Park, S. 2010). Further, Korean students gathering together in groups is routinely presented as the cause of neglecting their study and low levels of English.

In contrast, some researchers in Asian American studies provide contrasting suggestions in their studies; American born Asian students tend to adopt white values and norms, while mingling with white American students, in which academic achievement is undervalued whereas Asian migrant students who are friends with co-ethnic youths maintain their own cultural values that place an emphasis on academic achievement (Chiang-Hom 2004; Palmer 2007). Thus migrant students' neglect of their study is attributed to adopting local norms and cultural values, while associating with co-ethnic students is regarded as building a support network that guards against involvement in gang-related activities or other misbehaviour. Park, J. (2007) also suggests that Korean peers are of great help in academic adaptation.

Firstly, it should be noted that joining a group does not necessarily give rise to misbehaviour and to view congregating with any particular group as related to delinquency is highly problematic - the question of the assumed link between being in a group and English language levels is discussed further in Chapter 7. It may be the case that some Korean *jogiyuhaksaeng* are involved in delinquent behaviour as Heidi described, but it is still difficult to generalise to a necessarily negative connection of either ethnic group with misbehaviour. Many participants reported that they associated with other Korean *jogiyuhaksaeng*, without becoming involved in delinquent behaviour and failing to attend to their study. Peter's narratives exemplify this.

In Peter's case, the changes in his study habits did not necessarily relate to either Korean or Australian students; he associated with local Australian peers for the first two to three years and then over time mingled more with Korean students. He reported that when he began to associate with Korean students in his school, he quickly stopped

hanging out with them because they were frequently truant from school: “*I felt like I might absent myself from school following them if I continued mingling with them.* # 계속 어울리면 저도 따라서 결석하게 될 것 같더라고요.” (Peter’s narrative). He did, however, associate with other Korean friends later.

In Heidi’s accounts, the absence of her parents, being deprived of a social network, guardians’ negligence and friends all contributed to *jogiyuhaksaeng*’s forming groups and misbehaving. Yet, this does not seem to sufficiently account for her drastic change from a studious and high achieving student to a truant involved in various misdemeanours. Peter’s experience seems to provide a possible explanation. By combining Peter’s and his mother’s narratives discussed above, it would appear that he lost his interest in study as the language barrier was too overwhelming for him to perform well academically and by seeking out and mingling with friends his neglect of his studies became habitual.

Like many of the participants Heidi’s experience must have included a language barrier and consequent difficulty in academic adaptation. It is likely that, given this situation, she lost her focus on study. Heidi’s change in all likelihood was related to her isolation and loss of interest in study in a new environment. Thus, it may be appropriate to conclude that both Heidi and the Korean students in her narrative experienced difficulty in the new environment and as they were unable to fit in, they tended to become involved in misbehaviour. These habitual groupings were what sustained them: “*그때 왜 학교를 안 갔는지 기억이 나질 않아요. 그 당시가 잘 기억나지 않아요. 그냥 맨날 애들하고 어울리는 거예요, 학교 안 가고. ... 근데 한번 친구들과하고 노는 거에*

빠지면 그게 힘들어요. 친구들과하고 연락을 끊어야 하니까. # *I can't remember why I didn't go to school at the time. I can't remember those days. I was just hanging out with friends, absent from school. ... Well, once you've fallen into hanging out with friends, it becomes hard, because you have to cut them off.*" (Heidi's narrative).

The influence of local norms and culture cannot be discounted as negligible. During a joint interview both Peter and Hall pointed out the influence of local norms and culture, stating that local students in his school did not study hard and many of them proceeded to a TAFE<sup>21</sup> college after graduation. But they were also conscious of their status as *jogiyuhaksaeng*, commenting that their circumstances were different from local students. Their adaptation to local norms and culture was rather arbitrary and often modified by their current circumstances. Heidi explained the drastic change in her attitude and study habits as follows: “예전 같으면 엄마 아빠한테 미안해서 자살했을 거예요. 인생 망했다고 몇 번 생각했어요. 그냥 공부, 성적표 보고서 그런 생각했어요. 근데 이 나라가 공부 못해도 살 만하더라고요. 처음엔 한국에서처럼 열심히 해야겠다고 생각했었는데. 여기 애들 공부 못했던 사람 없더라고요. 그러다 보니까 나도 그런 사람들 중의 하나였구나. 그렇게 생각해서. 그 사람도 변하고 나도 변하고...# *If I had been the way I was before (in Korea), I would have committed suicide because I was sorry for my mom and dad. A few times I thought I ruined my life. Just when I saw my academic record I thought so. But in this country it's OK even though I didn't study well. In the beginning I thought I should study as hard as in Korea, but students (jogiyuhaksaeng) here, they were all good [in Korea but in Australia they changed]. I*

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<sup>21</sup> TAFE standing for Technical and Further Education is the name of nationwide educational institutions funded by the Australian Government and providing vocational education and training. In terms of the types and focus of education programs, it is equivalent to a junior college or two-year college (전문대학) in the Korean educational system.

*realised I was just one of them. Thinking that way. They changed and I changed ...”*  
(Heidi’s narrative)

While acknowledging the influence of local norms or their interpreted versions of these norms, participants’ narratives also suggest that students’ educational circumstances, environment, and opportunities are related to their changes in behaviour, study habits and even their way of life. For example, Peter commented on the change in his commitment to study, “한국에서는 열심히 했었거든요. 근데 여기 와서 놀다 보니까... 아무래도 호주 교육제도 자체가 풀어져 있다 보니까. # *I was studying hard in Korea. But here while I was hanging out, ... inevitably as the Australian education system itself was not that tight.*” (Peter’s narrative). His mother supplemented this account, stating that Peter hardly spent any extra time studying after school and all he did was his homework and the private lessons for the HSC examination. In fact, both Hall and Peter argued that in general it was not difficult to gain entry into a university in Australia. Peter repeatedly mentioned his low level of academic achievement and his lack of effort in studying.

In this vein, Peter revealed his negative attitude in regard to *jogiyuhak* on the grounds that Korean students, including himself, were not committed to academic performance. He singled out a high level of academic achievement as a criterion for successful *jogiyuhak* and suggested that less than five percent of *jogiyuhaksaeng* were in this category. Peter’s following comment seems to show the degree of the Korean students’ difficulty in adapting and the significant consequences. Peter spoke of his hope to study further in America in order to achieve success in a future career, but shortly he added:

“근데 지금 점수가 문제니까 보이는 게 없죠. 지금 당장 2 년 전으로 가라고 해도 그렇게 노력은 안 할 거 같아요. # *But there seems no future in sight because of my academic record. But even if I were in such situation two years ago, I don't think I will make effort.*” (Peter's narrative). He seems to suggest that the change in his study habits was somewhat inevitable and unlikely to change.

Heidi commented that after high school, she was enrolled in a TAFE course every year for four years but never attended or attended only two to three times. At the time of her participation in the present research, she reported that she began to attend a foundation course offered by a university, as she wanted to go to university. However, she revealed that she could not write the required essays. After a few months, I was told by my friend who introduced Heidi to me that she dropped out of the course again. It seems that for these students, having been distracted from their academic development, it was very hard for them to re-join the education system or return to their original academic direction. Thus, the disruption in their academic development seems to have had a significant influence and profound consequences. Despite their awareness and desire, both Peter and Heidi's changes in study habits and attitudes seem to have become deeply inscribed and had a long lasting effect.

### ***Jogiyuhak* paving life pathways and long-term consequences**

#### **Selective advantages in seeking careers**

John and Jack seem to have been successful in terms that both of them revealed that



their current careers were the ones which they wanted to be engaged in and they expressed a sense of satisfaction. They had also acquired permanent residency after their graduation from university. It should be noted that their careers were respectively in IT and Business, although this limited choice of subject selection for *jogiyuhaksaeng* did not affect Jack's and John's career pathways.

***“English was eating away my life.”***

The academic survival and developmental processes of those participants who favoured Mathematics and Sciences subjects were not affected and they followed their chosen career path in university courses. In contrast, according to Harry, his early study abroad turned out to be a disadvantage to him. In a covert but crucial way he changed course in his search for a career that could be meaningful for him when he withdrew from his favourite subject, Arts. This was a desperate measure to survive in his new learning environment. He selected Mathematics and Sciences and focused on gaining entry into a university. For his undergraduate course, in accord with his HSC grades, he enrolled in a civil engineering course but he dropped out after two to three months simply because he could not do it. He enrolled in a music institute as he was interested in working in the music industry. According to him, he was unable to complete it due to his lack of musical background. Not knowing what to do, he went back to Korea to fulfil his mandatory military service.

After completing his army service, he considered proceeding to university in Korea, but discovered that to be eligible he needed to have completed two years in an overseas university, or take the national university entrance examination. He remarked that it was

hard for him to join the Korean education system: “수능은 도저히 볼 자신이 없고 아예 과목이 다르고. 여기는 TAFE 가면 되거든요. # *I didn't have confidence in taking the examination (in Korea) because the test subjects were completely different. Here you can go to a TAFE.*” (Harry's narrative)

He came back to Australia and completed a university course in Information Technology. After completion of the course, he worked in the IT industry. Then it became evident that IT was not his dream job: “너무 사는 게 의미가 안 느껴져서 사는 걸 정리하고 2006 년엔가 다시 한국 들어갔어요. 아, 취직하고 내가 하고 싶은 거 하고 살아야겠다. # *I couldn't feel any meaning in my life, so in 2006 I packed up and went back to Korea. 'Ah, I am going to get a job and do what I'd like to do.'*” (Harry's narrative). In Korea he sought employment in the film industry but after a while he came back to Australia again for financial reasons. At the time of his participation in the research, he was awaiting the commencement of a new course in the field of creative arts in which he was newly enrolled.

Harry stated that after reflecting deeply about dropping out of his courses, he realised that the constraints he had experienced on the choice of subjects had distracted him from exploring his desired area of study, Arts: “저는 생각에 제가 예술쪽 사람이라고 생각해요. 내가 뭐 대단하게 예술적 재능이 있다는 게 아니라,... 제가 하려고 했던 걸 보면 일관성이 있거든요. # *I am an arts person. I'm not saying I am so talented, but, ... considering what I've been trying to do, there is a consistency.*” (Harry's narrative). Recalling an incident in which he had to withdraw from the school subject,

Visual Arts, he reflected on his life trajectory: “그땐 몰랐는데 나이 들어서 생각해보니까 여기서 그런 식으로 교육을 받는다는 게 되게 오히려 나한테 제한을 건 거 같아요. 내가 하고 싶은 걸 할 수 없게 만드는. 결국은 과목을 뺀 걸 선택할 수 밖에 없어요. 만약 내가 호주에였든가, 아님 한국에서,... 내가 한국의 교육 시스템을 잘 모르지만,... 내가 그런 외국인이 가진 그런 단점이 없었다면 어쩔 내가 하고 싶은 걸 자유롭게 할 수 있지 않았을까. 그렇게 빨리 포기하지 않고. 언어 때문에... 너무 쉽게 포기해버렸으니까. 지금까지 살아온 걸 계속 생각해 보게 되는 데, 영어가 내 인생을 갉아먹고 있는 게 아닌가...# *I didn't know at the time, but thinking now, having education here in such a way sort of restricted me, not allowing me to do what I'd like to, as subject selection was limited. If I were Australian, or in Korea, although I don't know much about Korean education system ... If I had had such handicap that a foreigner has, I might not have given up so quickly. I may have been able to do what I wanted to. Because of language, I gave up too quickly and too easily. Thinking about my life trajectory again and again, 'Hasn't English actually eaten away my life?...' (Harry's narrative)*

Jennifer also commented on the long-term consequences of the language barrier on a *jogiyuhaksaeng's* life when she reported her difficulties in academic performance in her university course. She observed that even for those good at English a narrow selection of academic courses as a major was inevitable. As an example, she drew on her *jogiyuhak* friend majoring in the Japanese language in a university: “호주에서 일본어를 전공해? 개는 choice 가 없었던 거예요. # *Studying the Japanese language in Australia? That means she had little choice.*” (Jennifer's narrative)

Harry's narratives suggest that during his early adaptation period, the language barrier as a constraint on his academic adjustment had long term consequences on his academic development and directed him into a particular pathway. Especially, *jogiyuhak* contexts have inherent risks as students who are interested in and have aptitude in areas such as literature, arts and social sciences that require a high level of literacy skills but whose literacy levels are weak, may end up in a field which would not otherwise interest them.

### **Transnational movements: returnees, re-returnees and immigrants**

It seems that once Korean students have left Korea, it is a challenge to return and readjust to the Korean education system. According to a recent research project about *jogiyuhak* returnees' adaptation (Park, H. 2012) with 200 returnees, 88% of them answered that they wanted to go overseas again due to their linguistic academic difficulties and cultural differences experienced in Korean mainstream classrooms. Returnees are frequently reported to have difficulty in understanding and catching up with the Korean language in the school curriculum and in adapting to a heavy study load. These problems are inseparable from psychosocial adaptation and peer group relations. They have difficulty in communicating with peer students and understanding their teacher. Returnees are ridiculed or bullied for their comparatively unintelligible Korean but they also belittle and underestimate Korean education and dislike Korean peer students' behavioural norms and traits. Kanno's research (2003) on Japanese returnees' identities shows similar findings in which returnee students experienced conflicts due to differences in language or culture when they re-entered Japanese society. A research project about *jogiyuhak* returnee students revealed that the degree of

maladaptation or stress was so high that some of the respondents reported that they were receiving psychiatric counselling (Park, H. 2012).

In the present research, Patrick's mother reported that Patrick experienced difficulty in understanding the homeroom teacher and his classmates after two years' *jogiyuhak* in Australia. The narratives of two other returnees, Joshua and Jennifer, reveal parallel pictures to the research findings above. Joshua, who returned to Korea after one year *jogiyuhak* in Australia, recalled that in Korea he distanced himself from his classmates, and considered the private English language classes that he continued to attend in his high school years to be his reference group. Jennifer reported that she was not eligible to join the Year 10 class back in Korea after one year *jogiyuhak* because she lacked the required number of school days for the Korean education system. Instead, she joined a class of students who were a year younger. In Korean society hierarchy is largely defined by age. Age counts for much in interactions and relationships and even a one-year difference seems to be crucial in peer relationships in school years. Jennifer recalled that she was bullied by some peer students and could not mingle with classmates. Joshua and Jennifer commonly reported that they came back to Australia to proceed to university because they did not attain a good result in the University entrance examination in Korea.

Overall, all the returnees reported that they experienced difficulty in adapting to the Korean education system and even one year's absence from Korean education seems to have made a remarkable difference. The returnees tended to choose study abroad again for higher education. Jane reported that her cousin who stayed with her for her first year in Australia and went back to Korea wanted to leave Korea again as she found it hard to

adapt to Korean classrooms. This is rather surprising according to Jane, since her cousin did not like her Australian school and was eager to return to Korea. In the end, her cousin left for America accompanying her father on his overseas work assignment. This is what tends to happen to long-term *jogiyuhaksaeng*. Janice came back to Australia to study for a master's degree because according to her she was unable to study in Korean. Harry also came back to Australia for study when his attempt to join the Korean education system was unsuccessful.

For young children, the difficulties relate more to language issues as can be seen in Patrick's case, but in general there are also differences in behavioural norms, classroom rules and culture that were issues in their readaptation. The high level of competition in Korean schools leading to heavy study loads adds further difficulty. Many long-term *jogiyuhaksaeng* including Hall and Peter expressed their wish to settle in Australia on the grounds that they believed they would not be able to easily fit into Korean society. This perception is discussed in Chapter 7 in relation to the *jogiyuhaksaeng*'s sense of inbetweenness.

## **Summary**

In their research on immigrant students' academic and linguistic adaptation in Israeli contexts, Levin and Shohamy note that immigrants' adaptation to new societies and distinct sociocultural contexts "involves experiences of new and different learning opportunities requiring ample adaptation and accommodation" (2008, p. 1). The participants' *jogiyuhak* confirms this point. In understanding the adaptation and

settlement experiences of the participants in Australia, the common, crucial factor was the language barrier of English. Where in some cases there was little difficulty in academic adjustment it seems to be because they did not experience a heavy learning burden in their subjects. In order to deal with their language barrier and survive in a new school context, the participants adopted academic strategies including repeating a school year, selecting less language-dependent subjects such as Mathematics and Sciences and having private tutoring lessons from Korean tutors.

Yet, they were restricted to the selection of these subjects as other Humanities subjects were beyond their capability, as they required a high level of literacy. This had long-term consequences on the participants' life trajectories. For those who had an aptitude for Mathematics and Sciences, it did not make a great deal of difference but for those who would have preferred to explore and pursue Humanities and Social Science subjects, the language barrier affected the trajectory of their academic development greatly or in a very dramatic direction and ultimately, they tended to end up in an area that would not otherwise have interested them. As Harry reflected, his attempt to find a satisfying career went through repeated trial and error.

Moreover, those who could not afford to have private lessons for financial reasons had to deal with their difficulty on their own. Conclusively, study abroad seems to be more favourable to those having an aptitude for and an interest in such areas. While IT and Business fields were popular for more job opportunities in general, this learning condition may also account partly for the concentration of participants who engaged in IT and Business fields, just as Jane's subject preference shifted from English to Economics and later went on to study Business and Harry enrolled in Engineering and

IT. The harsh adaptation period also led some participants to lose their interest in study. For example Peter was transformed from a high achiever into one with little interest in academic performance. Heidi not only lost her drive to be a studious and high achieving student and became completely negligent in her schoolwork. In the end she was unable to advance to higher education.

There are additional difficult experiences related to social adaptation in terms of finding companions and friendships and belonging to peer groups. These can affect linguistic and academic development, as Janice's narratives demonstrate. She was unable to speak English because she was stigmatised as having unintelligible and poor English by her teacher and classmates. In other words, a supportive environment can contribute to a migrant student's smooth adaptation. Jennifer, who spent one year in Year 9 in an Australian high school and returned to Korea, explained that her *jogiyuhak* in Australia was rosy as she was welcomed by her homeroom teacher and classmates. Her teacher encouraged her to participate in classroom activities by giving her positive feedback on her work and her classmates were attentive and warm. Jennifer recalled that her academic performance was also good at the time.

However, a welcoming and supportive school climate alone cannot ensure a productive academic development. Motivated by her positive memory of her *jogiyuhak* in Australia Jennifer re-entered Australia immediately after graduating from high school in Korea. She reported that this time her study abroad in Australia turned out to be extremely hard. Evidently, her English development was disrupted during the years of her returnee's life in Korea. But also, similar to Jane who reported difficulty with English in late high school years, the potential literacy problems in English might have been latent during



her one-year *jogiyuhak* period. Jennifer's narrative further suggests that she did not have a firm foundation in English. She reported that her English test results were very good for the first year after she returned to a Korean high school. She added that she picked right answers by intuition but did not know why these were the correct answers. Her narrative further suggests the importance of an explicit knowledge of a language as she recalled that her performance level dropped over time. It seems that in either Australian or Korean context, a sufficient language level was necessary for the participants' adaptation.

It seems that once students are distracted from their study track, it is difficult to return to the Korean education system. Those who returned to Korea even after a relatively short-term period of *jogiyuhak* experienced difficulty in readjusting to the Korean education system and academic curriculum, both linguistically, and psychosocially. Their perspectives changed remarkably as they adopted or adapted to the behavioural norms and practices in Australian school contexts. Furthermore, the curriculum in Korean education system is tight and demanding, so that it is hard for returnees to catch up. The returnee participants reported that they were dissatisfied, even if they were not unsuccessful, with their readaptation in Korea. Overall, study in a language other than their first language is not easy for young children and adolescents, and in addition, there are various factors that may influence their study abroad.

## **CHAPTER 6**

### **BILINGUALITY AND BILINGUAL DEVELOPMENT**

This chapter explores the participants' perceived bilinguality and traces the language development trajectories of the participants who had spent at least five to seven years or longer in their *jogiyuhak* at the time of their participation in this research. The narratives reveal the complex bilinguality that varied between individuals. As addressed in Chapter 4, this research adopted the concept of bilinguality as multi-competence, yet the framework from which to view aspects of language proficiency was largely based on the distinction between communicative fluency and academic language proficiency/literacy. This distinction does not seem to account for the individuals' bilinguality sufficiently that was found to be complex and even on occasions to be conflictual.

Varying aspects of individuals' bilinguality led me to identify more diverse domains in which language proficiency cannot be identified as communicative fluency and academic language proficiency while acknowledging that language proficiency itself is multiple. Also, in an attempt to understand this, it was noted that the conflict even in an individual's self-evaluation of their language proficiency lay in its discursive construction in their lived experiences. Accordingly, in order to understand the individuals' complex and varying bilinguality, various aspects in their life were explored including their language environment inside and outside school, the home context, language use, their socialising patterns and any extra-curricular activities pertaining to language along with a range of other activities possibly related to their bilinguality. This included their educational level and years of education in Korea and

Australia.

This chapter addresses those complex bilingualities and the factors that seemed to be crucial to their construction. To this end, the participants were categorised into three broad age groups firstly, for convenience in organising the chapter and also because age appears to yield some common patterns in terms of their learning situation and level of education. Age itself, however, was not the determinant or influential factor involved. In fact, these patterns seemed to occur on a gradually changing continuum. The three groups are respectively early primary school age (Year 2), late primary school to junior adolescence (Year 6 to 9) and late high school arrivals (post Year 9). Peggy is the only participant belonging to the early primary school age group and Hall, Harry, Helen and John are all post-Year 9 arrivals. The second age group includes Peter, Janice, Jack, and Julie. Those who spent less than five years in their early study abroad in Australia are not included in this chapter. The discussion starts with Peggy's bilinguality and moves on to explore the late arrivals' bilinguality. This is due to the fact that the participants in the third group revealed far more complex bilinguality than the other participants.

### **Peggy: an early primary school arrival**

#### ***Profile***

Peggy was eight years old when she left Korea. Upon her arrival in Australia she was enrolled in Year 2 in a primary school. She lived with her mother and her younger brother while her father remained in Korea. I had a pre-existing relationship with her having known her since she was a primary school student, which enabled me to gain

access to detailed narratives about her lived experiences. She was currently enrolled in a university course. Almost all her schooling consisted of education in English in Australian schools.

### **Self-evaluated bilinguality**

Peggy, a Year 2 arrival and university student at the time, identified her English indirectly by drawing on her local Australian friend's remark, 'You're the most Australian girl from your English and the way you behave.' She was the only participant who spoke exclusively English during the interviews, adding, as a reason, "It's (English) comfortable." In fact, throughout the years that I had known her, she had talked to me in English apart from a few words or simple everyday language in Korean. On the other hand, Peggy reported great difficulty in writing the academic essays that were required for the subjects in her university course. More precisely, she did not seem to know how to learn and study skills in essay writing. She admitted that she attempted to write an essay without even reading a course book.

She also revealed that she was unfamiliar with speaking formally in a social situation such as conducting an interview. She told me that she had to conduct an interview with a museum curator as part of a task for her course subject but she had difficulty in writing interview questions. At the time I assumed that this meant that she was not sure what type of questions would be appropriate for her task. However, when I gave her some example questions and she wrote them down word for word asking me repeatedly, this suggests that her problem was more than a type of information she would need, but

a type of language register used in such a context. She then explained that she did not know how to speak.

As for the level of her Korean she considered herself a fluent speaker of Korean. However, after the interview she gave a rather different description from this initial declaration. It was when I was wrapping up the interview that Peggy suddenly commented that the people in her office (run by Koreans) in which she was working part-time did not know that she could speak Korean. As she appeared to be itching to tell me, I encouraged her to continue her story. She stated it was because she had never spoken Korean in front of them and because she was employed for her English skills with her duties consisting of taking phone-calls and searching for information on the Internet. As evidence she mentioned a recent incident in which she went to a Korean restaurant with her boss; in the restaurant he spoke English when asking her what menu she would like and turned to a Korean waitress to order it for her in Korean. When I asked why she did not reveal herself as a Korean speaker, Peggy answered that she wanted to look professional: *“Because when I speak in Korean, it’s like a child-talk”* (Peggy’s narrative)

Peggy gave a further detailed description of her Korean when I visited her home. She informed me that she could read out loud in Korean with a little foreigner-like accent, but she did not understand the meaning of a text such as a short news report in a Korean community magazine. She could read and understand Korean comic books. She could also understand the flow of a Korean entertainment program with the support of the

subtitles<sup>22</sup>, although she did not know why the conversation was funny or why people in the programs were laughing. She continued to reveal that she had difficulty communicating with Korean speakers: *“I don’t know how to talk to Koreans. I mean, I don’t know how to start a conversation in Korean”* (Peggy’s narrative). This suggests that Peggy lacked basic communicative or interpersonal skills in Korean. This must include a lack of language repertoire as she reported an inability to understand her cousins in Korea when she had visited Korea a few months before.

Overall, Peggy’s Korean was limited to family interaction in a home context and some popular culture. Outside the home context she revealed a significant lack in her ability to understand and converse in Korean. English was her dominant language in all aspects of her life, yet she did not seem to be confident in her English in a formal register.

## **Tracing features of Peggy’s language development trajectory**

### ***Peggy’s Korean***

Peggy’s seemingly inconsistent descriptions of her Korean level lie in the relative nature of language levels across contexts. Examining these contexts led me to consider her engagement with Korean in all aspects of her life history. Her narrative shows that her perception of herself as a fluent Korean speaker was constructed within her family’s language situation, in which she claimed to be a language broker, compared with her younger brother. According to her, her younger brother’s Korean was very limited to the extent that he sounded very rude in Korean because he did not use polite language

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<sup>22</sup> In Korean entertainment programs, the program producer’s and panelists’ comments are often subtitled for TV viewers. When panelists’ comments are subtitled, it is for audibility. The program producers who do not appear on the programs add their comment as subtitles to add fun.

and simply could not understand Korean, whereas her father could not understand English. As a result they misunderstood each other and quarrelled a lot. She claimed that in such situations, she mediated between them because she understood both her father and her brother. Thus, in the home context, her Korean was valorised in comparison with her brother.

In her workplace context, however, Peggy thought of her Korean as child-like. This led us to think about the type of formal register used in such a professional world. Her description of her Korean as child-like talk reminiscent of her age of arrival and her level of Korean at the time is worth noting. The descriptions of her reading skills, her reading out loud, her potentially foreigner-like accent and lack of comprehension further drew attention to the level of education she had completed in Korea at the time of her departure. She learned the Korean alphabet with very basic literacy skills during the first one and a half years in her Korean primary school classroom. During her first year in Australia she attended a Saturday Korean language class, which may have helped her maintain her basic reading skills. This is probably how she was able to begin to read Korean comic books in her high school years. Apart from this, she did not have any other contexts including education in which she learned formal language and literacy in Korean.

She revealed that throughout her residence in Australia she had no Korean friends or relatives and her mother was the only Korean speaker around her. She spoke English with her younger brother. With occasional Korean visitors such as her mother's friends, she did not engage in conversation but merely exchanged greetings. Further, her mother was busy working as the breadwinner since her father's business had failed. Her father

had only recently come to Australia to join his family. In addition to this language environment, according to Peggy, her mother's intention was for her to have little contact with Korean in order to improve her acquisition of English. It was only during her high school years that Peggy began to watch Korean TV programs as her mother borrowed videorecorded Korean TV programs from a local Korean video rental shop. She recalled that this helped her improve her Korean.

Considering such a history of Korean language development, her reported incomprehension of news reports in a Korean community magazine is understandable. It seemed that the literacy skills she learned through schooling were maintained<sup>23</sup> through reading comic books, but this type of book tends to contain spoken everyday language. There was no other opportunity to expand her Korean, particularly formal language. In other words, Peggy simply had not learned the vocabulary used in formal language contexts. Her brother must have had even fewer learning opportunities in this regard.

Lastly, examining the environment in which Peggy used language helps to clarify other aspects of her Korean. Overall, she had little opportunity to interact face-to-face with Korean peers and except for her parents, her main contact with Korean was exposure to Korean pop culture through TV programs and comic books. These aspects of her language environment and history seem to account for her difficulty in interacting with

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<sup>23</sup> Recently, I had a chance to assess three Korean children in one family. The eldest son who was almost the same age on arrival as Peggy demonstrated that he was unable to read Korean. He declared that he remembered a little of the Korean alphabet but expressed great difficulty in reading even one syllable that consisted of only two to three letters. The difference from Peggy's reading in Korean can also be accounted for by his lack of involvement in Korean; he revealed that he did not have any opportunity to read in Korean in his life in Australia.



recently arrived Korean peers. What she perceived she was capable of doing was what she had been doing for a substantial amount of her life.

### ***Peggy's English***

As explored in Chapter 4, Peggy had almost zero level of English on her arrival and had to learn from the alphabet. This combined with insufficient assistance in her linguistic and academic adjustment seems to have characterised her English learning journey. Despite her simultaneous involvement in learning spoken and written English due to her immediate commencement of primary education on her arrival, she described her English acquisition by saying, *"I learned to speak and then learned to read"* (Peggy's narrative). Here, 'learn to speak' means learning through verbal interaction.

In this type of language learning, she acknowledged, listening and observing were critical: *"Looking words, looking at people, like constantly looking at people, staring at people. That's why I was getting in trouble, but my mom saying, 'Stop staring. That's rude.' But that's how I learn"* (Peggy's narrative). She picked up a new language by observing people's motions and listening to concurrent speech in a specific context and situation: *"There are certain things you do as well as say, like, 'Can I have chicken please?', give money and you say it. It's exact same psychology, I assume, learn English. You do it as well as you say it. When the teacher said, 'Everyone, be quiet, please.' I didn't know what that means. Every kid, 'Shshshshsh, be quiet.' Oh, that's what it means!"* (Peggy's narrative). Her close observation and full attention enabled her to catch a word of unfamiliar sounds while non-verbal cues and motions accompanying the words in a specific context were also crucial to understanding the meaning.

Peggy gave another account about learning language through peer interaction: “... *say, ‘exactly’. They taught me, but by accident. They were using it for themselves. But I’d like, ‘Oh, that’s a good word.’ And I would be looking for ‘exactly’ only how they use it. But I would be only listening and I wouldn’t be talk. Watch ... Kids would be fighting, ‘Exactly! That’s what I said, you know. I said that, exactly what I said. And you just copied that.’ and blablabla. I’d be like, ‘Oh, that’s how you use it’* (Peggy’s narrative).

The last step was rehearsing the new word by herself and waiting for a moment to test it. The whole process of learning a new word ended by confirming her mastery when she used the word in a real life setting and the response signalled the appropriate use in an interactive situation.

The detailed learning process above seems to be similar to first language development in early childhood, characterised as learning vocabulary through interactions with more skilled language users in natural situations (Beals & Tabors 1995), followed by establishing and testing this hypothesis in further interactions with revision and confirmation through feedback (Bukatko & Daehler 2012). The type of language learned during this period is context-embedded or “highly contextualised ‘everyday’ uses of language (and/or thought)”, as opposed to “uses that are relatively less contextualised and more abstract” (Cummins 2000, p. 65).

According to Peggy’s narrative, she had no other way to learn English except for the way children learn a language in the early stage of language development because she did not have a foundation in English. In her lone struggle with an incomprehensible language her learning of English was mainly through interaction without a smooth development of literacy: “*I learned a spoken language and then a written language.*

*Because that's how it works with me. I can't learn through book, because I don't know what it have to start from. How do you start when you don't even know?"* (Peggy's narrative). Evidently, as long as she was unable to understand the language, her academic development would be interrupted, which might have an impact on her acquisition of associated language.

Peggy recalled that she had rarely completed her writing assignments in her high school years, simply because she was unable to. This may have been a matter of her not being very academically talented. Indeed, Peggy mentioned that she was not academically a high achiever in Korea. If this was the case, she had a significant double burden in her adaptation, linguistically and academically. Her language development was still related to her level of academic achievement. Whether or not simultaneous involvement in literacy contributed to Peggy's English acquisition, it is certain that her literacy development was not smooth as she was left behind to struggle on her own in a new learning context.

Accordingly, Peggy's academic achievement was low and her low HSC grade did not allow her to gain an entry into a university. Instead, she went to a TAFE (Technical and Further Education) that provides vocational education and training and after completion of her TAFE course, she was able to transfer to a university. This development of an academic trajectory seems to account for her present difficulty in academic performance in her tertiary education.

Another point to note in Peggy's narratives is her active engagement in acquiring English. According to her retrospective account, she deployed her own strategy for

language learning and made a conscious effort to improve. This is contrary to the folk belief that a young child learns a second language naturally and effortlessly within the target language environment (Singleton 2004). Peggy argued strongly against such an assumption likening her English learning to a baby's learning to walk: *"You don't walk magically like this [snapping her fingers]. They look at people walking around. All they do is looking around. They can't walk. It's like, 'Oh, that's how you walk. I want to do the same.' That's why they start walking"* (Peggy's narrative)

Interestingly, the same analogy is used elsewhere to signify the spontaneous and effortless process of young children's language acquisition as follows: "In early childhood, becoming bilingual is often an unconscious event, as natural as learning to walk or to ride a bicycle" (Baker 2001, p. 96). A baby's learning to walk is viewed as axiomatically natural as no single baby seems to fail to walk unless there is a congenital problem. Peggy suggested that such a view is an adult's perspective. In fact we do not appreciate children's hard work perhaps because we as adults do not remember those moments. For us, when it comes to a baby or a very young child, everything is acquired naturally. Peggy was opposed to this idea of natural acquisition: *"It's a stupid idea you learn like this (snapping her finger), it's ridiculous... I was magically done... [Adults say to me], 'Oh, it's easy. You know it's different with me because I am adult. I am learning [opposed to meaning natural acquisition] another language.'... How is it different from you and me? We're learning exactly same but different way!"* (Peggy's narrative)

To sum up, Peggy's language learning seems to have had long-term consequences. Her route to English acquisition was similar to a child's first language development. In

addition, the status and meaning of English was close to a native language for her in terms of naturalness and feeling of comfort. Her fluency and accent, recognised as Australian, seems to be due to such a way of language learning, rather than simply being an age factor. This, however, does not seem to have ensured a high level of academic success and the acquisition of a formal language register.

### **Hall, Harry, Helen and John:**

#### **post-Year 9 arrivals**

##### ***Profile***

Hall, currently a university student, left Korea in mid-Year 9 and joined a predominantly white private high school from Year 10. At first he lived with a Korean home-stay family. His mother and his younger sister joined him in Year 11.

Harry came to Australia alone at the end of Year 9 in Korea and commenced education in Australia from Year 10. According to Harry, his school seemed to have students from various cultural backgrounds. He had been working in the IT industry after completion of an IT university course. Currently he was unemployed awaiting the commencement of a TAFE course in order to start a new career.

Helen left Korea after the end of Year 11. After spending ten months in a language school, she started from the last term of Year 9 repeating Year 10 and Year 11. According to her, this was to enable her to adjust linguistically, as the purpose of her study abroad was not an overseas degree but solely English acquisition. She explained

that her father argued that as long as she could speak English, she would be able to get a job even without a university degree. For this reason, she was enrolled in a predominantly white boarding school located in a remote area where there was no Korean population. Currently, she was working in a Sydney based company doing business in Asian countries including Korea.

Lastly, John, currently employed in a local Australian company, came to Australia after the end of Year 9, age 14. In order to ease his adjustment, he enrolled in Year 9. He reported few problems with his school life and academic performance.

## **Self-evaluated bilinguality**

### ***Hall's, Harry's and Helen's Korean***

As opposed to Peggy, for post-Year 9 arrivals, Korean was their dominant language across various general domains. It was also a language that they felt comfortable in while they spoke of English in terms of difficulty and a lack of skills. Particularly, Hall and Harry displayed a firm confidence in their Korean levels, comparing themselves with their Korean domestic counterparts. In detail, individual participants revealed slightly different degrees and characteristics in their Korean levels. Harry, a Year 10 arrival, presented his evaluation of his Korean in relation to literacy skills: “나는 한국사람보다 나아요. 지금은 맞춤법에 신경 쓰고 있어요. (한국웹사이트에서) 누가 맞춤법 틀리면 지적질하고 있고. # *I'm better than [domestic] Koreans. These days I am paying attention to the rules of spelling and pointing out spelling mistakes in their writing [on the Korean website]*” (Harry's narrative). Similarly, Hall expressed his

confidence in his Korean: “인터넷에서 기사 읽고 하는데 아무 문제 없어요. 말하는 건 지금 한국 가도 안 질 거 같은데. # *I don't have any problem with reading the news on the Internet. For speaking, I think I can compete with (domestic) Koreans.*” (Hall's narrative)

It seems that both of them considered literacy skills to be equivalent to a high level of language and particularly, for Harry, the fact that he could point out domestic Koreans' grammar and spelling mistakes was an index of his high level of Korean. Interestingly, however, in a joint interview with Peter, Hall preferred to read an English version of the research information letter and the consent form for participation (see, Appendix B and C) and then to speak in Korean: “읽는 거는 영어, 대답은 한국어. # *I'd like to read in English, and to answer in Korean*” (Harry's narrative). The exchanges between Peter and Hall were as follows:

BJ (Bong Jeong): 한국어판으로 읽을래, 영어판으로 읽을래? # *In which version do you want to read, English or Korean?*

Hall: 읽는 거는 영어, 대답은 한국어 (웃음). # *English for reading, Korean for answering (laughter).*

BJ: 읽는 거는 영어, 대답은 한국어? # *English for reading, Korean for answering?*

Peter: Typical 하다! # *It's typical!*

Hall: [피터를 보며 동의를 구하듯] 그렇게 살아왔잖아, 우리가. 읽는 건 한국어 꼭 잡해. (연구자를 향해) 인터넷용어 아니면 못 읽겠어요. # [looking at Peter as though demanding agreement] *We've lived like that, haven't we? Reading in Korean is*

*complicated. (turning toward the researcher) I can't really read unless it is the Internet language.*

Peter: 응, 진짜 그렇게 살아왔다. # *Yes, indeed, we've lived like that.*

Initially, Hall's comment, 'Korean is complicated in reading' seems to conflict with his explicit confidence in his Korean. Looking closely, however, Hall expressed his confidence in speaking and literacy on the Internet. Hall's description above reminds us that the levels of written texts vary depending on genres, subjects and the contexts, engaging varying levels of formality, a varying range of vocabulary and specialities from everyday language to highly formal language and technical terminologies. His account also reminds us of the areas of literacy in Korean that were available to him in the English environment. Thus, Hall was confident reading the news reports on the Internet, and comparatively less formal and specialised texts e.g. texts without legal and political terms. He remarked that he lacked such vocabulary which he would have learned if he had studied in Korea. Overall, Hall was felt confident in Korean in verbal peer interactions and Internet literacy. He also reported difficulty in formal writing in Korean and poor handwriting.

In contrast to Hall and Harry who seemed to be confident at least in social interactions in Korean, Helen revealed less confidence in Korean, although she moved to Australia at a later age. She seemed fluent in Korean, yet she revealed her reluctance to talk particularly to Korean seniors as she lacked honorific vocabulary. It was not clear whether this was merely a lack of vocabulary, inappropriate use of Korean or behavioural norms in relation to language use. She perceived that she also experienced



trouble or difficulty in interactions and mingling with Korean speakers due to her inappropriate use of Korean, for she added, as a result, “나 왕따예요. # *I'm bullied* [meaning that she was not welcomed by Korean peers and had no friends].” (Helen’s narrative)

### ***Hall’s, Harry’s and Helen’s English***

With respect to English level, the participants in this group commonly expressed a lack of confidence, particularly in social interactions. Despite seven years’ education in Australia, Hall reported that reading in English took more time than in Korean. Hall declared his difficulty in English by defining the meaning of English in contrast with Korean: “영어는 살기 위한 수단인 거 같아요. 한국어는 그냥 진짜 언어죠. 정말 편하게 제 자신을 표현할 수 있고 한국말로 친구들과하고 얘기하고 있으면 되게 편하고. *Mother language* 인 거죠, 한국어말이. # *English seems to be the means of survival (in Australia). Korean is a real language* [this seems to mean close to a mother tongue as he further explains here]. *I can express myself really comfortably and when talking to my friends in Korean, I feel really comfortable. Korean is my mother language.*” (Hall’s narrative)

He elaborated on the perception of his English as a means of survival and presented a reason: “아무래도 전 툭툭 끊기거든요. *Lecturer* 랑도 그렇고 *tutor* 랑도 그렇고 이번에 집 구할 때도 그렇고. 내가 *native* 처럼 유창하게 한다고 못 느끼는 거죠. 영어로는 정보 전달밖에 못해요. 그게 아쉬워요. 한국말로로는 강조구문 넣고 추임새 넣고 그러는데 영어로는 그게 안 되니까.... 영어로 말할 때 말수가 줄어요. # *Because my words don’t flow well, frequently cut off. It happens with lecturers, tutors,*

*and also when I looked for new accommodation recently. I don't feel I am as fluent as a native speaker. In English I can only deliver my message. I regret that. In Korean I put emphatic phrases, respond quickly or something like that, but I can't do so in English ... When I speak English, I talk less.” (Hall's narrative)*

Helen, a post-Year 11 arrival and currently working in a transnational company in Australia, informed me that she was unable to understand conversation in English that occurred among her colleagues in her workplace and in a hospital. For that reason, she commented: “*영어는 머리 아파요. # English gives me a headache.*” (Helen's narrative). Despite her lack of English, she was able to manage her work performance, she explained, because her position involved all paperwork requiring little interpersonal language skills. Helen further revealed that she even avoided contact with her high school friends. According to her, her high school friends contacted her through Facebook, but she did not respond because of her lack of English. She added that one of those friends commented that her English had deteriorated compared to her high school years.

Although both Hall and Harry expressed relative difficulty in their social interaction in English, it seems that they had less or fewer problems in academic performance in the university context. Harry completed an undergraduate IT course and Hall, currently an undergraduate, stated that he had little problem in his course. On the other hand, Helen had obtained a master's degree but she recalled that she had a great deal of difficulty in completing her course. Accordingly, in doing her assignments she copied and pasted texts from the Internet or later her boyfriend wrote her assignments for her.

Parallel to the findings above, Harry provided a conclusive comment on the overall English skills of Korean students who arrived at his age, which was also reiterated by many participants: “여기 유학생들 제 나이 또래 [10 학년초]에 온 애들은... 의사소통이 안 되거든요. 특별히 개인적인 노력을 하는 경우를 제외하곤. 여자애들이 조금 낫고, 남자들 같은 경우는 특히 예외 없이 말하기, 읽기 다 안 돼요. 말하기는 실생활에서 필요한 건 돼도 예를 들어 정말 애들이랑 아무 문제 없이 얘기한다든가 그런 거 거의 안 되고, 읽기 쓰기, 쓰기는 그렇다 치고, 읽기 같은 것도 진짜 안돼요. 그리고 예를 들어 좀 어려운 단어가 나온다, 좀 고급단어, 고급어휘라든가 좀 복잡하고 전문적인 단어 나오면 진짜 모를 거예요. 그런데 그게 레벨이 맞는 한국단어를 아냐, 하면 그것도 아니고. # *Those who came here at my age [the beginning of Year 10 age] can't really communicate well (in English), except especially when they make extra personal efforts. Girls are a bit better but without exception boys are not good at speaking and reading. Speaking is ok to get by in practical life but for example, they can't really talk with them [presumably Australian born counterparts] without any problem, almost impossible. Reading and writing, forget about writing, they can't even do reading well. For example, if they see some difficult words, advanced vocabulary, complex words and terminology, I suppose they will not understand them. Then would they know equivalent Korean vocabulary? That's not the case.*” (Harry's narrative)

While Hall referred to his communicative skills in English as his lack of English, the types of vocabulary that Harry pointed to are those learned mostly through education, related to literacy and academic development. Harry's account reminds us that the use of such vocabulary is not limited to an academic context but is present in everyday

conversation. The lack of speaking Harry mentioned thus cannot be simply referred to as communicative skills. Rather it can vary depending on social domains and situations. According to Harry, the problem can be a lack of vocabulary in both languages.

### ***John's bilinguality***

Lastly, John declared that he had little problem with performing in two languages but he also added that his languages were not as good as a native speaker of either language. His bilinguality could be considered as being bilingual with equally high levels in two languages in the Korean community given that he led a small group of Korean youth for Bible study in Korean and also his current employment status, working in the local IT industry for about eight years in Australia. John was aware of this view commenting that his relatives considered Year 9 to 10, his age of arrival, as an optimal time for early study abroad, which must have been inferred from John's *jogiyuhak*.

However, in response to the question about his perception of being bilingual, he expressed a sense of confusion: “헷갈리죠, 그냥. 뭐, 좋은 건 없는 거 같아요. 다른 사람들은 두 가지 언어를 하니깐 머리가 좋아질 수 있고 이렇게 얘기하는 데 전 그것도 못 느끼겠어요. # *It's just confusing. There seems no advantage. People say you can be smarter if you are bilingual, but I don't even feel so.*” (John's narrative) It seems that he was not as comfortable in using two languages as he was thought to be. He continued to refer to his bilinguality as “어중간 # *half way done* [meaning not fully developed]”, and defined the expression ‘half way done’ as “한국말도 한국에서 온 사람같이 잘하지 못하고 영어도 여기서 태어난 사람같이 잘하지도 못하는 그런 거. # *That is, my Korean is not as good as Koreans who came from Korea, nor is my*

*English as good as those who were born here.*” (John’s narrative). Evidently, John evaluated his each language compared with a native speaker of either language, which suggests that his perceived bilinguality is based on the native speakerism. This entrenched language ideology is discussed in Chapter 7.

It should be noted that this explicitly manifested perception, ‘neither language is fully developed’ does not mean a lower level of bilinguality than other participants who did not reveal such perception. In fact, those who were successful in academic performance and later career paths tended to be more explicit about their perceived lack of languages. John further added that he had little problem with either language but felt his lack in two languages in terms of not fulfilling the emotive functions of language. His detailed explanation provided deep understanding, as shown below.

## **Tracing the perceived factors in forming bilinguality**

### ***Korean***

Harry’s and Hall’s confidence or feeling of comfort in Korean cannot be separated from the years that these participants spent growing up and being educated in Korea prior to *jogiyuhak*. They must have acquired a certain level of literacy in Korean in addition to conversational fluency, although this does not necessarily ensure there will be no first language attrition during a lengthy *jogiyuhak* period. Both Harry’s and Hall’s narratives reveal that they were continuously exposed to Korean through reading books, surfing the Internet, and interactions with Korean peer youth. Hall’s language preference, reading in English but speaking in Korean, seems to be related respectively to his

schooling for the past years in Australia and the years he spent in Korea before study abroad along with continuous use in Australia. Particularly, his areas of confidence in Korean, Internet literacy and peer interaction in Korean, correspond to his typical pattern of language use and Korean-related activities in Australia.

Harry, who claimed a high level of Korean, attributed his level of Korean to his continuous reading in Korean; he used to borrow and read many books from a Korean comic book rental store during his high school years in Australia. His narratives show that he was a constant reader of books and the Internet. To support his opinion, he added: “한국에서 태어나 살았어도 책 안 읽는 사람은 안 읽잖아요. 그런 사람들은 아무리 한국에서 살았어도 여전히 맞춤법도 모르고 독해력도 안 늘고. # *Even though born and living in Korea, there are people who don't read books. Then they don't know how to spell and they are poor at reading comprehension, no matter how long they have lived in Korea.* ” (Harry's narrative)

According to him, a high level of language is a high level of literacy, which is attained through reading, and in this sense not only *jogiyuhaksaeng* but also individual domestic Koreans reach different levels of language. While he explicitly pointed out the role of literacy, his reading of Korean books was not for the purpose of language maintenance, but entirely for pleasure. He commented that he read martial arts novels and other genres of Korean novels and this was the only available entertainment for him in his high school years since he had nothing else to do. Acknowledging the contribution of his pleasure reading, he regretted that he did not read books in English because, “영어로 책을 읽으면 고역이잖아요. 힘들고, 공부를 해가며 읽어야 하는 거고. #

*Reading books in English is a backbreaker. It's hard and you have to study while reading.*" (Harry's narrative). The internet seems to be another platform for involving Korean, as Harry pointed out, "한 시간만 인터넷 앞에 있어도 읽는 글의 수가 엄청나니까. # *Surfing the Internet for just one hour, you read an enormous amount of writing.*" (Harry's narrative).

In contrast, Helen's narratives show that she was completely cut off from Korean at least for three years while living in a predominantly white boarding school with no Korean students. Although it is not certain whether this complete isolation from Korean for three years was the cause of her perceived lack of Korean, Helen remarked that she did not have Korean friends because of her Korean. If this is the case, it means that complete isolation in late adolescence can have substantial consequences.

### ***English***

While Harry attributed his high level of Korean to constant reading in Korean and in the same vein expressed regret for not reading books in English, he believed that *jogiyuhaksaeng's* lack of English was due to a lack of socialising with local Australians. He believed learning English should be through interactions with local Australians, although this seemed to be hard: "일부러 의식적으로 한국애들이랑 얘기 안 섞고 되도록이면 호주애들이랑 친하게 지내려고 하는 애들 있거든요. 그걸 딱히 나쁘게 볼 건 없고 어떻게 보면 뭐 영어 배우려고 온 거니까. 근데 결국은 우리한테 껴가지고 고3 되니까 담배 피고, 같이 우리끼리 놀고요, 자연스럽게. 처음엔 호주애들하고 놀다가 결국엔 외로우니까. # *There are some (Korean jogiyuhaksaeng) who are consciously trying to avoid Korean students and make friends*

*with Australians. I understand that because we came here to learn English. But in the end they joined us (groups of Korean students), as they turned Year 12, hanging out with us, smoking and going to Karaoke together, naturally. Because in the beginning they mingled with Australian peers, but they felt lonely in the end.”* (Harry’s narrative)

According to Harry, even a determined endeavour to mingle with local Australians as a strategy for English acquisition was not successful. Most participants presented a similar perception believing that their lack of English was due to little opportunity to mingle with local Australians. Overall, Harry acknowledged the crucial role of literacy in reaching a high level of Korean, whereas he focused mainly on spoken language in English. This perception was in fact reiterated by many participants.

Similarly, Helen’s *jogiyuhak* strategy embodied a belief in language learning through interactions with local Australians. According to Helen, through complete submersion in an English environment she was able to mingle with English speaking local students and speak English for 24 hours. This ‘English for 24 hours’ phrase that Helen used is a common expression used by Koreans, indicating the degree of their belief in English submersion environment without Korean speakers. She reported that she made enormous effort to mingle with local students and it was successful. She maintained that owing to this environment, her English improved considerably although it deteriorated after she moved to Sydney where she did not associate with local Australian peers as she had Korean peer students in her university course. According to Helen’s perception, her three years submersion was not sufficient to attain comparatively sustainable fluency and she believed it necessary to always remain in an English-speaking only environment.



Joining in with groups of local Australians seems to account for their level of fluency but only partially. Here, her lack of literacy development is notable, yet she overlooked the importance of literacy development in her English. Examining her academic development explains this. As addressed above, Helen's practice of cutting and pasting text from the Internet and assistance from her boyfriend during her master's course can in fact be traced back to her high school years. She recalled that in fulfilling her assignment she copied and pasted texts from different reading materials and passed these to her close friend, an Australian born local student, who then edited and polished the writing for her. It is not hard to infer that given this way of completing academic tasks her ability to learn subject content was limited and she was unlikely to achieve high marks; indeed Helen reported that she was an academically low achieving student.

Despite her low level of academic record, Helen was able to advance to a university, which she ascribed to the small number of local Australians who advanced to tertiary education and her status as an international student. She revealed that she continued copying and pasting in her university years and sought assistance from her Korean classmates. This practice lasted throughout her master's course and when the assignments could not be accomplished by copying and pasting, her boyfriend wrote them for her. Her narratives show that the fluency she acquired during the submersion period was not accompanied by sufficient literacy development. Evidently both her academic adjustment and literacy development were impeded.

It seems that her impeded literacy development remained throughout her education and never attained the levels necessary for tertiary education. This means that she attained her fluency with less explicit knowledge of English. This type of language development

may be more susceptible to attrition when there is little contact with the language, because of a lack of foundations in the language. In fact, although she lacked face-to-face peer interactions with English speakers she was continuously involved in the use of English in academic contexts. Moreover, according to her argument in relation to fluency from an English-speaking environment, her fluency should have improved after she started working in her company because almost all her work colleagues were non-Korean English speakers. Yet, she reported difficulty in understanding them.

Learning language through interactions, which provides chance to practice it, is effective in attaining fluency and in this sense complete submersion in an English environment can be helpful. However, the narratives so far show that attaining fluency does not necessarily ensure a sufficient level of literacy in an academic context. Furthermore, fluency alone without explicit knowledge of the language and written language may not be sustainable. Language attrition may be more likely to occur when the acquired fluency is not combined with literacy and explicit understanding of the language. In a similar vein, research studies on second language attrition in Japanese contexts (Hansen 1999) show that language attrition is closely related to the level of literacy in a way that for returnee students the higher their literacy levels, the higher is their rate of language maintenance in both mother tongue and a foreign language. Helen's strong belief in a native English environment with a complete absence of Korean contact notwithstanding the consequence on her overall performance in English seems to lie in the sole consideration of verbal fluency which completely overshadows the place of literacy.

Considering the narratives in relation to the processes of academic development

explored in the Chapter 5, both Hall and Harry did not have sufficient time to catch up to a peer level of English in academic performance. Particularly, the languages used in History, and Geography were so difficult that they strategically selected subjects, Math, Sciences and Japanese which were commonly perceived as manageable and advantageous to their academic records. It should be noted that their university courses were again in less language dependent areas of study. In a similar vein, Hall believed that he made mistakes in writing tasks in his course but his mistakes hardly worked to his disadvantage: “Commerce 니까 문법 같은 거 틀려도 돼요. 내용이 더 중요하거든요. # *Grammar mistakes are OK in Commerce course because contents are more important.*” (Hall’s narrative).

Hall claimed that he reached a stable stage of adaptation with little difficulty in his university course. However, despite his declared lack of difficulty in academic performance, Hall showed concern about his English compared with his Australian peers: “그렇지만 나중에 job 찾을 때 그때 영어가 문제가 될 거 같아요. 호주애들하고 경쟁해야 하나까요. # *But when I look for a job my English will be an issue. Because I will have to compete with Australian counterparts.*” (Hall’s narrative). He seems to have been concerned about aspects of his English proficiency in relation to fluency and the communicative skills needed for social interactions.

### ***John’s bilinguality***

On the other hand, John explained his lack in both languages in relation to the emotive function of language: “그런데 문학적인 표현 있잖아요. 이런 게 사람들 정서에서 되게 중요한 거 같은데, 영어는 특히나 안 되고 한국말은 좀 노력을 해야지 되고.

은유나 비유 같은 거 많이 하잖아요, 영어로도. 아니면 어렸을 때 읽었던 소설에서, 동양권에서 읽지 않은 소설들이 많잖아요. 문화적 차이지 영어문법 자체의 차이는 아니고, 정서적 차이가 있기 때문에. 말 그대로 문학적인 표현. # *You know, literary expressions. I think this kind is really important in (expressing) our emotions. I can't use such expressions in English and in Korean, yes, but only when I make an effort [implying that one will need to make an effort to use them]. You know, metaphor or figure of speech is used a lot in English, too. Or among novels we read in childhood, there are many novels that are not read in Asian countries. It's cultural difference, not in grammatical difference, because of affective difference. Literally literary expression.*" (John's narrative)

Just as written texts have various levels of formality and specialty, expressions used to serve an emotive or expressive function can have various levels of language from simple vocabulary and phrases in everyday life to refined words and literary expressions. Particularly, John seems to be referring to the ability to create literary expressions rather than merely picking up already existing ones. The acquiring of literary expressions and being able to create them involves related literacy activities throughout childhood and adolescence, but this tends to have been absent in the experiences narrated by most participants perhaps due to their long-term struggle with adapting to a new learning environment, and catching up with subject content in an incomprehensible language. Simply speaking, as Harry suggested above, reading novels in English, supposedly voluntary pleasure reading, was not a pleasure, but hard work.

Overall, when John indicated little difficulty in both languages this must refer to his

work performance in English and church activities in Korean. While he expressed his lack in literary and emotive expressions it may not be much different from Peter's revealed lack of vocabulary in that both of them referred to their need to express themselves. Hall's comment that regrettably he could only deliver informational messages in English may be in line with this emotive function of language rather than an instrumental function. This aspect of language proficiency may seem insignificant from an instrumentalist perspective that understands language mainly as a means of communication, or tool for career success. John seems to have reached a stable stage in his life considering he was settled in his career. Nonetheless, John presented the negative consequences of the lack of an affective dimension to language: “외국 나가서 살 사람은, 먹고 사는 것도 둘째예요. 먹고 사는 것도 영어 안 하고도 잘 살 수 있는데, 그게 아니라 말을 못함으로써 스트레스가 있어요. 자기 정서에 안 좋은 거 같아요. # *For those who live overseas, even English for survival is secondary. They can survive or can be well off without speaking English. So, not for that purpose, but they are under stress due to their inability to express themselves. It's no good for one's affect or emotion.*” (John's narrative)

To sum up, literacy was of significance in relation to academic performance, but also in social interactions. However, the participants were all heavily focused on fluency and disregarded the importance of literacy. Harry and John expressed their concern about literacy at some point, yet they also seemed to consider fluency only as the aspect of language proficiency, which they believed could be attained through interactions with local Australians. They ascribed their perceived lack of fluency to not being able to mingle with local Australians. The very prevalent response to resolving this issue was

complete English submersion at a young age. The language ideologies that led to *jogiyuhak* seemed to be reinforced through their *jogiyuhak* experiences.

### **Peter, Janice, Julie and Jack:**

#### **Late-primary school and junior high school aged**

##### ***Profile***

Janice, a thirteen year old Year 8 arrival, returned to Korea after completion of her university course. As a result of seeking employment, she had to leave Korea again to work in a Hong Kong based company. After two years she returned to Korea and began to teach English in a middle school in a position of ‘*woneomin gyosa* (a native English speaking teacher)<sup>24</sup>’ defined as those who had completed at least their secondary and tertiary education in English speaking countries. She spent three years in teaching and came back to Australia for further study. At the time of her participation in the current study, she was enrolled in a master’s degree course.

Jack, a 14 year old (Year 9) arrival, stayed with his elder sister who arrived three years before he joined her. Having completed his university course and a few months internship in Korea, he found employment in Australia and gained residency. He was currently employed in a local company in Australia.

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<sup>24</sup> Native speaker teachers used to be non-Koreans from English speaking countries until the end of the 1990s since the beginning of English teaching in 1883. From the early 2000s, in order to meet the ever increasing demand for native speaker teachers, the Ministry of Education turned their attention to second and third generation Korean immigrants living in English speaking countries and employed them.

Peter migrated to Australia immediately after Year 5 with his mother. He was not able to enrol in primary school until the last term due to his visa problem and his term in a primary school did not involve learning subject contents. He was enrolled in a predominantly white private high school with only a few Korean students. He spent ten years altogether in Australia including six years in an Australian high school and three years in university.

Julie came to Australia at age 14 and joined a boarding school in Tasmania with a small Korean population. She came to Sydney for a university course. Having spent eight years in Australia, after completing her university degree, she went back to Korea and enrolled in an English medium master's course offered by a Korean university.

### **Characteristics of Bilinguality**

While the narratives of the preceding two groups tend to demonstrate an overall dominance of each language for each age group, Jack, Janice and Peter showed more complex bilinguality in that the dominant status of each language changed across different language skills and social domains. Also, their preference for a language shifted according to the type of written texts.

#### ***Jack***

At first Janice and Jack commonly reported that in general they were more comfortable with Korean. But shortly Jack presented a different perception in relation to reading skills: “읽는 것도 한국어가 편해요. 그런데 어려운 건 영어로 읽는 게 더 편해요.

어려운 것일수록 한국어 단어가 어려워요. # *Even for reading, Korean is more comfortable than in English. But with difficult reading, English is more comfortable. The harder the level of reading, the more difficult, the Korean vocabulary.*” (Jack’s narrative)

In other words, Korean was easier in reading texts written in everyday language but in areas involving more formal language including academic contexts, Jack felt he was more comfortable in English. As an example of such bilinguality, Jack browsed over two language versions of the research information letter and the consent form and picked up an English version: “딱 봤을 때 빨리 이해하고 싶으면 이게 더 편해요. 한국어는 하나하나 읽어야 해요. # *When I just had a look, if I want to read it fast, this is more comfortable. In Korean I have to read every single word.*” (Jack’s narrative). He continued to explain the reason for this: “하도 영어로 책을 읽고 수업을 듣고 하니까 대강 단어를 skim 할 수 있는데 한국어는 어렸을 때 했기 때문에 더 힘든 거 같아요. 전문 용어를 여기서 배웠기 때문에 영어가 더 편해요. # *As I’ve been reading books and listening to class in English a lot, I can skim words (in English), but I’ve found it harder to do it in Korean because I did the same activities in my childhood [meaning a long time ago]. I feel more comfortable in English because I learned terminology in here (in English).*” (Jack’s narrative)

These accounts above are reminiscent of Hall’s language preference that corresponds to his pattern of language use throughout his life. As Jack added that he found it hard to read Korean texts containing terminology because he had not learned them, his preference for English in difficult reading simply means that he was reading such texts



in English, not Korean, during his *jogiyuhak* period, and familiar with the related vocabulary and expressions. This in turn leads us to consider what type of language and vocabulary Jack may have learned. While he attempted to give details about his complex bilinguality, Jack redefined it: “전 읽는 건 영어가 더 편하고, 듣는 건 한국말이 더 편한 것 같아요. 한국말은 안 들리는 거는 없으니까요. # For reading, I feel more comfortable in English, but for listening, Korean is better. Because I don't miss any single word in Korean (which is not the case with English).” (Jack's narrative). In speaking and listening in English, he reported his perceived difficulty in interacting.

### ***Janice***

Janice's narratives offered a far more detailed description of complex bilinguality, and accordingly shed light on our understanding of language. Similar to Jack, she described that for speaking and listening she felt more comfortable in Korean, but she declared that she was unable to study in Korean. She demonstrated this straightaway. The interview was conducted at my workstation on the university campus and I had Korean books on my bookshelf. She picked up one of these books from the bookshelf, opened the very first page and read aloud a few lines. Then she commented that she did not understand what she had read. This was the reason that she returned to Australia when she decided to do a master's degree.

According to her, she considered herself good at both English and Korean during her residency in Australia, because she did not have a chance to consider her Korean and she was in constant contact with her mother and brother. She came to a different realisation of her Korean when she returned to Korea immediately after completion of

her undergraduate degree. Her cousins who then were writing theses for their master's degrees asked her to translate their Korean abstract into an English version for them. Janice found that she was unable to understand these Korean abstracts: “나한테 그러는 거야, ‘넌 이거 삼십 분이면 하잖아. 좀 해줘.’ 내가, ‘나 이런 단어 몰라’, 이러면 안 믿는 거야. 말하는 거 들어보면 ‘이렇게 한국말을 잘 하는 애가 왜 못해.’ 이렇게 되는 거지. ‘왜 한국말 하는 애가 이 한국말로 된 논문을 못 읽어?’, 이러는 거야. 근데 그게 나는 너무 어려워. 단 한 문장도 이해하질 못해...그런 경험을 하면서, 아, 나는 한국어로는 공부를 못하겠구나, 하고 깨달은 거지요. # *They said to me, ‘You can do it in a half an hour. Please do this for me.’ I said, ‘I don’t understand these words.’ They didn’t believe it. Because listening to me speak Korean, they said, ‘Why can’t you do it? You speak Korean so well. How come you can’t read a thesis written in Korean?’ But it’s too hard. I can’t understand even any single sentence ... Through that experience, I realised, ‘Ah, I can’t study in Korean’.*” (Janice’s narrative)

The comment ‘You speak so well. Why can’t you translate a thesis written in Korean?’ evidently shows that her cousins equated fluency with global language proficiency; the belief that when one speaks fluently, one is then expected to be able to perform in all areas of a language and all social domains. This perception also reveals that Janice’s cousins mistook fluency for knowledge and expertise in a very specific or specialised field. In an academic context presumably only a few of their domestic Korean counterparts would be able to understand such abstracts let alone translate them into English unless they were studying and working in that field. Interestingly Janice thought her Korean was good until she experienced this incident above in Korea.

In Janice's case, the language issue seems to have been added for she clarified that even looking up the unknown terms in a dictionary she could not understand the texts. Her narratives also show that it was not only knowledge, text type, and language in this specific domain in which Janice was lacking. She also lacked general literacy. She gave accounts of her experience in realising her lack of vocabulary in Korean and explained that it was not easy for her to understand the meaning of words such as *진부한* (*trite or conventional*) in Korean even though she looked them up in a dictionary.

There was another incident in which Janice came to reflect on her Korean literacy. After she came back from Hong Kong to live in Korea, she applied for a 'native speaker teacher position' in a middle school, as she met the criteria for the definition of native speaker, a citizen or resident of an English speaking country who holds a bachelor degree. In the application process, she was requested to write her resume and a letter of self-introduction. Resume writing in Korean context is rather simple in terms of its format and style of language, similar to an English resume. A letter of self-introduction, equivalent to a cover letter, has rather a different structure, type of information and writing style; e.g. it starts by introducing an applicant's personal family background, their development, life history and values, etc. In general, writing these two texts is not very demanding for domestic Koreans. Janice reported that she had to ask someone else to write them for her, simply because she could not do it and complained about this request on the grounds that the position title was 'native speaker' and thus she was not supposed to be good at Korean.

She continued that instead she could write them in English. Again, it is not only just the

specific type of text, format and writing style, but also the differential between her Korean and the required language level for writing that was significant. On the other hand, in areas of pop culture such as novels, entertainment or celebrity TV programs, both languages seem to have been comparatively even. She understood such TV shows both in Korean and English, but revealed that she could not understand a current affair or debate show on TV in either language. According to her these would require background knowledge to understand. When reading novels, she encountered unknown words in both languages, but she understood the main flow in both. After she made a point about her lack in literacy, she defined her Korean as “*딱 중학교 수준이에요. # It’s just a junior high school level.*” (Janice’s narrative)

Further, despite her proclaimed comfortable feeling in Korean, she also added that it depended on words, expressions, topics, messages, situations, contexts and interlocutors. While her language use was contingent on social domains, Korean at home and English in her workplace (as a native speaking English teacher in a middle school), with her friends her language use pattern was not uniform. With her best friend, who shared the same age of early study abroad and a similar background, she spoke English only. With most of her friends, whom she identified as Koreans of *jogiyuhak* background, she spoke Korean frequently mixed with English. She chose vocabulary from both languages according to her preference, but she also had to rely on her available language repertoire from each language when the repertoire of one language did not meet her requirements. At one point she acknowledged her lack of vocabulary in both languages but while describing her complex language use she also defined herself: “*전 그냥 bilingual 였어요. # I’m just bilingual.*” (Janice’s narrative).

Her definition seems to suggest that both languages had a similar meaning and status for her, just as Peter granted the same meaning and status to his languages. For other participants, however, either one language or the other had a more dominant status. Also, her definition of herself as bilingual seemed to show her confidence and positive view about her bilinguality, even though she expressed the neither-language-is-fully-developed perception. This seemed to be possible because of her level of English, a hegemonic language in Korea. This is further discussed in Chapter 7.

### ***Julie***

Julie's accounts did not offer a detailed description of her bilinguality, but she demonstrated that her writing in English was not sufficiently competent to write her application letter in English for admission into a university postgraduate school in Korea that offered English-medium postgraduate programs. She wrote a letter of self-introduction in English, and showed it to me. Apart from grammatical mistakes, hardly a single sentence was understandable. She also showed me her writing in Korean as well. In terms of writing, her Korean version seemed to be better than her English. She reported her continuous involvement in Korean in her high school; she was taking Korean as a school subject. Yet, she stated that she could not study in Korean, and she planned to gain entry into an English medium course for her master's degree on her returning to Korea. I listened to her story and wrote her letter of self-introduction for her. Julie asked me again to write an e-mail to her lecturer to make an inquiry about her course completion, revealing her significant lack of literacy in English. After some time, she informed me that she gained permission to enter into the postgraduate school. Julie's narrative suggests that she had become accustomed to academic performance in English, and thus regardless of the level of performance, she preferred English as a

medium for education. An academic language repertoire in Korean must have been unfamiliar to her. In fact, this point echoes Hall's language preference for English in reading despite his confidence in Korean in general.

**Peter**

Peter presented a similar perception of complex bilinguality. As addressed above, Hall defined his Korean as his mother tongue and English as a means of survival in a joint interview with Peter. Having listened to this, Peter promptly revealed his definition of languages: “*전 둘 다 언어고 둘 다 편하진 않아요. # For me, both of them are my languages, and I'm not comfortable in either language.*” (Peter's narrative). Hall initially used the term ‘language’ to refer to a mother tongue as opposed to the meaning of English as a means of survival. For him, language or a mother tongue is the one in which he thinks and feels and thus feels comfortable using. Considering that Peter's comment followed and was prompted by Hall's definition, his use of the term ‘language’ must be similar to the meaning of a mother tongue, and something more than a mere means of communication. For Peter, both languages were close to a mother tongue. Perhaps, this was possible as Peter grew up with English as well as Korean, rather than learning English as a subject.

His feeling of discomfort in using them is notable despite the meaning of mother tongue. Peter attributed this uncomfortable feeling in both languages to his lack of vocabulary or expression in either language: “*마음 속에 하고 싶은 말이 있어요. 근데 이게 한국말로도 영어로도 표현이 안 되는 거예요. 단어가 될 수도 있고 표현이 될 수도 있고. 한 마디로 단어 뜻은 아는데 단어를 모르는 거죠, 양쪽 다, 영어든 한국어든.*”

*# I've got something to say in my mind, but I can't express it in either Korean or English. It could be a word or an expression. In short, I know the meaning, but not the word itself for that meaning, in either language, in either English or Korean.*" (Peter's narrative)

Peter's perceived lack of vocabulary, however, was not noticed or recognised by his friend, Hall, perhaps because of his fluency and accent. Also, if Peter was quiet because he was unable to find a word as he said, it would be hard to tell whether silence in conversation was from indifference to the subject, a lack of language, or lack of understanding of the content rather than a language issue. It could also be interpreted as nothing but his reticent attitude. The excerpt below is the exchange between Hall and Peter prompted by Peter's comments of his uncomfortable feeling, which indicates how Peter's Korean was viewed:

Hall: “*너 한국말 안 편해? 난 너 정도면 한국말 완벽하다고 생각했는데. # Aren't you feeling comfortable in Korean? I thought your Korean's perfect.*”

Peter: “*어, 나 단어가 좀 딸려. # Well, I sort of lack vocabulary.*”

Hall: ... (just looking at Peter).

Peter: “*제이슨도 얘기하다가 그래. 계속 생각을 해. '그거 있잖아, 그거', 이래. # Jason [another jogiyuhaksaeng, one of their common friends] does so while he is talking. He keeps thinking. He says, 'That thing, you know, that thing [referring to vocabulary that he intended to use but could not recall or did not know]!'”*

Peter's comment suggests that a lack of vocabulary in either language is a rather

common experience for at least some *jogiyuhaksaeng*. In particular, a perceived lack of vocabulary in either language is more common to the narratives of the junior high school age arrivals, Janice, Jack and Julie. For Peter the particular language area or domain in which he perceived his lack was, according to him, ‘formal language’: “전 대화하는 거 빼곤 다 불편해요. 그냥 편안하게 친구들과하고 얘기하는 거 빼고. 회화는 어느 정도 편한 데 그걸 또 formal 하게 하려면 힘들고. # *I always feel uncomfortable except when talking to friends in a comfortable situation. Conversation is somehow comfortable, but again to make it formal is hard.*” (Peter’s narrative). Formal language is used in a formal context or domains such as a lecture, a political speech, or a business letter. Peter’s comment reminds us that this type of language can also be used in casual conversation with friends, e.g. when the subject involves discussion of politics.

He further reported that he had great difficulty in writing formally in Korean. Immediately Hall nodded his assent as though it was common to *jogiyuhaksaeng* including him. He also commented on his poor handwriting, although Peter’s ability to write in Korean seemed to be much more limited than Hall’s. When Peter revealed that he had difficulty in writing even a short post on the notice board of the Korean student association website, as an example of formal writing, Hall replied that the type of language for a post was formal, commenting that it was easy to write such a text. In response, Peter turned to Hall, “난 웹사이트 (한인학생회)에 올릴 공문 쓰는데 한 시간씩 걸리잖아. # *I spend an hour to write a formal notice to upload on the (The Korean Students Association) website.*” (Peter’s narrative). Peter’s mother in the following interview confirmed this, recounting that she assisted Peter in his struggle to



write a post. While Peter further expressed his wish to be able to write a letter to his girl friend, regretting his inability, Hall revealed his confidence in writing a letter.

Of interest is Peter's description of his own English level. Given the number of years that he spent in English medium education in Australia, one might assume that he had reached a level of English proficiency equal to his local Australian peers. He reported little difficulty in English in academic performance in his university course, explaining that course books were easy to read, as they did not contain complicated grammar, and the terminology was thoroughly explained. Yet, he also revealed his perceived lack of English: “솔직히 지금도 뉴스 보면 다 못 알아들어요. 대강 이해하는 거죠 뭐. 중간 거 못 알아들어도 앞의 거 뒤의 거 짜맞춰서. # *Honestly, even now I can't understand the TV news completely. Well, I roughly understand them. Even though I don't understand the middle part, I guess the meaning from things before and after.*” (Peter's narrative)

Peter also talked about a similar way of comprehending when he was reading the English version of the research information letter, skipping parts and paragraphs that seemed unnecessary in order to get the gist. Both Hall and Peter commented that this was the way they behaved in their academic performance, suggesting that they shared concerns about their study skills. In the following narrative Peter evaluated his English in terms of grammar and explicit knowledge of English, seemingly because he compared his English with other Korean students: “저는 막상 회화만 조금 하지 영어를 아예 몰라요, 문법 이런 거. 저는 글을 쓸 때 아예 감으로 해요. 쓰면서 읽어보고 아닌 것 같으면 지워버리고. 지금 제 상황이 좋을 수도 있는 게 문법을

몰라도 일단 글을 쓸 수 있는 거잖아요. 근데 다른 사람 글을 보고 틀린 건 알아요. 근데 왜 틀렸는지 설명해 줄 순 없어요. 제가 다시 써야지 고쳐주질 못해요. #*I can do mainly conversation but don't have the knowledge of English, such as (English) grammar. When I write, I rely on my feeling. When writing, if I feel like my writing is not right, I just delete it. It may be a good thing to be like me because I can just write without knowing grammar. But when I see a wrong sentence in someone else's writing I know it's wrong, but I can't explain why it's wrong. I can't correct it. I'd rather write again in my words.*" (Peter's narrative)

Another interesting characteristic of Peter's bilinguality is his listening ability in both languages. Unlike Jack who declared he had no problem in listening in Korean, Peter reported that he experienced difficulty in listening in either language by turns, which can be traced back in his language learning history. This is explored in the next section.

To sum up, Peter, Janice, Jack and Julie revealed more complex bilinguality and in some cases, with problematic characteristics. Peter manifested an uncomfortable feeling in both languages due to his lack of repertoire in formal language, while English seemed to be his dominant language for reading and writing. Janice defined herself as bilingual, speaking bilingually with her friends, although she declared her inability to study in Korean. Jack revealed a complex bilinguality in terms of a shifting preference or dominance between Korean and English in literacy. He was more comfortable in Korean in general including reading but for reading difficult texts he preferred English. Julie perceived that she was unable to study in Korean but she also demonstrated a significant lack of literacy skills in English. Overall, a lack of literacy was commonly

reported along with a perceived inability to study in Korean whereas English was preferred in reading and writing despite an uncomfortable feeling in speaking and often difficulty writing in English.

## **Tracing the bilingual trajectory**

### ***Korean***

Although difficulty in literacy in Korean was commonly reported, their literacy levels seem to vary between individuals and corresponded comparatively to the Korean education that they had completed in Korea. The difficulty that Peter referred to in writing even a short text and a letter to a friend may be understandable considering that he left Korea at the end of Year 5, and the language and literacy activities he learned and could perform at the time were at the level of a Year 5 child. A Year 5 child can write a letter to friends but not a text involving formal language and addressed to the public. In addition, language attrition may have been unavoidable considering that, according to him, he had very little involvement in literacy activities in Korean since his arrival in Australia. Peter's mother recounted her own experience of first language attrition. She could not recall some terminology, idioms or expressions, particularly those not often used in everyday life, and according to her, it was due to her limited opportunities to be exposed to or use these in Australia. She used her experience to explain Peter's Korean, and posited that his Korean was more vulnerable to attrition: “한국에서 삼십 년을 산 나도 이런데 개는? # *Even I who lived in Korea over thirty years experience this, what about him?*” (Peter's mother's narrative).

Jack's difficulty in reading 'difficult texts' in Korean and Janice's difficulty in understanding 'abstract words' also seem to be related to the levels of education that they completed in Korea, and more precisely, the types of vocabulary, terminologies, expressions and genres of writing that are learnt at that level of schooling; the beginning of Year 8 for Jack and mid-Year 8 for Janice. In this regard, Jack's description of his Korean, 'Korean is comfortable in reading easy texts but English for difficult reading' is understandable. He had been familiar with texts written in everyday language in Korean prior to his departure and probably had been in constant contact with such texts to an extent due to his church activities. But he did not learn or was not exposed to more formal or academic texts in Korean but in English. Janice's definition of her Korean as the level of junior high school student implies her perception of the significant place of schooling. Also, expressing a comfortable feeling in speaking Korean and little difficulty in listening may mean that their capabilities in those areas were developed prior to their departure from Korea and probably maintained through constant contact. Thus, it seems that initially the level of language and literacy that they developed prior to *jogiyuhak* was crucial and then the constant use of the language was important as well.

### ***English***

If Peter's difficulty in Korean was due to impediments to his Korean education and restricted opportunities to use Korean in social interactions, the question remains as to why Peter commented on his lack of English in particular areas such as TV news. A closer lens is needed to answer this question. According to Peter, peer interaction was the way he acquired English; he learned a lot of English while he was mingling with local Australian students, which he added, was possible because there was no Korean

student in his high school. It should be noted that English-submersion with no Korean speakers did not always allow mingling with local students as can be seen from Janice's lived experience. Peter recalled his school friends were supportive in that they slowed down their talk and used gestures and other non-verbal means to include him in their conversation. In such a supportive environment he was able to communicate with them, but he declared: “말만으로 들리는 건 최소한 3 년에서 5 년은 걸린 거 같아요. 그전엔 그냥 짐작하는 거죠. # It seems to have taken at least three to five years to be able to hear the words themselves. Before then, I was just guessing.” (Peter's narrative)

Peter also recalled that he learned English while playing online computer games which engaged him in chatting online. Through this, he picked up new vocabulary. It seems that for Peter who had difficulty listening to English at the time, the online chatting that took place through keyboard typing was a safe site to pick up language and less burdensome than face-to-face interaction. It is therefore notable that he did not recognise the role of literacy development in his English acquisition despite his simultaneous engagement in literacy work, which is reminiscent of Peggy's English acquisition, 'spoken language first and then written'. For both Peggy and Peter, literacy development or the learning of written language must have been processed, for otherwise they simply could not have proceeded in their education.

A possible explanation for their underestimation of the role of literacy is the quality and degree of their learning that can be traced through their development processes in their learning situation. As Peter had such limited English that he was unable to say, 'I can't speak English', his learning was interrupted. There was no explicit instruction or

knowledge involved in his learning. Accordingly his literacy development did not involve explicit understanding and knowledge and, as he mentioned, he used the language as he became used to it: “대화하면서 맞는 거 한 개, 틀린 거 세 개 있으면 제일 맞는 거 같다는 거지만 이게 맞다, 틀리다를 못해요. 그냥 느낌상 이게 맞는 거 같다는 거지, 이게 왜 맞는지는 몰라요. 그냥 이때까지 이렇게 써왔으니까 들은 것도 이런 식이었고 그러니까 맞추는 거죠. # *When I’m speaking, say, there are three wrong words (of usage) with one right, I feel this one seems to be right but I can’t tell whether this one is right or wrong. It’s just my feeling this one seems to be correct, but I don’t know why. I’ve been using it this way and I’ve heard it this way, so I’ve got it right.*” (Peter’s narrative).

This applies to Peggy as well. While she learned to use English through peer interaction, her learning of literacy skills was neglected and thus were less likely to be involved in explicit learning. There may be some students that understand a new language on their own with little assistance but it seems that the problem was a significant lack, if any, of explicit instruction as they were in an English monolingual education system. Julie’s significant lack of literacy level may also be related to her complete submersion into monolingual English education. In addition, as discussed in Chapter 5, Peter was not committed to studying and did not make any effort to catch up with literacy in English: “일단 저는 영어를 말로 하면서 배웠기 때문에 *grammar* 나 *vocabulary* 는 진짜 딸려요. 여기 호주에서 일년 생활했던 사람보다 더 딸릴 수도 있어요. HSC 볼 때 필요한 것만 배웠죠. # *I learned English through face-to-face interaction, so I lack a great deal of vocabulary and grammar. I could be worse than those who spent a year in Australia. I only learned what was needed for HSC examination.*” (Peter’s narrative).

In contrast, Janice endeavoured to learn and improve her English. She explained that she studied English grammar reading a grammar book 'Essential Grammar in Use', memorising all the examples of such sentences as, 'What time is it?' and also learning new vocabulary by heart, following her brother's advice. She reflected that through memorising sentences, she understood grammar, or language forms and patterns. After she was transferred to another school, she wrote a diary entry in English everyday throughout her high school years. She believed that this helped her writing improve greatly because she had to look up words in a dictionary to write as she wished, and eventually she became good at essay writing in her school activities. Janice displayed confidence in her English level and her academic performance in English medium education, reporting that she was a high academic achiever in her school. Although her confidence fluctuated as she encountered unknown vocabulary in her newly commenced master's course, she seemed to recover her confidence, casting doubt on a native speaker's grasp of all vocabulary. Besides, she reported that, unlike her Korean, she could identify her own grammatical mistakes in English, after she studied a grammar book again for her teaching career as an English teacher. Thus, unless a student is provided with extra support, makes an extra effort or has an extraordinary language sense, literacy development is unlikely to be smooth and productive through English submersion.

Overall, the reported lack of Korean level seems to be the consequence of their absence from Korean education during their *jogiyuhak* period, and their English level to be related to the quality and nature of learning in an environment of submersion in English. Therefore, the revealed language repertoire in both languages seems to be closely related to a discontinuity in language development due to the transfer from Korean to

English monolingual education. Peter's narratives in particular suggest some possible negative consequences of bilinguality, although it could be that he was more thorough and revealing than other participants. Peter's description of his listening problem is an example. The problem can in fact be traced back to his high school years. According to him, he was completely submerged in an English-only environment for the first two to three years, hardly having any contact with the Korean language and only socialising with English speaking local peer students. He experienced this when he visited Korea after these years: “한국 가서 티비를 켜는데 소리가 안 들려요. 말을 하는데 뭐 말인지 못 알아들었더라고요. 근데 그건 큰일이잖아요. 들으려고 노력했죠. 그때 한 이주 있었는데 안 들리더라고요. # *When I went to Korea, I turned on TV but the sound was not comprehensible [meaning the language was unrecognisable] I couldn't understand what was said. It's a big trouble, you know. I tried to listen. I stayed there for about two weeks, but didn't get better.*” (Peter's narrative)

The problem described above is different from a situation in which one listens to the word but does not know its meaning. This is problem with knowledge of vocabulary rather than a listening problem. Peter identified his experience as a listening problem caused by his English only life for those years, adding that although he spoke Korean with his mother it did not seem helpful because he understood her Korean according to her intonation and accent that he was already used to. This seems to suggest that first language attrition can also occur in regard to the ability to listen. In contrast, participants who expressed a comfortable feeling listening to Korean revealed that they were in constant contact with Korean such as attending a Korean church or associating with Korean peer students.



Anecdotal evidence also echoes this interpretation. In an online posting on the Korean website, a contributor writes of a similar experience, introducing himself as a Korean male living in Australia. According to him, having spent seven to eight years in Australia and married to an Australian with almost zero contact with Korean speakers, he experienced difficulty in listening to his parents in Korea over the phone. The online posting further suggests that first language attrition can occur to adults' listening ability when they have little contact with the language, although it may take longer to happen and be easier to retrieve than in young children.

Peter continued by mentioning that with the gradual increase in the number of Korean students' enrolling in his school he began to associate with Korean peer students and his difficulty in listening in Korean improved. Yet, his listening problem seems to have lingered on: “8 학년 땐가 9 학년 땐가 사람들이 막 뭐라 했어요. 말귀 못 알아듣는다고. 꼭 나한테 두 번씩 말해줘야 하니까. # *In Year 8 or 9, (Korean) people blamed me a lot for not catching words, because they had to speak twice for me.*” (Peter's narrative). In another interview, he revealed that he was still experiencing difficulty in listening in Korean even with his Korean friends, and more so when talking over the phone. To my question if it was a hearing issue, he explained: “청력은 좋아요. 근데 집중을 해도 말하는 게 잘 안 들려요. 여자친구랑 통화할 때도 잘 안 들려요. 남자친구들하고 말할 때도, ‘야, 우린 언어의 장벽 있다’고 말하고. # *My hearing is good. But even though I concentrate, I can't catch words well. Same goes when I talk to my girlfriend on the phone. When I am talking with male friends, too, they say, 'Wow, we have language barriers!'*” (Peter's narrative).

Peter also reported the same problem in English, yet difficulty listening to English was common to many other participants. This seems again to be related to Peter's pattern of language use. According to him from Year 10, half of his socialising was with Korean peers and half with local Australian students and in his university years he associated solely with Korean students. Further his listening problem seems to have shifted between the two languages: “*영어를 미치도록 들으려고 하면 한국말이 안 들리고 한국말이 들리면 영어가 안 들리고. # When I am eager to listen to English, I can't listen to Korean well. And when I can listen to Korean, I can't listen to English well.*” (Peter's narrative). It is unclear whether this was the consequence of a specific route to bilingual development or if it is often present in bilingual speakers' experiences, but it seems to suggest that language ability or skills may not be stable, but can shift according to the situation. He described his patterns of language use as English for academic performance and Korean in his social interactions. Thus, during the school holidays, he had little chance to use English and when he had to speak English unexpectedly he found he lacked spontaneity in his use of English; he was not able to speak English fluently.

### **Summary and further discussion**

Age may be a crucial factor when comparing the ostensible bilinguality between an early primary school age arrival, and post-Year 9 arrivals; for Peggy English was comfortable but Korean was not, whereas for Hall and Harry the reverse was true. The detailed characteristics of individuality, however, reveal complex aspects of language proficiency that do not consistently support the age factor as crucial to language levels.

An appropriate explanation is that the ages of the two groups only indicate which language was more dominant in the individual participants. While Peggy presented her English as Australian-like, she revealed great difficulty in writing in an academic context and using a formal register. Hall preferred to read in English over Korean despite defining Korean as his mother tongue. Hall also reported little difficulty in academic performance in English in his university course, yet he revealed he lacked sufficient control of speech to allow a free flow of ideas in English in social interactions. Their bilingualities respectively suggest that early commencement of exposure to English does not necessarily ensure the attainment of a high level of literacy and that successful academic performance does not necessarily entail sufficient communicative skills in social interactions. This further suggests the language proficiency in each domain may be helpful but not sufficient for the attainment of language in the other areas.

The narratives of late primary and middle school age arrivals reveal more complex bilinguality. Most of them except for Peter stated that they felt comfortable in Korean in speaking and listening but they preferred English for reading and academic performance. Their language preference of English in reading is evocative of the degrees and levels of their involvement in English medium education in their *jogiyuhak* years, while the preference for Korean in orality seems to relate to their language development in Korean prior to study abroad. Such shifting dominance and preference of languages was also found within the same language skill, as Jack further remarked that Korean was comfortable for reading easy texts, but in reading difficult texts he preferred English. This reminds us of the types and levels of literacy he learned throughout schooling respectively in Korea and in Australia. In other words, the language he learned in

primary and middle school in Korea was with rather easy texts whereas the language from high school and in higher education in Australia was intellectually more demanding in subject matter. Hall's preference for English for reading despite Korean being his dominant language in general seems to follow the same trend. Thus, language preference and dominance in various domains and areas is closely related to their history of education in either language and language use in two different sociocultural and linguistic contexts.

In tracing the history of education and language use, Peggy's difficulty in English in a formal language context and academic performance seemed to be derived from her difficult process of English learning and academic development which she described as her lone struggle in English submersion. This suggests that it is not age but the quality of learning in her learning situation that contributed to the level of literacy and her age was associated with her situation of learning. This corresponds with Marinova-Todd, Marshall and Snow's suggestion that "age differences reflect differences in the situation of learning" (2000, p. 9). In English submersion, characterised as the abrupt transfer from Korean to English as a medium of education, Peggy had no knowledge of English, study skills, and a very limited literacy in Korean that she could utilise. She also suffered from little linguistic and academic assistance from school and she did not have private lessons due to her family's financial situation. In such circumstances, her route to English acquisition seemed to be rather parallel to a child's first language acquisition in early childhood and her literacy development was highly unproductive with a low level of academic achievement.

Late arrivals tended to have some knowledge of English and study skills as a foundation

with which to perform academically in English on their arrival. However, the required literacy level in high schools was often too demanding and as discussed in the preceding chapter, they tended to be confined to selecting Mathematics and Sciences subjects. Although John, Hall and Harry recalled little difficulty in their academic performance in higher education, it should be noted that their university courses were concentrated in IT and Business. Helen and Julie obtained higher education degrees, but they exhibited a significant lack of literacy in English. Hence, in English submersion, the participants seem to have had more or less similar situations of learning and bilingual education. Also first language support may be necessary for newly arrived migrant students, as many participants revealed that they had private lessons from Korean tutors.

On the other hand, most participants reported their inability to study in Korean and this was more so with younger arrivals. This is because the *jogiyuhak* period means the absence of Korean medium education. The consequence seems to have been that even for a late arrival, Harry's attempt to join the Korean education system was unsuccessful. Julie expressed her inability to study in Korean and joined the English medium course for her master's degree in Korea, although she demonstrated difficulty in writing in English. Furthermore, primary school age arrivals expressed a more limited capacity in Korean, particularly in writing. For Peggy, in particular, as an eight year old arrival who had little contact with Korean speakers except for her mother, it was hard to engage in conversation with Korean speakers outside her home context. In addition to this situation, if one experiences significant difficulty in academic performance in English, the consequence will be the impediment to academic development in both language contexts. Heidi's experience is another example. She reported that she was unable to advance to higher education and her subsequent attempts to enter higher education over

the following few years were all unsuccessful.

Notably, in recounting their perceived language levels in two languages and experiences in bilingual use, participants often expressed the perception of '*neither English nor Korean is fully developed*' (Janice's narrative), '*I'm not as good as a native speaker of either language*' (John's narrative), or '*I'm not feeling comfortable in either language*' (Peter's narrative). Particularly the feeling of discomfort in fulfilling their need to express themselves due to a perceived lack of appropriate vocabulary and expressions seems to signify a substantial lack of language repertoire. It should be noted that these three participants reported little difficulty in English in their university contexts and Janice and John performed successfully in the employment industry in English contexts. John and Peter specified their perceived lack of language respectively in terms of literary expression and formal language. This suggests that *jogiyuhak* seem to have a potentially high risk of limited literacy development in both English and Korean.

While the narratives reveal aspects of the participants' complex bilinguality, a deep analysis of such complex bilinguality in turn has led me to reconsider perceptions of language proficiency. The shifting dominance of two languages across and within language skills suggests that language proficiency is more than 'basic interpersonal communicative skills' and 'cognitive academic language proficiency' (Cummins 2000), although these are useful concepts to explain migrant students' difficulty in academic performance in English. For example, while Peter manifested little difficulty in English in his university courses, he reported incomplete understanding of TV news programs, which cannot be classified as interpersonal communicative skills or academic language proficiency.

Also, Jack's preference for reading Korean when texts were easy but English for difficult texts implies that his first language and second language literacy was not automatically transferable but rather his literacy was bilingually constructed. In fact, many participants revealed these characteristics of bilinguality. Listening ability is no exception. Despite confidence in her English fluency, which is explored in Chapter 7, Janice reported that she could not understand local Australians' English outside academic contexts. This characteristic should not be interpreted as a deviant characteristic but rather evidence of the multiplicity of language proficiency. Cook, for example, views this attribute as bilingual individuals' 'multiple competence' (1992, 2002). This multiplicity should further be seen as the attribute of language capacities that may not necessarily be transferable across social domains and fields, and in this respect monolingual speakers are no exception. Language does not seem to be acquired as a generic form of proficiency. We only know what we learn either through education or interaction.

This does not mean language proficiency in each area and domain is clearly distinct and completely non-transferable. Just as Peter revealed a lack of formal language vocabulary in conversation with his friends and John expressed difficulty in expressing himself using literary expressions usually obtained from poems and novels, language repertoire used in orality versus literacy, and in formal versus informal contexts are not completely separate. This echoes Hornberger's biliteracy that posits language repertoire as contingent on the context, rather than a distinction between orality versus literacy (1989). In fact, the language skills that the participants indicated they could do or preferred to do are not merely a set of skills that exist separately from what they were doing with the languages. Rather, these language skills are closely linked to, or part of,

the activities and practices in which the participants were involved throughout their life.

In conclusion, the discussions so far reveal a complex bilinguality with a possibly substantial lack of literacy or language repertoire in both languages of *jogiyuhaksaeng*. The analysis of their bilinguality above also leads us to reconsider the question of what constitutes language proficiency. The term, 'language proficiency' is close to the concept of language competence based on the view of language as a set of skills and a fixed entity. This concept does not account for the complex multiple language related capacities that this research has found. This is further discussed in the concluding chapter but before this, the complex ideological issues of the participants' bilinguality are explored in the next chapter.



## CHAPTER 7

### ***JOGIYUHAKSAENG'S BILINGUALITY, INBETWEENNESS AND TRANSNATIONALITY***

In the narratives in Chapter 6 the sense of confusion and feeling of discomfort expressed by the participants was often accompanied by the ‘the neither language is fully developed’ perception. This suggested possible issues with *jogiyuhaksaeng*’s lack of repertoire in both languages, in fulfilling their needs for various language uses, whether for individuals’ expressive needs or for success in social interaction. The discussion of the narratives has shown that such lack of language was particularly related to the participants’ literacy and academic language development. This is reminiscent of the findings discussed in Chapter 5 showing that in many cases the language barrier had significant long-term consequences on academic development and associated literacy development in English, combined with the absence of Korean medium education during the *jogiyuhak* period. Indeed, there seems to be a high risk of disrupting both academic and language development among *jogiyuhaksaeng*.

While the discussions so far have addressed language issues, it should be noted that this ‘neither language is fully developed’ perception is also ideologically inflected since it is a perception fundamentally based on the premise that there is a complete end point in language development or perfect mastery of a language. The prevalent notion of the native speaker as the ideal speaker is the Siamese twin of this language ideology. Thus, the ‘lack of both languages’ perception presupposes the existence of native speakers in both languages. Given such a presupposition about the native speaker, discussions of individual bilinguality cannot avoid a deficit view. This chapter examines such ideological aspects of the participants’ bilinguality by exploring the various aspects of

language levels presented in the ‘lack of language’ perception. In doing so, the analysis reveals what constituted their language levels and how the language levels were perceived to play a significant role in the sense of belongingness and membership, and also how ideologically inflected perceptions of language and culture mediated their perceived bilinguality.

Firstly, the chapter addresses the nature of the participants’ sense of inbetweenness in relation to ‘the neither language is fully developed’ perception and moves on to deal with various aspects of language in both language contexts that account for their difficulty in affiliating with members in either context. The chapter reveals that the monolingual native speaker was fundamentally the norm and discusses its ideological construction. Lastly, the chapter shows *jogiyuhaksaeng*’s forming a peer network based on transnational bilinguality and ascribed positions of self and other within the dynamics of Korean communities in Australia.

### **Seeking membership:**

#### **I’m neither Korean nor Australian**

The perceived lack in both languages was often accompanied by a sense of inbetweenness and a perception of confused identity. For example, after presenting his view on *jogiyuhaksaeng*’s language development as ‘being slower’ than that of a monolingual learner, Jack added: “그런 말 하는 친구가 있어요. 난 한국사람도 아니고 호주 사람도 아니고, 이런 말하는 친구 있어요. 한국말을 잘하는 것도 아니고 호주말을 잘하는 것도 아니고, 미아가 된다. #I have a friend who says, ‘I’m

*neither Korean, nor Australian. I'm not good at the Korean language, nor the Australian language [meaning English], becoming a missing child".* (Jack's narrative). Similarly, Peter stated, “우리가 지금 한국 가면 한국인사회에서 완전 한국인도 아니고 완전 호주인도 아니고. # *If we (jogiyuhaksaeng) go to Korea now, we're not perfect Koreans in Korean society, nor perfect Australians.*” (Peter's narrative)

A similar discourse was evident on the Korean website that I observed during the research, in which often posts by individuals who introduced themselves as *jogiyuhaksaeng* dealt with the same issue: “한 사회에 완전히 속하지도 못하고 한 언어를 완벽하게 구사하는 것도 아니고, 제가 속한 곳이 어딘지, 그리고 미래에 난 어떤 모습으로 어디서 무엇을 해야 하는지. # *I don't belong to either society completely, nor do I speak either language completely. (I don't know) where I belong, what I will be like, where and what I should do in the future.*” (A retrieved posting from [agora.media.daum.net](http://agora.media.daum.net)). The post included many replies revealing a common experience. One of them wrote, introducing himself as someone with a *jogiyuhak* background married to one with the same *jogiyuhak* background, that because of such ‘neither language is complete’, “우리 부부는 우리가 *international orphan* 이라고 합니다. # *We, a married couple, call ourselves international orphans.*” (A reply to the posting from [agora.media.daum.net](http://agora.media.daum.net))

The comments and the posts above show that they perceive mastery of a language as a prerequisite to the attainment of identity and belongingness in society. One may view this as the language ideology of one nation-one language or a language-national identity nexus, which seemed to be the case with first generation Korean immigrants. For

example, in Pak's research (2003) on a Korean church as a site of cultural identity formation in the American context the adult immigrants interviewed expressed a strong belief in a link between the Korean language and identity. They believed that in order to become Korean their children should be able to speak Korean.

However, such a perception of a close language-identity connection tends to be absent in the narratives or have been less firm than in first generation Korean immigrants. For example, Peter expressed a wish that his future children would be able to speak Korean for good communication with him, but he did not support the notion that Koreans should necessarily be able to speak the Korean language in order to be Koreans. Growing up in Australia and watching some or many Korean children who were not very fluent in Korean may have influenced his perception. Also, the language-identity connection seems to be overridden by prioritising the acquisition of English. For example, Helen prioritised English on the grounds of the advantages of English: “한국어는 뭐 하러 하나? 그냥 주구장창 영어만 해라. # *Why are you learning Korean? Just concentrate on English.*” (Helen's narrative). Although not as strong as Helen, Hall, John and Jack respectively expressed their wish to be better at English even at the expense of their Korean.

The participants' sense of inbetweenness seems to have emerged from interactions with speakers of both languages in complex situations. The narrative below from the Korean website offers a clue. The contributor introduced him /herself as 1.5-generation immigrant who arrived in Canada immediately after Year 9 and who had a tough time adjusting to a new life during puberty. Having spent 8.5 years in Canada, the contributor

was currently working after graduation from university, yet s/he manifested distress:

“그런데 아직도 저를 괴롭히는 건, *identity* 랍니다. 나는 누구일까? 캐나다 시민권자면서 캐네디언도 아니고... 캐네디언 친구들은 많지만 정작 맘터놓고 친하게 지내기엔 뭔가 거리감이 느껴지는 건 어쩔 수가 없더라고요. ... 그런데 문제는.. 한국에서 갓 온 유학생들하고도 문화가 안통한다는 겁니다. -\_-;..

...그래서 항상 주위를 돌아보며 어디 한곳 맘 들 테 없을땐 가만히 생각하게 됩니다. 난 어디 소속인가? 인간 본능으로 큰 집단에 소속되어야 맘이 놓이는데 저같은 이민자 *Minor Group* 은 캐네디언 문화에도 한국 문화에도 소속되지 못하고 길돌기만 하더라고요.. 여기가도 뻘쭙 저기가도 뻘쭙. .. # *What is still bothering me is my identity. Who am I? I'm a Canadian citizen but I'm not Canadian ... I have many Canadian friends but I can't help but feel distant from them to be able to feel free to open up... But the problem is ... I can't affiliate with the culture of Korean students who just arrived from Korea;.. ... I'm always looking around me and can't find anywhere I feel comfortable. Then I think, where do I belong? It's a human nature to belong to a large group to feel relieved, but immigrants, Minor group [capital letter in original] do not belong to Canadian culture nor Korean culture, not getting along with any ... in either culture, feeling awkward ...*” (A retrieved posting from [agora.media.daum.net](http://agora.media.daum.net)).

In this narrative, the contributor's confused sense of identity was derived from feeling alienated from both Canadians and newly arrived Korean international students and experiencing difficulty in finding people to affiliate with. Jo, J.-Y. notes the importance of finding people to affiliate with in her study (2007) of 1.5 and second generation Korean American youth's attitudes toward the Korean language. The study shows that

where their heritage language was not valorised with few Koreans in their neighbourhood and schools, the participants' attitude toward it was negative. However, when they went to college in which there was an immediate Korean community and institutional Korean language classes available, they became positive toward learning Korean. Jo suggests that finding people to be able to identify with is of significance to one's positive sense of belongingness and agency.

In a similar vein, the narratives in this research show that the sense of inbetweenness emerged from the participants' experienced difficulty in or alienation from associating with members of both language groups and this difficulty and difference was conceptualised as their lack of languages here. The various ways in which they exhibited their lack of language are, therefore, related to their transnational life history. This is discussed below.

## **English level in the Australian context**

### ***Shared viewpoint in aspects of language***

Many participants believed their difficulties in associating with local Australians stemmed from their lack of English. For example, Jack, working in a local company in Australia, expressed a sense of confusion and an uncomfortable feeling in relation to his bilinguality and presented his lack of English in terms of his difficulty in interacting with his work colleagues. He ascribed his insufficient level of English to a lack of shared viewpoint: “회사에서는 거의 외국인들이니까 영어로만 하는데, 한국어처럼 쉽게 말하고 자유롭게는 안 돼요. 영어는, 생각하고 말해야 해요.

왜냐하면 한국말은 이렇게 얘기하면 이렇게 이해해줄 거 아니까. 근데 외국애들은 모르니까. 내가 말하면 어떻게 받아들여질까 확신이 없죠. 문화도 다르고. # *In my company they are almost all foreigners, I have to speak English only but I can't speak as easily and freely as in Korean. In English I have to think before speaking. Because I know in Korean if I say this, then it will be understood as this but with foreigners, I don't know. I'm not sure what they will think about what I say. There is cultural difference, too.*" (Jack's narrative)

Although there was no further information, the term 'foreigners' must have referred to local Australians. This is further discussed later in the section. In the narrative the first sentence seems to suggest that his difficulty lay solely in his internal language ability. In the second sentence, however, Jack revealed that it was the lack of shared viewpoints that interrupted conversations in English, which reminds us of the culture-embedded nature of language. Jane indicated a parallel issue recounting that she was not able to establish an intimate friendship with her school friends due to the lack of a shared way of thinking: “애네가 생각하는 거하고 내가 생각하는 거하고 다르잖아요. 나는 애네를 배려한다고 했는데 애네는 그걸 당연한 걸로 생각하거나 애네가 무슨 말을 툭 던졌는데 나는 상처받고. # *Because the way they think is different from the way I think. I give consideration to them, but they take it for granted. Or, they say something lightly and I get hurt.*” (Jane's narrative). She also commented that she was not able to speak English the way her school friends spoke.

A different way of thinking was frequently pointed to as the cultural difference between Koreans and Australians, and was blamed for Koreans' difficulty in communicating

with English speakers. Although a shared viewpoint within a culture is a problematic notion in that it suggests uniformity within a society that disregards or erases the existence of a wide range of diversity in perspectives, orientations and multiple interpretations, yet, it is the case that there are large differences in linguistic and cultural norms between Korean and English. According to Peter's mother, English could be learned in Korea, but the reason for choosing *jogiyuhak* as a means to acquire English was the opportunity to learn the culture related to English. However, the narratives and discussions below suggest that more is entailed than knowing and learning culture and viewpoints.

### ***Cultural affiliation***

In the narratives above, Jack and Jane evaluated their English level in terms of the degree to which they could interact with local Australians. Likewise, throughout the participants' narratives, their lack of ability to associate with locals was predominantly presented as a lack of English or evidence of not reaching a native level of English. In other words, they regarded local Australians as the norm. John's account provides a more explicit example of the criteria for evaluating their English level. He defined a high and desirable level of English in terms of performance in a professional world such as giving a business presentation and in this regard showed his confidence. Yet, he rated his English against that of a native speaker: “전 *native speaker* 같은 못하죠. *native* 에 대한 저의 정의는 뭐냐면 한국애들이랑 노는 것보다 외국애들이랑 노는 게 더 편한 사람들, 자기 정서가... 그러니까 제가 아무리 영어를 잘 해도 외국사람들이랑 있으면 약간 불안해요. 왜 그런 거 있잖아요. 왜냐하면 문화가 다르니까. 아, 나 밥 먹으러 갈 건데, 나는 한식당을 가고 싶은데 재는 밥을 싫어할지도 모른다, 이런



부담감. # *I'm not as good as a native speaker. My definition of a native speaker is those who find it more comfortable in mixing with foreigners [native speakers of English]. Their own emotions ... I mean, no matter how good my English is, I feel a bit uncomfortable to be with foreigners. You know, because of cultural difference. Well, I'm going to eat out and I want to go to a Korean restaurant, but they might dislike rice [seeming to mean Korean food], this kind of burden.*" (John's narrative)

Here, again the term 'foreigners' was interchangeably used with the term 'native speakers' and one's language level was defined according to one's ability to comfortably associate with foreigners, presumably local Australians. John suggested that to associate with local Australians required emotional and cultural affiliation, which for him was incompatible with his affiliation to Korean culture. Rice is not limited to Korean culture, yet by rice he meant Korean food. He took a public bath house as another example of Korean culture that he could not share with local Australians. John's reason for correlating cultural affiliation with language level was: "그러니까 회사에서 외국인들이랑 파티를 간다는데, '아, 외국인들이랑 파티하는 것보다 한국인들이랑 파티하는 형식이 더 좋다', 이런 사람들은 거길 안 가기 때문에 그런 파티 용어를 모르잖아요. 그럼 네이티브가 아니죠. 파티 용어도 모르는데 어떻게 네이티브가 되겠어요? 가봐야 파티에서 하는 말을 알죠. # *So when in your company you have to go to a party with foreigners, you go like, 'Oh, I like the way Korean have a party better than foreigners [local Australians]'. People like this will not go to such party, so that they will not know party language. Then they aren't natives. How can one be a native without knowing party language? You should go to party to be able to know what people say in the party.*" (John's narrative)

In brief, to learn the language, a language learner should interact with native speakers, which requires participation in their social and cultural activities. In order to do so, the learner should be fond of those activities. John's suggestion seems to be valid in that associating with Australian peers, generally considered to be native speakers of English, provided greater opportunities for exposure to and use of English and through this, a newly arrived Korean student could learn English in everyday life that may be less available in school subjects or in academic contexts. Indeed, Peter claimed that his English improved considerably while he was affiliating with local peer students in his first high school. Jane commented on the ambivalent effects of associating with local peers: “아, 진짜 동양애들하고 친구할 걸 그랬어요. 근데, 하긴 개네들 (호주학생들)하고 어울려서 제가 영어가 많이 늘긴 했어요. ESL 반 가보면 중국애들, 온 지 5년 됐다는데, 저보다도 훨씬 못해요. 자기들끼리만 어울리니까. # I should've made friends with Asian students before. But, actually because I mingled with them (local students) my English improved a lot. The Chinese students in the ESL class, they said they came here five years ago like me, but their English is far worse than me. It's because they are mingling with each other.” (Jane's narrative)

However, as Jane pointed out, affiliating with locals seemed to be challenging for Korean students. It was not only frequently commented on but was also evident in the participants' grouping pattern. Their grouping was both voluntary and involuntary, both self ascribed and other ascribed. It was involuntary in that some of them, e.g. Janice and Jane, faced an explicitly hostile climate or implicitly discriminatory treatment in their school and were not welcomed or allowed to integrate into any peer group. For Peter and Hall, it was voluntary in a sense that they chose not to associate with local

Australian peers: “호주문화는 beach, surfing, 맥주, 파티요. 한국문화는 소주, 그리고 노래방이요. 호주문화는 재미가 없어요. 솔직히 고등학교 때는 호주애들하고 많이 어울렸어요. 학교에서 한국애들이 다 쫓겨난 후에는 호주애들 밖에 없었으니까요. 애들이 되게 착해요. 절대 차별 안하고 잘 끼워줬거든요. 근데 학교 밖에서는 안 만났어요. 걔네들은 surfing 하고 그러는데 저는 surfing 에 관심 없어서 제가 안 했어요. # Australian culture is beach, surfing, beer and party. Korean culture is soju [the name of alcohol produced in Korea] and Karaoke. Australian culture is not fun. Actually, in my high school years, I mingled with Australian peers a lot, because there was no Korean student left after all Korean students were expelled from the school. They (local students) were very nice, not discriminating but including me in their group. But I didn't meet them outside the school. They were surfing but I wasn't interested in it. So I didn't mingle with them.” (Hall's narrative)

As John emphasised the importance of cultural affiliation, Hall's affiliation with Korean youth culture in terms of enjoying recreational and social activities stopped him from joining a local peer group despite its accessibility. In this sense, grouping with Korean peers is more likely to occur naturally. For example, Peter, who befriended local students for the first two to three years, began to associate with Korean students as soon as Korean students appeared in his school. For him, it was rather natural: “편하게 있을 수 있으니까요. 아무래도 잘 맞으니까. 그 전에는 외국애들을 이해하려고 노력하면서 노는 건데, 이젠 굳이 맞추려고 하는 거 없이 편한 대로 놀면 맞으니까. # Because I feel comfortable to be with them. We're on the same page. Before I made conscious efforts to understand foreigners while mingling with them, but (with Koreans)

*I don't need to make efforts, just doing as the way I am and fitting well with them."*

(Peter's narrative)

Some participants pointed to loneliness. Harry remarked that those who initially avoided Korean students in an attempt to mingle with local students in the end turned to other Korean peers because of loneliness. Similarly, John recalled that in his first school without Korean students his difficulty was not academic adjustment but his loneliness:

*“일주일 내내 한국말을 한 마디도 안 하니깐 한국사람이랑 contact 이 잘 없으니까 그런 부분에 있어서 외로움 이런 거. 아침에 갔다 저녁에 왔는데 한국말을 한 마디도 안 했네. 그래서 인제 한국비디오를 봐도 그래도 말은 안 하잖아요. 그런 거 때문에,...그런 거 요즘에도 좀 있긴 한데 그땐 좀 되게 외로웠어요. # A whole week I didn't speak any single word in Korean, because I had no contact with Koreans, so I felt lonely. At the end of a day, I noticed that I didn't speak any single word in Korean. So I watched a Korean video, but yet I didn't speak, because of that ... I still feel this these days, but that time I was feeling very lonely.”* (John's narrative)

Here being deprived of Korean seems to mean the absence of the world with which John used to be familiar as well as the cultural practices and memories that had comprised much of his life and attachments. He continued by commenting that therefore when he transferred to another high school in which there were quite a few Korean students he enjoyed a lunchtime get-together with them: *“점심시간에 도시락 싸와서 누구는 밥 싸오고, 유학생들은 밥이랑 참치 캔 싸오고, 부모님들이랑 하우스에 사는 이민 온 애들도 많으니까 반찬 많이 싸오고 퍼놓고 그런 식으로 서로 나눠 먹고 했어요. 대여섯 명씩 점심시간마다 한국에서 도시락 먹는 거랑 똑 같은*

분위기가. # *At lunchtime, bringing lunchbox, someone brought rice, jogiyuhak students brought rice and tuna cans. There were many immigrant students living with their parents. They brought a lot of side dishes. We used to get together and shared our food. Five or six Korean students together at every lunch time, we had the exactly same vibe as having lunchbox in Korea.*” (John’s narrative)

This grouping pattern was not limited to Korean *jogiyuhaksaeng* but rather grouping among ethnic groups was prevalent as frequently reported: 중국애들끼리 어울리고 한국애들은 또 성향이 비슷한 애들끼리 어울리고, 호주애들도 마찬가지로 끼리끼리 어울리잖아요....레바논 애들은 철저하게 레바논 애들끼리, 베트남 애들은 베트남 애들끼리. # *Chinese get together with Chinese, Koreans with similar tendency or characteristics. Same to Australian. The same feather flock together... Lebanese with Lebanese, Vietnamese with Vietnamese*” (Harry’s narrative). Under such divisive grouping, it was simply hard to mingle with those from cultural backgrounds other than Korean: “처음에는 두 그룹(한국학생들과 호주 학생들) 이랑 다 지내려고 해봤는데 나중에 포기했어요. 그게 힘들어요. # *Initially I tried to mingle with both Korean and Australian students, but I gave up. It’s just hard.*” (Jack’s narrative)

The narratives above suggest that the participants were in a dilemma. Although their English improved through associating with local Australian students it was a psychosocially tough experience and sometimes had a negative impact on their self-esteem. By mingling with Korean peer youth, they could create a comfort zone and supportive peer network, but it was at the cost of less opportunity for improving their

English. This point has also been noted in Kanno's research (2003) on four Japanese returnee students' bilingual and bicultural identity development following transnational experiences in Canada and Japan. In her research, except for Rui who was already bilingual on arrival, the three students' experience in Canada was "ESL stories" in a way that "the learning of English was a formidable challenge, inextricably intertwined with their struggle to negotiate their identities in the host country" (2003, p. 108). Among these three, one who had excellent athletic ability was easily integrated into the mainstream school despite his language barrier, while the other two recounted that they were not able to access Canadian peer students. Thus, according to Kanno, the Japanese students were faced with a dilemma; to improve their English, they should have a chance to interact with Canadian students, but an insufficient level of English skills did not allow them the opportunity to interact.

Similarly, as John remarked, affiliation with Korean culture was incompatible with affiliation with Australian culture, and most participants in the present research strongly believed that their division from local Australian students was due to their inscribed Koreanness, and thus young children who had not been socialised into Korean culture would be better at adopting the culture in English. Their belief in language acquisition was parallel to this. For example, Harry remarked that once Korean became their first language, additional language would only be a foreign language. According to John, young children absorbed English and culture better than late arrivals who tended to have difficulty in affiliating with English speakers and their culture. Consequently, John wished that he had come to Australia earlier than his age of arrival: "*저는 더 일찍 오고 한국문화는 차라리 따로 배웠으면 좋았을 거 같아요. # It would've been better*

*if I had come here earlier and learned the Korean culture extra.*” (John’s narrative). John further suggested that the ideal way of learning English should be total submersion at an early age with no Korean contact. In a similar vein, Harry remarked that unless Korean students were isolated from other Koreans they would stick together, which was unproductive for English acquisition. Possibly shared childhood memories below are related to such an argument for a younger age of arrival.

### ***Childhood memory in aspects of language***

The sense of inbetweenness also emerged in relation to shared life history, particularly childhood memories. Jane commented that the absence of shared childhood memories was one of the reasons that she felt distant from her Australian born classmates: “저는 여기서 태어나지 않았잖아요. 그러니까 애네들이 하는 옛날(어린 시절) 얘기에 끼 수가 없어요. #I wasn’t born here, you know. So, I can’t join their [Australian born peers] conversation when they talk about childhood memory.” (Jane’s narrative).

If this is the case, the lack of shared experience in this respect could be increased with late age arrivals. An online posting contributor also noted that it was the differences in childhood memories and culture and customs from childhood that interrupted building intimate friendships with local peers. It seems that it is not simply memory in a particular period but shared life experiences that formed a significant part of their life.

To summarise the participants’ prevalent beliefs presented so far, access to local peers was perceived as the key to determining the level of their English, yet English submersion, one of the underlying language ideologies leading to *jogiyuhak*, was not

realised due to their failure to integrate into a local Australian peer group. Accordingly, their English acquisition was not as successful as they wished, and they believed the key would be an earlier age of arrival. However, they also remarked that a younger arrival age would mean becoming a foreigner, suggesting that it is highly unlikely for Koreans to be able to affiliate with both Korean speakers and English speakers. It seems to be more than cultural affiliation that the participants wished for; instead they sought to become like a foreigner, or Australian.

### *Native speakerism*

It should be noted that throughout the narratives the term ‘foreigners’ was interchangeably used with the terms native speakers or Australians. The use of the term ‘foreigners’ has been reported in other research. Miller (2000) in her research on Chinese migrant students’ ESL experience in Australia finds the one of the students used the word ‘foreigners’ repeatedly. A Japanese returnee student in Kanno’s research (2003) also frequently used the term. While Miller views it as simply derived from the Chinese perspective, Kanno further suggests that it could be related to lack of access to a local Canadian peer group that otherwise would lead to a change of their worldview or maintaining their oneness. Alternatively, this worldview might be formed from their resistance to feeling themselves to be negatively positioned. Both researchers seem to indicate that the use of the term signifies the users’ self-centred worldview which originated in their home countries.

The question that remains is who is a foreigner, native speaker or Australian. For Koreans the term ‘foreigners’ should refer to non-Koreans and cover a wide range of national and ethnic backgrounds, but given its interchangeable use with native speakers



and Australians, the referent is narrowed down to local Australians. Kanno (2003) points out that in fact the student who expressed her resentment over her deprived access to Canadian students was already participating in Canadian society through befriending other ESL or migrant students who had already gained legal status as Canadians, yet the student considered them to be second class citizens “whose recognition did not count because it did not help her move closer to the core” (2003, p. 108). Shin, H.’s research (2010) reveals further detailed findings in relation to who is local. In her research on Korean *jogiyuhaksaeng* in Canada, Shin finds that the participants subscribed to and reproduced the dominant language ideology of North American English as “authentic”; the participants stigmatised not only their own English but also “some ‘non-Canadian’ white speakers of English (e.g., presumably, a Russian speaker of English)” as poor and illegitimate (2010, p. 185). According to this language ideology, “only ‘white, Canadian’ English is constructed as authentic, legitimate English in the Canadian market by these Korean students, rendering all ‘non-white’ or ‘non-Canadian English’ (including their own) as illegitimate” (ibid., p. 185).

The narratives in the present research reveal similar findings. In discussing the findings, the notion of native speaker needs to be explored first. The notion of the native speaker was often related to having an English speaking country as one’s native land or birthplace. For example, Janice seems to have had a high level of English given that she had little evident difficulty in academic contexts and had work experience in using English in Hong Kong, yet she refused to define her English as being at a native-like level: “(switching from Korean to English) *I can pull it off as a native speaker but I’m not a native speaker. Because I wasn’t born here. My language was developed when I was little. It was developed when I was 13, meaning I lost the whole, this language*

*development from birth. At least at speaking level, nobody can tell I'm not a native speaker, pick up my accent. Nobody picks my accent. They just presume I was born here. Many other people that I met here when they saw me speaking English they thought that I was born here, but I wasn't. I just don't feel.*" (Janice's narrative)

Similarly, in Piller's research (2002) on the passing practices of advanced L2 users in cross-cultural marriages, L2 users presented their success in passing for a native speaker as the yardstick of a high level of language and this experience of passing for a native speaker gave them a sense of great achievement. The idea of passing is also important as it acknowledges the significant role of the perceptions of others in determining one's language level (Pennycook 2012). The idea of passing is also beneficial in that as Piller suggests, "The passing practices ... undermine the primacy of the native speaker, and could well be celebrated as exposing the native speaker fallacy in second language learning" (2002, p. 199). In Janice's case, the experience of passing for a native speaker seems to have contributed to her confidence in her English, yet she revealed a sense of her non-native speaker status based on a predefined construction of a native speaker in terms of nativity. With such an explicit link between birthplace and the status of a native speaker her understanding was that she could only pass or imitate one, because 'a given identity' of a native speaker based on birthplace is an unattainable goal for a second language learner (Pennycook 2012, p. 76).

A given identity implies that native speakers have a uniformly superior status to those who are categorised as non-native speakers. Jane expressed her unexamined assumption of the language ability of native speakers in her belief that their language level was derived from their years of residence

in their birthplace: “우선 내 발음과 뭐든 다 어쨌든 개네들보다는 못하잖아요. 개네들은 여기서 몇 십년 살았는데. # *Most of all, whether it is my pronunciation, or whatever, my English is not as good as theirs. They’ve lived here for decades.*” (Jane’s narrative). Fundamentally, the nativity of native speakers is based on a predefined language ability that is monolithically assumed to be superior to English speakers who are non-native speakers.

Consequently, Janice’s language ideology about native speakers gave rise to insecure feelings about her English: “*Because the other day I saw my university writing, there were a lot of grammar mistake. Australians do make grammar mistake. But I feel more strong about it.*” (Janice’s narrative). Janice continued by commenting that she was aware of her lack of English when she encountered quite a few unknown words in some subjects in her master’s degree. Encountering unfamiliar words may be a common occurrence in an academic context regardless of native or non-native status as new terminology has to be learnt in new subjects. Janice was aware of this reality as she mentioned that native speakers may also need to look up unknown words in a dictionary. Nevertheless, she still displayed a sense of insecurity. This point is reminiscent of Piller’s statement concerning L2 speakers’ double-bind situation regarding a creative use of language (2002). According to Piller, while the interviewed L2 users considered the creative use of language to be an index of high achievement, their interlocutors may view it simply as non-native speakers’ errors and a low level of the language.

Piller continued by suggesting that the researcher needs “to ensure that it is not the researcher who ‘creates’ non-native performances” (2002, p. 198). In Janice’s case, it is

herself, rather than her interlocutors, who regarded her mistakes in her writing as non-native attributes, despite her speculation about a native speaker level of English: *“It’s me doing it. But the thing is, most of my friends are saying the same thing.”* (Janice’s narrative). This conceptualisation seems to be prevalent among *jogiyuhaksaeng*. Surely, her insecure feeling about her English was also influenced by the people around her: *“나는 그런 거 같아. 모든 사람들이 다 내가, 적어도 식구들, 친척들, 가족들은 내가 영어를 더 잘한다고 생각해요. 그래서 영어는 모르는 단어가 나오면, ‘우, 이거 모르는데. 이거 무슨 뜻이지?’, 알고 싶어지는 거. 근데 한국말은, ‘모르네. 우, 이거 모르네.’ 끝이에요. 모른다고 느끼지도 않고 그냥 넘어가요. 그닥 그렇게 필요가 없는 거예요, 나한테. # I think, everybody, or at least my family members and relatives think I am better at English (than Korean). So, when I see an unknown English word, ‘Oh, I don’t know this. What does it mean?’, I’d like to know. But with a Korean unknown word, ‘I don’t know. Well I don’t know this.’ That’s it. I just pass it without even noticing that I don’t know it. Because I don’t really need to know. When I’m trying to say something in English, it won’t pop in English, ‘Oh, my god!’ But same thing happens in Korean, I don’t care”* (Janice’s narrative)

The narrative reveals a strong sense of her background as *jogiyuhaksaeng*. It was interesting that unlike her English, she did not have insecure feelings about her Korean, which she also related to her *jogiyuhaksaeng* status. She explained that her lack of Korean language did not stigmatise her because it was inevitable due to her *jogiyuhak* and furthermore it would not affect her status as Korean. This attitude was possible thanks to her confidence in English and successful academic performance, and also the high value of English in Korea. Her work experience and type of employment in Korea

must have supported her attitude towards two languages. For example, the title of her teaching position was native English teacher. In this regard, she argued that she was not supposed to be good at writing in Korean.

Another crucial aspect of the notion of native speakers is the “racial construction of nativeness” (Pennycook 2012, p. 94) rather than it being an achievable capacity. Janice further commented that her insecure feeling escalated in the Australian context due to her ethnic background: *“My ethnic background is Korean. Even if I don’t know some words in Korean, they [Koreans] would understand it, whereas like here I’m not Australian. I’m Korean. They [Australians] expect you to speak English. And if you don’t know certain words, ‘OK, your English is not good enough.’”* (Janice’s narrative). Here, again it was she who constructed an inferior status of English speaker in terms of her ethnic background rather than Australians, although it is likely this could also be the case.

Peggy’s experience of the sense of inbetweenness was more explicitly based on a racially constructed perception of Australians. According to her, she felt a sense of confusion as she was constantly asked by local White Australians where she came from. She interpreted these incidents as non-recognition of her Australian identity from local Australians. She added that she had wanted to be Australian since her childhood, so that she affiliated with Australian culture, tried to shed her Koreanness and distanced herself from any Korean students, though there were only a few of them in her school. However, she came to doubt her Australianness and asked her friends. She commented that after her friends confirmed her Australianness in terms of her English, clothing style and behavioural traits, she realised that it was her physical appearance that

prevented her from being recognised as Australian. As Pennycook notes, “membership may equally be denied not on measures of ability but according to skin colour, or other visible characteristics” (2012, p. 94).

To return to the question of who is a local Australian, for Peggy, only white Australians seem to have the legitimate status required to give her recognition and recognition from her Australian friends who had a migration background failed to lessen her sense of confusion. Indeed, this racialised notion of white Australians is prevalent in the participants’ narratives. The participants’ account about their grouping reveals that their attempts or wish to affiliate was limited to white Anglo Australians. Heidi, for example, recalled that the reason she was unhappy and she did not like her Australian high school was that there were too many Chinese and Lebanese students as well as Korean students.

Similarly, for Peggy it seemed to be a very disappointing experience and her level of frustration increased when she went on to consider her Korean background: (raising her voice with a serious look) “I have a Korean background, but I don’t know anything about Korean heritage, you know.” (Peggy’s narrative). Perhaps, this experience contributed to her decision to visit Korea for the first time after her long years’ residence in Australia, during which she recalled, she had not wanted to go back to Korea. Thus, it is not only white Australians who adhered to a racial construction of Australians but Peggy herself also subscribed to the notion in that she sought recognition of her membership only from white locals as if they were the only legitimate Australians.

Evident in the narratives above is the unchallenged assumption of native speakers as ideal and perfect speakers or “the idea that native speakers produce some form of

‘correct English’” (Pennycook 2012, p. 82). Such language ideologies about native speakers, result in an achievable goal that is restricted to ‘passing for a native speaker’ as in Janice’s narrative, despite her successful performance in academic contexts and employment. In the end, in the last interview, Janice revealed her critical view of language, challenging the concept of the idealised native speaker: *“Both my English and Korean are not fully developed. But I don’t know how many people can be sure if their language is fully developed. Do they even have to worry about it? I don’t think so. They don’t care. They don’t need to.”* (Janice’s narrative). Unlike Janice, most participants revealed a view of their own English as deficient.

Pennycook calls into question this assumption, drawing on empirical research (Mulder & Hulstijn 2011) on Dutch native speakers put to spoken tasks that revealed as counter-evidence their evident grammatical errors. Indeed, if we transcribe our utterance or pay a little attention to our own language use in the language in which we feel most comfortable and confident, whether a first language or mother tongue, we will notice that our speech is full of grammatical errors, incomplete sentences and sometimes inappropriate use of vocabulary and so on. In this regard, the connection between native speakers and the standard variety of English should be challenged since the standard variety is only created and learned through institutionalised education (Pennycook 2012, Piller 2001). Pennycook presents this linguistic reality, stating, “speakers of only one language nevertheless have variable competence in that language, the notion of being a native speaker does not guarantee much” (2012, p. 81).

To sum up, it was believed that Koreans should learn English from so-called native speakers of English, through participating in and affiliating with the associated culture.

This association with native speakers was perceived to be the index of an acquired level of English. The lack of contact with local Australians despite their submersion in an English environment was presented by the participants as the fundamental reason for their lack of English. Language levels were based on the prevalent language ideology about native speakers as ideal and legitimate speakers of English. However, as long as they adhered to the notion of native speakers, they would always position themselves as having an inferior status to English speakers. As Pennycook argues, “[t]he idea of native and non-native speakers really does not do any useful work in thinking about real language use, and does a great deal of harm as a categorization that cannot escape its roots in nationalism, racism and colonialism” (2012, p. 99).

## **Lack of language in Korean context**

### *Language-related and behavioural norms*

Affiliating with local Australians turned out to be a highly unattainable or challenging task, and such difficulty was conceptualised as due to their lack of shared culture. A similar gap also occurred in their interactions with Korean speakers in Korean contexts. Detailed narratives were provided by Janice who explicitly expressed the perception of neither language being fully developed and a sense of inbetweenness: “한국에 그렇게 가고 싶었는데 막상 갔더니 아닌 거예요. 사람들이 돌려서 하는 말을 못 알아들어요. 그러니까 나는 디렉트로 말해줘야 해요. *Yes-no-question* 으로 물어봤는데, ‘*Maybe*’는 뭐니? ‘이거 될까요?’ 라고 물어봤는데 ‘아마 될 거예요.’ 된다는 건지, 안 된다는 건지. (데이트를 원하는 듯한 남자가) ‘난 잘 쉬었어요. 오늘 날씨 좋네요.’ 라고 말해요. 그럼 난 곧이곧대로 알아듣고 ‘네, 날씨 좋아요’



라고 대답해요. 그 말의 의미를 몰라요. 그러니까 내 응답이 시원치 않잖아요. 한국에서는 말을 빙빙 돌려요. 그런데 나는 그걸 몰라요. 그러니까 (관계에) 진전이 없는 거예요. # *I was so eager to go back to Korea, but when I went there, the things were different from what I expected. I couldn't understand when they said something indirectly. I mean, they should talk to me straightforwardly. I asked a yes-no question, and they answered, 'maybe'. What does 'maybe' mean? I asked, 'Will it be Ok?' They said, 'Probably it will'. I am not sure if it is OK or not. Someone (whom she assumed wanted to have a date with her) said, 'I had a good rest. Today the weather's good.' Then I literally answer the question, 'Yes, it's good.' I don't know the person's intention. So my response is not very positive. In Korea, people beat around the bush. But I don't know that. So there is no progress in my relationship.*" (Janice's narrative)

Janice revealed her substantial lack of language repertoire in Korean, about which her mother often made jokes and teased her; she recounted her experience in which she did not know the terms to refer to human body organs and confused them with those of animals. In her narratives, however, it was not merely her linguistic repertoire but her lack of shared knowledge about local language use and behavioural norms in Korean society that prevented her from catching the connotations and hidden messages supposedly shared by domestic Koreans. This situation could also have come about from the influence of Australian norms carried over into her Korean, as in her example of yes-no questions. She switched into English in her continuing account: "*When I started to go on a blind date, I found that. My male friends said certainly I don't understand the culture. I'm too honest. I'm too straightforward.*" (Janice's narrative). She added that her mother made the same comment on her straightforwardness telling

the matchmakers that she could not understand indirect messages.

She continued by commenting that she had to seek advice from people around her concerning an appropriate clothing style, feminine attitude and behaviour to improve her first impression on a blind date. According to her, the advice turned out to be right for she was asked for a second date. In many cases, such lack of behavioural norms was frequently reported to cause unfamiliarity and conflict. In the Internet data as well as in the participants' narratives, experiences were frequently reported of being viewed as rude especially by senior relatives, and thus the participants expressed a reluctance to interact with senior Koreans. Through their experiences, the participants seemed to be aware of this issue: “나만 해도 싸가지가 없잖아요. # *I've become arrogant.*” (Peter's narrative), “버릇이 없어졌잖아요. # *I'm spoiled.*” (Hall's narrative). More often than not conflicts occurred due to their lack of behavioural norms, traits and polite language in Korean.

There was a common account present in the returnees' experiences, the Korean websites, the news reports and anecdotes from the Korean community in Australia and from Korea. The special news report about *jogiyuhaksaeng* reports that half of the interviewed *jogiyuhaksaeng* who returned to Korea after completion of higher education and found a job, experienced difficulty due to their lack of vocabulary and also inappropriate use of Korean with their boss (Youm et al. 2009). The reports also found that *jogiyuhaksaeng* experienced difficulty adjusting to organisational culture in the Korean workplace. Joshua's narrative is a typical example, although he was a short-term returnee. Joshua narrated incidents in which he lost or was forced to leave his jobs

several times within a few months due to his inappropriate language and behaviour. For example, when requested by his boss to join their business partners for lunch, he simply refused, answering that he did not want to. He understood that the problem was caused by his inappropriate behaviour because he had a clash with his boss and was immediately made redundant, yet he did not seem to know why it was inappropriate. Refusing a boss's work request would be considered inappropriate in any workplace in any society. A possible explanation could be that Joshua was deprived of the opportunity to learn behavioural norms in either the Korean or Australian context.

He was able to find employment shortly after he lost his job but similar incidents and subsequent redundancy happened repeatedly. However, Joshua did not seem to understand how his language use and behaviour would be interpreted. He recalled the latest incident in which he was laughed at in a business presentation that he gave in front of his work colleagues and business partners. It happened when he invited more questions, after questions and comments were made, saying, “*And?*” His lack of understanding of the situation is clearly shown by his question after recounting this incident; he asked me why people laughed. I explained to him that his language ‘*And?*’ did not seem appropriate in such a formal business context, because it is plain language usually used between friends in an informal context or to address someone younger. In addition the way he spoke was the way in which an adult would speak to a child. He appeared to be more than confused, yet he did not seem to relate his *jogiyuhak* to his inappropriate behaviour and conflicts in workplaces.

On the other hand, from the *jogiyuhaksaeng*'s point of view, sometimes domestic

Koreans seem to be authoritative or arrogant. Janice recalled her experience in which she was criticised for not knowing Korea's political situation. In his research on primary school students' *jogiyuhak* in America, Park, J. (2007) described his own experience of his children's *jogiyuhak* experiences and reported that after having returned to Korea, his first child viewed her Korean classmates as having no manners and later she missed the American way of life. Overall, distinct behavioural norms in Korean and Australian societies seem to be somewhat incompatible and thus easily misunderstood.

Consequently, not only those *jogiyuhaksaeng* who had little contact with Koreans and thus little knowledge of Korean language and culture, but the participants also experienced conflicts with Koreans and reached the conclusion that they should not return to Korea. A narrative from the Korean website is representative of this experience. The narrator revealed that since s/he came to Australia as a young child, s/he had little contact with Korean speakers and thus did not understand Korean culture:

“저는 얼마나 이모와만 한 달에 한 두번 짧게 3,4 분 통화하는 게 다구요... 한국 어른들 대하는 거 무섭구요. 저는 친근하게 대하는 건데 그 분들은 좀 싫어하시는 것 같더라고요.. 여기 한국 유학생분들 행동, 제가 이해 잘 못해서 전혀 친해지려고 하지 않구요.. 예의 없다고 그러니까. 얼마전에 한국에서 친척이 와서 한 4 년만에 만난 건데....제가 하는 생각과 행동에 많이 당황스러운 상황이 많았습니다. 그래서 그래 난 한국 가면 안되겠구나 하고 생각했구요. 여기서 이방인으로 받아들여져서 좀 행동이 달라도 저는 약간 다르지 하고 애교로 넘어갈 수도 있지만 걸모습이 한국인이길래 다른행동이 다들 한국분들에게는 가차 없더군요. 다시 *look down* 되기 싫습니다. 전 3.4 년에 한번 의무감에 (엄마보러)그리고

용돈타러 한국에 가요...# I talk to my mom or aunt over the phone but once or twice a month, three to four minutes, that's all... I am afraid of facing Korean seniors. I was just trying to be friendly but they seemed to dislike it... I don't try to make friends with Korean international students because I don't understand their behaviour. ...They say I don't have manners. Just a while ago my relative came here from Korea and I met my relative in four years ... but there were many embarrassing moments because of my behaviour and thoughts. So I have thought I shouldn't go to Korea. Here I'm taken as outsider, so my different behaviours can be taken as such and get away. But because I look Korean, my different behaviour is not accepted by other Koreans. I don't want to be looked down. I go to Korea in three to four years as a duty (to see my mom) and to get allowance ...” (A retrieved posting from agora.media.daum.net)

### ***Shared life history, discourse and social capital as an aspect of language***

If it was the lack of shared childhood memories that accounted for the lack of common ground with local Australian peers in Australian context, losing a shared life history also happened to Korean peers who remained in the Korean context. Over time the participants seem to have noted increasing discrepancies especially when they visited Korea. For Hall, who displayed a firm confidence in his oral production of Korean, it was with his Korean friends in the Korean context: “전 고등학교 2, 3학년 되니까, 대화가 안 된다고 해야 되나, 살아온 게 다르기 때문에. 한국 가서 친구들과하고 얘기하다 보니까, 완전 자기네 율타리 안에 두진 않더라고요. 어쨌든 같이 놀긴 하는데, 그러니까 같은 일을 겪지 않았다고 해야 되나요? 개네가 수능 얘기할 때 나는 거기 공감할 수 없고 개네가 축제 얘기할 때 나는 못 알아듣고. 하나 둘씩 공감할 게 적어지다 보니까. # As I turned Year 11 or 12, I sort of, found it hard to

*communicate with them, because we had different life histories. I noticed this while I was talking with them when I visited Korea. They did not fully include me in their group. Anyway we mingled together, but we sort of didn't have the same experience. When they talked about 'Suneung' [the national college scholastic ability test for university entrance], I couldn't sympathise with them. When they talked about (university) festivals, I didn't understand. I've felt less empathy with them one by one."* (Hall's narrative)

It seems that much peer conversation or verbal interaction revolved around shared experiences in common contexts and thus shared discourses, through which they felt connected to others. In such peer conversation, participants including Hall seem to have experienced an emotional distance, disconnectedness, and a lack of affiliation with their peers in Korean society. Jack reported that he felt disconnected from the Korean context within about five years. Jennifer mentioned that in the Korean students' community, it was said to take about five years *jogiyuhaksaeng* to feel disconnected from the Korean context. The participants seem to conceptualise a shared life history in relation to sharing culture and thus part of membership in a group: “*사실 완벽한 한국인은 아닌 거죠. 한국에서 한국 문화를 겪은 애들이랑 벌써 갭을 느끼잖아요. # Actually, I'm not a perfect Korean. I already feel the gap between those who experienced Korean culture in Korea.*” (Hall's narrative). Again, this experience was mutually felt as Hall mentioned that he was not included in his peer group. Julie mentioned a similar experience in which she was told by her friends that she could not understand them because she was different from them.

The narratives above draw attention to the implications of a lack of a shared history and

sense of belongingness. Hall suggested that shared history implied a process of gaining social and cultural capital as a member of society. When asked the meaning of ‘perfect or complete Korean’, he explained his lack of connections in comparison with domestic Korean peer youth: “취직할 때 아무래도 학벌이 딸리고. 한국에선 학연 있는 게 먹힐 거잖아요. 그런 게 없기 때문에 한국사람도 아닌 거예요. 학연, 지연이 없잖아요, 한국 가면. 여기에선 영어가 딸리니까 또 호주 사람도 아니니까. 이러니까 애매한 입장이 된다는 거죠... 한국에선 언어가 되는 데 인맥이 안 되죠. # *When seeking employment, I will lack a school clique. School ties work in Korea, you know. Because I don't have things like that, I'm not Korean. I don't have school and hometown ties in Korea. Here, I lack English and I'm not Australian, either. So, I am in an in-between situation ... My Korean is OK but I don't have connections and networks in Korea.*” (Hall's narrative)

Indeed, in Korea “the reputation of a university is one of the most important criteria for measurement. It spawns social networks and creates social capital which is almost indispensable for individual success” (Kim, S. 2010, p. 311). Hall seems to have been aware of these types of social and cultural capital that are valued in Korean society. Peter presented a similar perspective when explaining his perceived reason for *jogiyuhaksaeng*'s difficulty in readjusting in Korea: “아무래도 한국에서 사회생활을 하려면 공통점을 최대한 많이 만들어야 하는데 아무래도 공통점이 부족하잖아요. 예를 들어 남자 같은 경우는 군대 갔다 왔으면 도움이 많이 되고요. 학교나 학교선배, 직장에서 만나면 도움 많이 되잖아요. 공통점이 많으면 커넥션이 있는 거고. # *To have a career in Korean society you need to have as much in common as*

*possible, but we lack it. For example, if you're a man and have completed army service, it helps a lot. It helps a lot if you have a school senior in your workplace. If you have much in common, you have connections.” (Peter’s narrative)*

Hall’s comment further reveals that having such connections does not merely refer to having school ties through the same school credentials, but is also related to social interactions. In this regard, he exhibited a concern about his lack of behavioural norms in Korean society and thus potential conflicts: “한국인은 한국인인데 한국 가서 저란 카드가 먹힐 수 있을까? 직업을 갖게 되도 회사에서 제가 잘 적응할 수 있을지... 저만 해도 버릇이 없어졌잖아요. 한국에선 대학선배를 깎듯이 대해야 하잖아요. 원래 한국이 그런 거 많이 따지잖아요. # Anyway I’m Korean, but will I be taken as a hot item in Korea? Even if I have a job, I’m not sure if I will be able to adjust well... because I’ve become ill-mannered. In Korea you should be very polite to your senior students in university. Originally it matters a lot in Korea.” (Hall’s narrative)

Hall seemed to be aware of the significance of social networks and connections as social capital for advancement in Korean society as well as the possible issue of his lack of appropriate behavioural norms in Korean contexts. According to this, Hall’s sense of not belonging or inbetweenness was derived from his concerns about having insufficient social and cultural capital in both societies. Hall commented that in the Australian context he lacked language whereas he had language but no connections in Korea.

It also seems that those who are currently studying abroad have an opportunity to know



the issues returnees from *jogiyuhak* experienced in Korea. Both Peter and Hall commented that they had heard the news about their *jogiyuhak* friends who had returned to Korea previously. In addition, there seemed to be various discourses available about the first *jogiyuhaksaeng* generation who went abroad in the late 1990s. The participants kept up-to-date with such discourses about *jogiyuhaksaeng* in Korean society. Perhaps, for this reason, Hall expressed doubt whether his English could be regarded highly in Korean society, on the grounds that according to the information circulating among them there were many domestic Koreans who could speak English well in Korean society.

This notion is contrary to a major discourse in the competition for whose English is best; ‘*haewaepa*’ versus ‘*kuknaepa*’ (Goodman 1986). *Haewaepa*, foreign learners who experience study abroad, are generally known to have higher English skills than *kuknaepa*, domestic Koreans who have never been overseas in Korean society. Their fluency and pronunciation in English often threatens Korean teachers of English in their school on their return from even short term *jogiyuhak*. This is also contrary to the research findings from other studies on *jogiyuhak* in American context in their research the participants expressed their English (see, e.g. Shin, H. 2010; Song, J. 2007). Firstly, domestic Korean students whom the participant mentioned may be in fact returnees from short term study abroad. Secondly, this notion seems to be related to the stratified status of English varieties in Korean society, in which Australian credentials and English are not as highly valued as American English. It may not be a coincidence that Janice adopted American accent when she returned to Korea after long years of study abroad in Australia.

To sum up, a sense of inbetweenness arose through social interaction and lay in the difficulty in interacting and associating with speakers of both languages, which was conceptualised as their lack of language in both contexts. According to this, language proficiency in the narratives does not only refer to a mastery of vocabulary, phrase, expression, use of honorific languages, but also to shared viewpoints, cultural affiliation, discourse, memory and life experiences, and social and cultural capital in both sociocultural contexts. This illuminates aspects of language as belongingness and membership, which is further explored in the section below.

## **FOBs versus ‘Kossies’**

### **Grouping based on bilinguality and culture**

The previous section has shown that as the participants found it hard to associate with local Australians, most participants voluntarily or involuntarily formed a social network with Korean peer students; many of them had little opportunity to mingle with local Australian peers and those who were once integrated into a local Australian peer network in their school with no Korean population eventually joined a Korean peer group. Jane, who had at one time experienced difficulty in peer interactions with local students of European backgrounds, made friends with Korean and Asian students when she transferred to a new school as there was only one Korean girl: “한국애랑 아시아애 친구 사귄 다음부터 이젠 학교에 가는 게 좋아요. # *Since I have had Korean and Asian friends, I like going to school.*” (Jane’s narrative). It seems that ethnic and cultural proximity made her feel comfortable with Asian peers. Similarly, Janice

reported that all her school friends were Asians from Hong Kong and Japan. This grouping pattern was commonly mentioned: “백인은 백인들끼리 친해요. 유럽애들하고 호주애들하고 더 쉽게 친해지고, 마치 우리나라 사람이 중국사람하고 더 쉽게 친해지는 것처럼. # Whites (students) are close to whites. Europeans get close to Australian more easily, just like we (Koreans) get close to Chinese people more easily.” (Jack’s narrative).

However, *jogiyuhaksaeng*’s grouping does not uniformly lie in ethnic and cultural proximity. Rather, migration background appears to be another crucial index of grouping as evidenced by the fact that the participants formed a group of friends with those who had the same migration background, whether Korean or Asian, but not second generation Korean Australian youth. Both Jane and Janice reported that the Asian students they associated with were of the same migration background and an online contributor revealed that s/he associated with migrant peers, not locals. Studies on Asian immigrant students in the US and Canada suggest that building a peer network with the ethnic peers of the same migration background provided them with a comfort zone (Kanno 2003), or constructed a positive identity formation (Chiang-Hom 2004; Palmer 2007). A shared migration background with Asian students meant a common bond as migrant students and English learners. Peggy, for example, recalled that she became affiliated with Chinese migrant students because of a similar language level derived from their common migration history: “*I had a lot of Chinese friends, because I related to them a lot. Because I see them, ‘Oh, they can’t speak English. They are like me, exactly like me’.*” (Peggy’s narrative).

Their grouping was related to their English level as migrant students. Jack attributed to *jogiyuhaksaeng*'s separate grouping from second generation Korean youths, *gyopo*<sup>25</sup> in Korean to the different language levels and their use. According to Jack, for *gyopo* students English was a dominant language, yet they spoke Korean to migrant Korean youths perhaps out of courtesy. However, migrant students, mostly *jogiyuhaksaeng* in his school felt uncomfortable talking with *gyopo* students in Korean because they were concerned that *gyopo* students might not understand their Korean. Indeed, the common practice among Korean migrant students was to use Korean among Korean speakers because they were not fluent in English at least in the early years but also because it was derived from the cultural rule of using polite language.

The culturally-embedded norm of speaking Korean to Koreans was evident in their linguistic practice when text messaging. I discovered this when Peter sent me a transliterated SMS text message: "*Noo na, u je chin goo deul nol lu wasu ja go a gik do it daneun. # Sister, yesterday my friends slept over in my house and they [are] still here.*" (From Peter's text message sent to me). It was interesting but also surprising to me since to my knowledge, transliteration or Romanisation originally created for non-Korean speakers was not as easy as reading in Korean or English. As I had contact with more young Koreans, I often received SMS text messages written in transliterated Korean. Another type was bilingually written in English and transliterated Korean, "An young ha se yo [Hello]. I'm running out of time so I can't make it today. Je song hae yo [I'm sorry]." (John's text message). Hall answered my question as to what led them to use such a linguistic practice: "*제가 왔을 땐 그게 대세더라고요. 언어가 안 되는*

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<sup>25</sup> The category of *gyopo* is not necessarily limited to those who were born overseas, but rather it includes all immigrants who stay in another country having obtained permanent residency. Yet, in some cases such as in Jack's narratives, the term *gyopo* is often used to refer to those who were born in a host country as the children of the first generation immigrants.

문제도 있고 문화적인 거 땀에 그렇더라고요. *you* 라고 하기가 그렇죠, 형들한테. 처음 에는 되게 기분 나쁘더라고요. 좀 기분 나빠요. 그럴 때 *Konglish* 로, ‘뭐뭐 해요’ 이러면 기분 안 나쁘잖아요. 처음에 좀 싫어요. # *That was the popular trend when I came. It was because of language barrier but more related to culture. You can't use 'you' to older brothers [referring to senior students]. I felt offended. It's kind of offensive. In that case, you won't feel upset if it is, 'blablabla haeyo [honorific ending of a sentence]', in Konglish [Korean language style English]. In the beginning, you don't like it [English text message using 'you'].*” (Hall's narrative)

According to Hall, it was the cultural rule related to using honorific language that led Korean students to use such transliterated Korean. At the time it was technically impossible for them to type a text message in Korean so they found alternative way to act according to their cultural norms. Interestingly, this practice was mainly present in young Korean youth, as Hall added that adults did not like transliterated Korean because it was hard to read. *Konglish* was also present in their conversation in Korean as a form of Koreanised pronunciation of English words. The excerpt below is from the exchanges between Peter and Hall during the joint interview at a café in a suburban area when they received a menu in the middle of the interview. The conversation started when they were reading the menu:

Peter: 뭐 마시지? # *What should I drink?*

Hall: 난 *strawberry ice*\*. # *For me, strawberry ice.*

Peter: [Hall 의 원어민 같은 억양을 그대로 따라 하며] *Strawberry ice!* 혀 꼭 그렇게  
 쿨러야 돼? # [copying Hall's English accent without Korean accent trace] *Strawberry*

*ice! Do you really have to roll your tongue like that?*

Hall: 왜?...*(몇초간 침묵 후 목소리를 높이고 분명한 발음으로) 딸기 얼음! #*

*Why?...*(silenced for a few seconds, then raising his voice and articulating in Korean)**

*Strawberry ice!*

Peter: *알았어. #I see.*

Hall: *오늘 이상하게 **ice** [in Korean accent [aisə]<sup>26</sup>]가 땡기네. # Today I don't know why, but I feel like ice.*

Peter: *나도 딸기얼음 먹어볼까. # Maybe I should try strawberry ice, too.*

[\*: The word in bold is to show that it is an English word used in their Korean.]

In order to understand Peter's comment on Hall's code-mixed word 'strawberry ice' and Hall's subsequent response, it is useful to invoke Koreans' obsession with native-like pronunciation. This is evident in Koreans' tongue surgery to acquire an allegedly better r-sound (Chapter 3, p. 62). It is because of the difficulty in producing an r-sound that a Korean speaker's English accent with a native-like r-sound is immediately taken as the speaker's high or native level of English. In addition, its indexical meaning as representative of a North American English accent reinforces Koreans' obsession with the r-sound. Accordingly, more often than not an excessive r-sound can be heard in Korean speakers' use of English as an attempt to gain recognition for his or her English level.

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<sup>26</sup> In Korean, every sound comprises one syllable and thus contains a vowel. So, the word 'beach [bitch]' is considered as only one syllable in English but in the Korean language context, Koreans typically pronounce it as two syllables [bitchi]. Here, ice pronounced as [ais] in English is considered as only one syllable, whereas in Korean it will be pronounced as [a-i-sə] as three syllables with each vowel being segmented.

On the other hand, as it is a challenge for domestic Koreans to produce a native-like r-sound, this r-sound is considered to be unnecessary or unnatural in conversation among Koreans, unless one is perceived to be a native speaker of English. With these conflicting social meanings the r-sound often becomes a source of parody or even ridicule. Thus, sometimes they adopt an explicitly typical Korean style of English pronunciation in Korean language contexts. Similarly, in Shin, H.'s research (2012) on Korean high school students in Canada, one of the participants recounted an incident in which a 16-year old Korean boy, a preschool age arrival, pronounced a *Konglish* word with a native-like English accent and everyone laughed. The participant copied the boy's pronunciation "in a high pitch and exaggerated rising tone" (ibid., p. 195) and said that Koreans would not speak English among Koreans, and therefore when the boy did it, it was funny.

Against this backdrop, the expression 'rolling a tongue' can be interpreted as either a native-like accent or an unnaturally excessive r-sound. Peter seemed to consider Hall's pronunciation of 'strawberry ice' as excessive for he imitated his pronunciation and challenged it as 'rolling a tongue'. Hall understood Peter's intention and responded to Peter by articulating strawberry ice in normal Korean pronunciation. As both of them seemed to be aware of the multiple social meanings being addressed in relation to the native-like r-sound, this *Konglish* seems to be a common linguistic practice among Korean *jogiyuhaksaeng*.

Thus, such differences in their main medium of language, logic, linguistic practice and their associated feelings of discomfort led to both groups being alienated from each other. Jack added that except for those who learned Korean from childhood from their

parents and lived in an environment such as a church with a large Korean population or an immediate Korean community, *gyopo* students could not speak Korean and consequently seemed to find it hard to socialise with Korean migrant students. Jack reported that recently his (Korean) church began to offer separate church services delivered in English and in Korean respectively for second generation Korean youth and 1.5 generation youth including new comers: “영어는 영어 잘하는 애들끼리 모이고 한국어는 한국애들끼리 모이고. 영어하는 애들끼리 모여서, 한국애들을 FOB 이렇게 부르고. 한국에서 얼마 전 새로 온 친구들이다. 영어를 못한다는 말이죠. # *In English service, those good at English get together, and Korean students come to Korean service. Those English speakers come together and call Korean peers ‘FOB’, meaning new arrivals. Actually it means they can’t speak good English.*” (Jack’s narrative).

The narratives reveal that those who are categorised as ‘FOB’ (fresh off the boat), in turn refer to *gyopo* youth as ‘Kossie’ (a combination of the words ‘Korean’ and ‘Aussie’). In addition to language, behavioural norms and viewpoints also contributed to their separate grouping. John defined himself as familiar with Korean culture as a post-Year 9 arrival and recalled his experience in interacting with other *jogiyuhaksaeng* and immigrants as a Sunday school teacher in his Korean church: “주일학교 애들이 혼란스러워해요. 바로 온 애들 있죠, 그리고 여기서 태어난 애들도 있잖아요. 개네들이 같이 공부를 해요. 근데 그러면 인제 서로, 그리고 선생님들도 되게 많이 헷갈려 해요. # *Sunday school students feel confused. There are new comers. And there are children who were born here. They study together in the same class. Then not only students but also teachers feel confused a lot.*” (John’s narrative).



According to these teachers, they found it confusing to apply classroom norms and rules to a mixed class of two groups of students because the norms applicable to each group were too different; for example, they could not scold Australian born students in the same way as they would newly arrived Korean students. Peter commented on the incompatibility of the two different cultural or behavioural norms. He reported that he could associate both with ‘Kossie’ and his *jogiyuhaksaeng* group but not at the same time in a same group because there were some cultural norms in the two cultures that they could not simultaneously comply with. For example, showing respect to senior students would be a norm within *jogiyuhaksaeng* whereas Australian born Korean youth would not subscribe to such a hierarchical relationship or would resist it, which in turn meant they tended to be viewed as being rude.

Interestingly, in contrast to Jack’s church that provided church service in two languages, Peter reported that in his university, from the previous year the Korean student association of Korean international students had combined with another Korean student association comprised of ‘Kossie’: “저희 KSA 가 KSA 랑 K\*SA 로 두개로 나뉘어져 있었는데 작년부터 합쳤어요..아무래도 한국인인데 같은 학교에 있고 나뉘어져 있는데 매번 그거 땀에 땀이 싸웠어요. 트러블이 많았어요..# *Our KSA was divided into KSA and K\*SA and they merged last year... Anyway, we’re all Koreans in the same school but divided, so we had a lot of conflicts. We had lots of troubles ...*” (Peter’s narrative). While the Korean church provided different language services due to problems combining Kossie and newly arrived youth, the merging of student associations was intended to solve the conflicts and problems due to the separate associations. Yet, Peter admitted that Kossie students would not attend the Korean

students' organised events, because they found it hard to fit in and also because they did not want to be categorised as Koreans. According to Peter, this was the influence of growing up in Australia without knowing about Korean culture while being pressured by their parents who imposed Korean culture on them.

In either association, the underlying motivation for these Korean student associations was to create their own youth culture: “엠티같은 거 가고 싶을 거 아니에요 들은 것도 많은데. 엠티같은 것도 만들고 신입생활영회도 하고 선후배와의 관계... 그런 걸 저희가 만드는거죠, 따로 없으니까. ...(봉정: “호주에는 그런 거 없니?... 네, 별로 없어요. 있다고 해도 일단 분위기 자체가 다르죠. # *You want to go M/T*<sup>27</sup>, *won't you? We've heard a lot about it. We like to have M/T and welcome party for new students and the relationship between senior and junior students. We're making it because we don't have those things with us ... (BJ: Don't Australians have such thing?) ... No, not really. Even if there is anything like that, the atmosphere will be different.*” (Peter's narrative)

Peter reported that in this combined Korean student community it was difficult for Kossie students to associate with Korean born peers unless they were able to speak Korean. According to him, although the student association was planning to provide an English website, unless Kossie students conformed to Korean culture it would be difficult to belong to this association. Again, the key to their grouping is not only the

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<sup>27</sup> M/T, a short form of 'Membership Training', is university students' two day and one night long event that brings new and senior students together for bonding and team-building at the start of semester. It is divided by major, so the students of a same course, e.g. Law, Nursing, and Business, are grouped with students of the same course. It is organised solely by the students who find suitable locations, finance budgets using students' dues, and plan all activities throughout the event.

language level but also shared cultural rules, norms and transnational experiences through which their bilinguality was constructed.

### **Self- and other-ascribed construction of group identity**

The term FOB is found in American and Canadian contexts, suggesting its presence in English speaking western countries. In a chapter of the book on Asian American youth Chiang-Hom (2004) writes about foreign-born Chinese students' life in the US. She describes the change of their status in the new sociocultural context, "they often would find themselves categorized and ridiculed as racialised minorities and FOBs<sup>28</sup> by their U.S.-born peers including their acculturated co-ethnics" (2004, p. 143). It shows that this term carries ideological baggage in relation to their language and culture. Although Jack's interpretation was that, "It means they can't speak good English", it does not simply refer to an English level, but posits those who are called FOB as undesirable or inferior. Jeon, M. (2007) found in her study on the language ideologies concerning the Korean language of young Korean American college students that second generation Korean American students called a Korean student who came to America at age six an FOB (I discovered this through an email exchange from Jeon, M.) even though he had spent more than ten years in America and despite the term being used to refer to newcomers. As Jeon, M. mentioned, the participants further revealed, "FOBs always hang out with other FOBs, speaking only Korean to each other and acting like Koreans with Korean attitudes instead of acculturating into American society" (Jeon, M. 2007, p.

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<sup>28</sup> According to Chiang-Hom, "FOB stands for 'fresh off the boat'. It is a derogatory slang used by highly acculturated 1.5 – and second-generation Asian Americans to refer to those who are considered too Asian and unassimilated" (2004, p. 157). During fieldwork, I also found the term present in the Australian context. A couple of participants used the word to refer to adolescent immigrants, as a distinct group from second-generation Korean Australians.

123). Her participants informed her that the term seemed to have been produced by Asians and had a negative connotation. However, the student referred to as FOB was proud of his Koreanness along with the Korean language and culture.

Palmer (2007) conducted an ethnographic study of Korean born students' struggles to fit into an American high school and found that conflicts arose not only between Korean students and white American students, but also between American-born (second generation immigrants) and Korean-born youth (1.5 generation and *jogiyuhaksaeng*). In the study, the American-born Korean students called the Korean born FOB, imposing an inferior identity on them in terms of an un-American style of behavioural traits, clothing and study habits that did not 'fit in' with the 'American culture', whereas Korean-born students refused this inferior ascribed identity, claiming to have achieved a positive identity as authentic Koreans, and criticised the second generation for being Americanised and not knowing about Korean language and culture. Similarly, Shin, H.'s research (2012) addressed above found a mutual imposition of negative and conflicting group identities between *jogiyuhaksaeng* and second generation Korean youth. Shin, H. notes that while *jogiyuhaksaeng* were constructed as FOB signifying a low level of English and those "who fail to adapt to local culture and society", they deployed counter-discourses to resist negatively ascribed identities from second generation Korean youth and constructed themselves as "cool and morally superior and *iminja* students as "uncool, underprivileged, and backward" (Shin, H. 2012, p. 189).

Such dynamics in construction of self- and other-ascribed identities were found in the participants' narratives in the present research. According to Peter, Kossie considered Koreanness and culture as undesirable and shameful, whereas *Jogiyuhaksaeng* and 1.5

students were proud of their language and culture. It is notable that while the ascribed term FOB evidently has a negative construction, the term 'Kossie' seems to have ambivalent values. Although it implies over-assimilation into Australian culture with a loss of Korean language and culture, it also seems to carry a positive meaning given that the term, 'Kossie' or 'Kozean' is used in public, e.g. <http://www.kozean.com> (a Korean portal website based on Australia). This positive construction seems to be derived from their English level and adaptation to Australian life. It suggests a stratified status assigned according to their English within Korean community and also a priority of English.

### **Variance among *jogiyuhaksaeng***

To summarise the narratives about the groupings above, the participants' Koreanness and culture interrupted their affiliation with local Australian peers while at the same time they were alienated from domestic Koreans. They felt distant from newly arrived Korean international students and also found it hard to associate with Australian born *gyopo* students. Ultimately, they affiliated with those of the same *jogiyuhak* background and those who could be identified as 1.5 generation with a similar migration background. Apart from Peggy who exhibited difficulty even starting a conversation with Korean speakers, all the participants revealed that in the end they associated mainly with other Korean *jogiyuhaksaeng*.

However, the variations that were expressed by other sub-groups were also present among *jogiyuhaksaeng*. For example, many participants commented that early primary

school arrivals prior to Year 5 tended to become like Australians or foreigners. They also remarked that Year 5 or 6 was a watershed for achieving nativeness in language and culture, so that it would be preferable to go overseas by the age of Year 5 or 6 to attain native-like English. Notably, Helen observed that post-Year 5 arrivals perceived themselves as Koreans. Peggy's narratives seem to support this hypothesis as she, an 8-year-old arrival, revealed that she found it hard to communicate with other Koreans because of her lack of Korean heritage and culture.

John's narratives seem to account for this hypothesis: “예를 들어 초등학교 2,3학년 때 온 애들은 좀 일찍 왔는데 좀 한국에서 사회성 교육 있잖아요. 중학교는 들어가야지 아무래도 위계질서가 있잖아요. 위에 형들 있고, 선배, 후배가 있잖아요. 초등학교는 모른단 말이에요. 그래서 애네들은 자기가 좋을 땐 한국사람이 되고 또 자기가 싫을 땐 호주사람이 돼요. # For example, those who came at Year 2, or 4, that's quite early, but you know, education for sociality in Korea, there is a hierarchy at least from middle school. You have older brothers [not in family relationship, but those older than you], senior and junior students. In primary school years, you don't know about it. So, when they like, they are Koreans and when they dislike, they become Australians.” (John's narrative).

According to John, arrivals prior to Year 4 or 5 (9 to 10 years of age) picked up Korean and Australian norms when it was to their advantage. If it was advantageous they complied with Korean norms and values. However, when Korean values and norms were required of them in Korean communities, they did not behave as most Koreans would do. John sought an explanation in the lack of socialisation through peer

interactions and the hierarchical relationships in the Korean school context. Hall commented on his friend Peter's (10 year old arrival) Australianness: “개는 좀 호주문화가 있다고 느껴요. 호주 느낌이 약 30% 정도. # I feel he has some Australian culture. About 30% of him is Australian-like.” (Hall's narrative). Peter's mother also spoke of the hybrid cultural attributes in Peter's behaviour; according to her, Peter was a typically conservative Korean man, far more conservative than Koreans of a similar age. She attributed this to her strict discipline and upbringing in his childhood in Korea. Similarly, Peter expressed a positive perspective on the use of polite language and submissive attitudes toward senior students on the grounds that such attributes would contribute to establishing close relationships and bonds. Yet, Peter's mother added that Peter often behaved differently from the way most Koreans would and sometimes she felt confused.

Some *jogiyuhaksaeng* seem to have more complex hybridity in their behavioural traits and perspectives. It is of course self-evident that there are cultural differences in behavioural rules and norms and underlying assumptions between the Korean and Australian contexts. The participants who grew up in Australia were more likely to adopt local norms and behavioural traits and accordingly may have behaved to some extent differently from domestic Koreans. However, to view individual *jogiyuhaksaeng* according to their socialisation solely in the Australian context does not provide a clearer understanding of them. There must be other contextual and individual factors involved in their growing up and personal development that contributed to the differences among them, such as their relationship with parents, social networks, and affinity groups and other immediate community groups, and so on.

Conceptualising their hybrid identities is highly contingent on each person's experiences and assumptions that can vary among Koreans. For example, Peter was viewed as having Australianness by his friend, Hall, but he was also described as a conservative Korean male by his mother. Even among *jogiyuhak* students, there are different perceptions of Koreanness and Australianness. Similarly, some participants spoke of their experience of being seen as different from domestic Koreans merely because of their migration background. Jack recalled that when he was working in Korea in an internship after completion of his undergraduate degree in Australia, he was viewed as a foreigner by his work colleagues just because of his *jogiyuhak* background. Julie, who returned to Korea after her *jogiyuhak*, also complained about how her *jogiyuhak* background was arbitrarily invoked to relate to her individual attributes; when she expressed her craving for beefsteak which she had enjoyed in Australia, her colleagues interpreted it as posh taste related to her *jogiyuhak* background: “스테이크가 호주는 그렇게 비싸지 않잖아요. 5 불짜리 스테이크 파는 팝들도 있잖아요. # You know, a steak is not expensive in Australia. In some pubs, it was only five dollars.” (Julie's narrative). In other words, their attributes and performances were predefined by their *jogiyuhak* background. This seems to add more weight to their sense of inbetweenness.

Overall, they were not able to affiliate with members of either society and expressed a feeling of isolation: “어느 쪽에서도 이해 받지 못하고 어디서나 ‘다르다’는 걸 느끼며 살았는데. # I lived without being understood by either side and I always felt I was different wherever I was” (from the online posting from [www. daum.net.agora](http://www.daum.net.agora)). Frequently replies included the following comments: “이런 경험을 해보지 않은



사람은 절대 알 수 없어요. # *Those who don't have this experience will never be able to understand us*” and “우리는 늘 곁들며 살겠지요. # *We will never be able to fit in either society.*”

These feelings seem to be somewhat enduring. Janice reported that after she returned to Korea after *jogiyuhak* she associated mainly with other returnees: “(In Korea) I hung out with friends who were all from Australia. All my friends are like me. Or even friends that I newly met there (in Korea) were like me.” (Janice’s narrative). Yet, this did not seem to reduce the sense of inbetweenness: “이대로 끼인 채로 살지 뭐. # *Well, I should live just as I am now in-between.*” (Janice’s narrative). It has also been reported that those who returned to Korea from *jogiyuhak* tended to leave Korea again due to their readjustment problems: “지금 우리가 한국 가면 적응 못하죠. 어정쩡한 유학인들의 세계가 있잖아요. 보통 일본을 가거나 미국을 가거나 유럽을 가더라고요. # *If we (jogiyuhaksaeng) go back to Korea now, we can't adjust ourselves. We have unequivocal (jogi)yuhaksaeng's world. Often jogiyuhaksaeng go to Japan, America or Europe.*” (Peter’s narrative).

## Summary

In summary, the sense of confusion and inbetweenness implies a possible language problem but it also reveals the ideological nature of bilinguality. A sense of inbetweenness emerged as the participants found it hard to interact and affiliate both with local Australians, and domestic Koreans including newly arrived Korean peers. This was in turn conceptualised as a lack of language, which was presented in a wide

range of aspects including shared viewpoints, behavioural norms, cultural affiliation, life experiences, discourses, and social and cultural capital. This suggests language as sharedness and belongingness.

The aspects of language as sharedness and membership account further for the participants' forming a group of peer networks with other *jogiyuhaksaeng*. Separate groupings between *jogiyuhaksaeng*, Kossies, and newly arrived international students seems to have been defined by their transnational life experiences and socialisation that inform their bilinguality and culture. Given that their bilinguality was transnationally constructed, through their activities and experiences in both the sociocultural and linguistic contexts of their transnational life trajectories, their inbetweenness is fundamentally related to the transnationality of their life trajectories.

Language levels are relative and contingent on whom we talk with and the participants seem to have been subjected to constant comparison in each monolingual context. On the other hand, their evaluation of bilinguality was fundamentally based on a language ideology of the monolingual native speaker as the norm. The monolithic notion of the native speaker that presupposes all monolingual individuals as ideal speakers of the language immediately positioned their bilinguality as second class and even those who were proud of their English revealed a sense of insecurity. Further, other ascribed identities of *jogiyuhaksaeng* were often based on their *jogiyuhaksaeng* background. Such ideological constructions of monolingual native speakerism contributed to *jogiyuhaksaeng*'s perceptions of their lack of language.

## **CHAPTER 8 CONCLUSION**

### **Further discussion**

#### **English submersion and age**

Many of the participants, who had arrived with nervous yet rosy expectations and aspirations that an English environment would enable them to be fluent speakers of English, encountered the harsh reality of submersion. They found themselves facing language barriers in English that appeared impossible to overcome in fulfilling their tasks of social integration and academic adjustment. Social adjustment seemed to be crucial for the participants' adaptation to a new environment as reportedly *jogiyuhaksaeng* often returned to Korea when they experienced difficulty in social adjustment. It was challenging for many participants and painful for some of them. Although joining a peer network of local students was considered the best way to learn English, the participants seemed to associate with local peers only when there was no Korean student around. Yet, a no-Korean-speaker-environment did not guarantee social integration. As Janice's narratives show, a hostile and unfriendly climate simply did not allow her to interact with local peers. Further, in many cases, those who initially socialised with local Australian students formed a Korean peer network over time as they had Korean students in their school or university. Their endeavour or attempt to find a peer group to join often led them to change their study habits, or to neglect their study.

The participants' academic development did not prove to be related to the age factor but rather age was one of the multiple conditions that formed the participants' learning situation. In general the participants' academic adaptation can be characterised as the double burden of subject learning combined with a language barrier. When the initial academic adaptation was comparatively smooth, it was because the school curriculum was not demanding or the subject content was already familiar. Yet, for even those who experienced little difficulty in academic adjustment, the academic development process was not linear. They reported difficulty in language-dependent subjects such as Humanities and Social Sciences in late high school years as the intellectual level was more demanding along with the level of English. Their response to such a learning situation shaped their future academic trajectories.

Given the research findings suggesting that academic language development requires many years, primary school arrivals may be assumed to have sufficient time to catch up to a grade norm of English prior to higher education. However, their academic language development in their lone struggle was not smooth. Peggy who had a very limited level of literacy and study skills with little knowledge of English had to learn English through peer interaction. This was simply because she had no other way to learn English without academic and linguistic assistance. In such learning, she had to rely on listening to her peers around her to catch the language and this is perhaps how she acquired a local Australian accent. Thus, if although childhood is an advantageous time to attain fluency and a local accent, success depends on each individual's specific learning route and the nature of their language learning.

Peggy's academic achievement was low and had long-term consequences. She reported

great difficulty in writing academic essays and using formal language in English. The supplementary data also suggests that this result is not related to age but rather her learning situation. The interviews with two 1.5 Korean immigrants who arrived at a similar age to Peggy reported that they made a very smooth academic adjustment with high academic achievement. They both ascribed this to sufficient academic and language support from their parents. This also suggests the positive role of academic assistance in their first language.

Late high school age arrivals tended to have study skills and literacy, prior knowledge of subject content, and certain levels of English that they could utilise. When English as a medium of classroom instruction was incomprehensible, they relied heavily on studying through textbooks to catch up with subject learning. Perhaps because they were disadvantaged by the wide discrepancy between their level of language and that needed for academic performance, they did not have sufficient time to catch up to a grade norm of English. As a result they selected subjects advantageous to high academic achievement such as Mathematics and Sciences. Junior high school arrivals seemed to be well adjusted before experiencing a major discrepancy from the grade norms in Humanities subjects in late high school years. Yet, they were not free from the issues experienced by the other age groups.

Both subject learning and language level became more demanding in late high school grades even for those who were academically well adjusted in earlier years. Accordingly, they tended to be restricted to selecting subjects such as Mathematics and Sciences in which reading and writing was less demanding compared to Humanities and Social Science subjects. Even those who had greater aptitude for subjects that were

more language-dependent tended to gear their interest areas and pursuits to other areas of study. Early study abroad in this sense placed a severe constraint on pursuing language-related areas of inquiry. It was no coincidence that the majority of the participants were enrolled in or completed a course in business studies or IT although for some of them it may also have been a their and/or their parents' goal.

Complete submersion could therefore be highly unproductive. Indeed, the participants who had been enrolled in a boarding school without Korean students revealed great difficulty in academic performance or had a low level of English; Julie demonstrated an incapacity to write sentences when needing to enquire about her course completion and introduce herself and Helen was unable to fulfil her subject requirements for herself. Their narratives suggest that while submersion could provide the opportunity for exposure to interactions with local peer students, through which a language learner may develop fluency, this did not guarantee smooth literacy development in English. Rather in complete submersion with no academic or linguistic assistance, their academic and literacy development could be completely neglected. This situation could be worse with young children who did not have study skills nor was exposed to academic practice in classrooms and there was little academic assistance available. Overall, it cannot be said that any age of arrival is entirely preferable for *jogiyuhak* over other age groups. Regardless of age of arrival, early study abroad tended to constrain them or shape limited or narrow pathways of academic development.

Yet, most participants believed that their lack of English was due to the lack of association with local Australians and thus their submersion was incomplete. This was in turn attributed to their age of arrival. Language ideologies about English acquisition

that led to their *jogiyuhak* seemed to be reinforced through their experiences. They suggested that a child as young as under age 10 would attain native-like English or English would be their first language. This perception was again derived from children's native-like fluency and pronunciation that is widely believed to be an index of a high level or a native-like level of English. In other words, fluency was considered to indicate language proficiency and literacy was overlooked.

### **Relationship between L1 and L2 and academic development**

The present research shows that the participants' language barriers in English impeded their academic development, confirming the close relationship between L2 level and academic development. Evidently when the language of instruction is incomprehensible, it is highly unlikely that subject content will be learned. This in turn will affect the building and expanding of vocabulary and expressions that take place through subject learning.

The complex bilingualities that varied across individuals, however, question Cummins' 'threshold hypothesis' (2000) that suggests that the development of a high level of L1 is necessary for cognitive and academic development in L2 contexts. Particularly the presence of the individuals' high level of literacy in English and successful academic performance despite the incapacity to study in Korean leads us to cast a question about how we can identify the threshold levels. For example, Janice was successful in academic performance in English and also confident in literacy in English, whereas she declared her inability to write in Korean. In other words, a low level of L1 or an

impeded development in L1 alone may not necessarily entail a low level of L2 and cognitive capability. Janice's narratives indicate that her persistent efforts to learn English and expand her linguistic repertoire such as looking up new vocabulary in a dictionary and writing a diary along with her academic performance contributed to such a result. Then the low level of L2 literacy should be the result of an L2 development process with insufficient linguistic and academic assistance.

Cummins himself notes that the hypothesis was vague as "the lower threshold necessary to avoid adverse developmental consequences, the extent to which students need to attain strong proficiency in both L1 and L2 [...] was never specified" and "what aspects of language proficiency were being referred to" was not clear (2000, p. 175). Janice's bilinguality and other participants' various aspects of bilingualities also cast questions about the wide acceptability of 'the interdependence hypothesis' (Cummins 2000) that argues for the need of L1 literacy development to attain stronger progress in L2 literacy on the grounds of the transfer of academic language proficiency between L1 and L2.

While questioning the causal relationship between L1 and L2, this research does not suggest that there is no relationship between L1 and L2. Perhaps, more importantly, we need to look at the question of in what specific way L1 influences or is related to L2 and academic development. The research findings show that when L2 instruction is incomprehensible, L1 medium tutoring could aid in content learning and thus L1 plays a role as comprehensible instruction that help students cope with their language barrier in English. This is evidenced by the fact that many of the participants sought out first language assistance such as private lessons from Korean tutors and reference books in Korean. L1 medium should also be combined with sufficient and appropriate academic



assistance.

Harry's experience shows a more detailed account of the L1 and L2 relationship; to gain understanding of a new concept in the subject in English, he looked up and studied the same content in a reference book in Korean, yet he needed to study the content in English again in order to be able to perform in the subject. In other words, Harry resorted to Korean when he was unable to understand a new concept since the language of the instruction was incomprehensible. The knowledge of the content he gained in Korean was expected to help him catch up the relevant terms and language of the instruction in English, which he needed to be able to read and answer questions in the school examination. Yet, in order to catch up those terms and language of the instruction in English, he must have had a working knowledge of English, as Cummins also points out that it seems to be better for students to have explicit knowledge of L2 in order to facilitate catching up with academic language in L2.

If academic language proficiency transferred in this case, it was because the study area was common in both languages education system, that is, Science. Accordingly, highly developed L1 literacy could be helpful for students to learn new content in L2 if L2 literacy development is involved in the common or relevant knowledge areas. If L1 and L2 have common norms and rules in constructing texts, this may also help students' academic performance in L2. In a sense, transferrability in academic language proficiency may in part lie in the commonality between two languages, rather than being universally applicable to all languages.

The two supplementary interviews with 1.5 generation immigrants suggest that their

academic and social adjustment experiences were smooth largely thanks to academic and linguistic assistance from their parents. One of them reported that her parents assisted her in her schoolwork and had her read numerous books in both English and Korean, which led her to become bilingual and biliterate. This co-existence of L1, L2 and academic success seems to be seen as evidence of a close link between L1 and L2 as Cummins also states that “What is relevant is the well-supported finding that the continued development of bilingual children’s two languages during schooling is associated with positive educational and linguistic consequences” (2000, p. 175).

However, her bilinguality is the consequence of biliterate education from her parents as discussed just above. The other interviewee revealed, in addition to Australia’s multiculturalism that allowed him to be easily accepted into the Australian community:

*“Another important factor was that both of my parents were very fluent in English and familiar with the western culture due to their educational and career background. The household culture that I grew up in was already rather westernised even back in Korea and my parents were able to educate me in the Australian culture as well as the language when my family first immigrated. Their profound knowledge of culture and society (my mother majored in educational psychology and my father was a university lecturer in sociology & group counselling) assisted them in providing the adequate support I needed in order to cope with the bi-lingual & bi-cultural dilemma I may have been subjected to.”*

These interview data suggest that his parents provided him with well-rounded assistance and linguistic support must have included teaching English in relation to his school

performance. For both of them Korean as the medium was a comprehensible language, but they also had adequate support for their academic adjustment. Thus, what makes the difference lies in the quality of academic, cultural and linguistic assistance and students' endeavour to catch up. The claim for bilingual education can be underpinned by the concern about first language as a comprehensible language to deliver L2 contents that are largely incomprehensible.

On the other hand, L2 literacy does not seem to account much for L1 literacy development. The present research shows that a common attribute among the participants is the perceived inability to study in Korean, and primary school age arrivals in particular expressed a more limited capacity in reading and writing in Korean. This seems to suggest that their literacy in L1 is the result of the involvement in L1 medium education and the degree to which they continued their involvement in L1 literacy. The absence of a Korean medium education during *jogiyuhak* has long-term consequences. In Park, J.-K.'s (2011) case study of a returnee student from four years' early study abroad during primary school education the participant reported that initially it took him two years to catch up to a grade level of Korean, but he experienced a lack of academic language in his late high school grades. This late appearance of the gap in his grade level of academic language is parallel to the reported academic development process of the participants in English medium education, reminding us of the long-term impact of interruption in academic development.

While early education does not ensure a high level of English literacy, the early interruption with long years' absence of education tends to lead to a low level of Korean literacy, unless a child is involved in extra-curricular reading. Perhaps, fluency attained

without well-developed literacy may be less sustainable than fluency with literacy as literacy can provide a firm foundation. This could be the reason that L1 attrition is faster in children than in adults (Schmid 2012). In other words, fluency attained without well-developed literacy may be less sustainable than fluency with literacy as literacy can provide a firm foundation. This explanation also seems to account for Helen's case; Helen who revealed great difficulty in English literacy reported the deterioration of her English fluency although she was located in Australia.

### **Transnational bilinguality and inbetweenness**

Each individual participant's bilinguality was found to be complex in that it was not only different from monolingual speakers of either language, but also varied across individuals. The complex and varying aspects and characteristics of the individual's bilinguality cannot be fully accounted for by the distinction of language proficiency such as communicative skills and academic language proficiency, although this construct is useful in understanding migrant students' academic performance in relation to their second language development. For example, the little difficulty in academic performance that some participants reported did not ensure a high level of capacity in other areas, such as understanding TV news programs and having interpersonal communications, and vice versa. In fact, TV news does not merely involve listening skills, but also terminologies, background knowledge, discourses and history in a local context in relation to the subject of the news. Interpersonal conversational skills were also found to be multiple, not necessarily covering all interactional incidents, as Peter revealed that he had difficulty in using formal language in peer interactions. Such

complex aspects of bilinguality indicate a multiplicity of language proficiency itself that does not necessarily automatically transfer across contexts, domains and fields even for monolingual speakers.

The holistic view of bilinguals suggests that since bilinguality as multi-competence is distinct from monolinguality, comparing a bilingual's languages with the language proficiency of a monolingual is unjust. According to Grosjean (1985, 1994), assessing a bilingual's language proficiency should be "based on a totality of the bilingual's language usage in all domains, whether this involves the choice of one language in a particular domain, or a mixing of the two languages" (cited in Baker 2001, p. 8). This position argues that thus the assessment should be focused on the bilingual's general communicative competence rather than on form and correctness. However, this holistic view, although offering an equitable approach, does not question the construct of competence that is more likely related to a native speaker's monolingualism. The concept of competence initially originated from Chomsky's competence versus performance that only considered as the object of linguistic inquiry the system of linguistic rules innate in an individual's brain, and thus "the abstract, underlying abilities of language users" (Pennycook 2007a, p. 58); performance considered as the mere realisation of competence was thus excluded. Chomsky's language competence has been criticised as an "a priori philosophy predetermining specific scientific results" (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, p. 496) and for its Platonic view that excludes actual language use as false (Bernstein 1972, Pennycook 2007a, Seargeant 2010). As a response to this problematic notion of competence that disregards actual language use, the notion of competence has been expanded to a communicative competence from a sociolinguistic perspective that includes sociolinguistic rules for appropriate use such as

Canale and Swain's sociolinguistic, discursive, strategic competences (1980).

According to Pennycook, the modified and expanded notion of competence, however, is still based on "competence as the underlying capacity and performance as its realisation", although most contemporary language proficiency assessments utilise performance-based models (Pennycook 2007a, p. 59). The problem with this position is its "detrimental effects on language education since it has focused attention on underlying competence as the driver of production, rather than seeing competence as the product of performance" (ibid.). The implication of this is that this concept suggests that there is a complete or ideal state of language, which is also related to the notion of native speakers as ideal language speakers. The concept of competence seems still to subscribe to a view of language as an autonomous object and fixed entity possessed by native speakers. The prevailing language ideology about a younger age of submersion for English acquisition is fundamentally based on this concept of language competence.

As Pennycook (2007a) suggests, a complete linguistic system as abstract competence does not innately exist and "performance in language is not the end-point of competence, but rather language is the by-product of performance" (2007a, p. 60). He draws on Hopper's emergent grammar suggesting that grammar is formed from language use and thus language learning is:

not a question of acquiring grammatical structure but of expanding a repertoire of communicative contexts. Consequently, there is no date or age at which the learning of a language can be said to be complete. New contexts, and new occasions of negotiation of meaning, occur constantly. A language is not a

circumscribed object but a confederation of available and overlapping social experiences. (Hopper 1998, p. 171)

Pennycook goes on to suggest that this concept of emergent grammar helps us remove the competence-performance relationship on the grounds that performances are formed through “a wide array of social, cultural and discursive forces” (Pennycook 2007a, p. 60). Such a theoretical perspective of language proficiency helps us to view individual bilinguality in a more positive way as it helps to free the ever-present idea of an ideal state of language.

The participants evaluated their language levels in terms of their abilities and skills in two languages. However, their perceived bilinguality was also discursively constructed through social experiences and defined in terms of the social meaning and positioning in relation to a sociocultural context in which they were situated. Indeed, the evaluation of language levels is relative across, and thus contingent on, sociocultural contexts in which the social meaning and status of the language vary. For example, Janice’s perceived bilinguality was reconstructed when she returned to Korea and came back to Australia. The participants’ level of Korean was also constructed through contact with domestic Koreans. Similarly, a Mexican child’s bilinguality that was additive in his home country was posited as subtractive as soon as he moved to America (Schechter & Bayler 2002). This is how the participants who reported significant difficulty in using English believed that their English was a better resource than that of domestic Koreans.

Thus, while the sense of confusion and discomfort signifies the potential problem of *jogiyuhaksaeng*’s bilingual development, this research also illuminates the social nature

of language, showing that bilinguality was discursively constructed through the participants' social interactions with speakers located in two distinct sociocultural contexts. Particularly, the difficulty experienced in interacting with members of both sociocultural contexts was conceptualised as a lack of language. This lack was not merely a lack of vocabulary or expressions, but also included shared viewpoints, cultural affiliation, behavioural norms, childhood memories, discourses, life events, social capital and so on. The perceived language levels were in this sense identified in terms of their sharedness with members of both societies in these various aspects in their social life throughout their life history.

This suggests the locally constructed nature of language proficiency, showing how language implies membership on the one hand, and where language levels are ideologically inflected on the other hand. Given this, the participants' lack of sharedness with members of both societies was inevitable due to their transnationality, the transnational construction of life experiences, cultural affiliation, norms and resources, through which their bilinguality was constructed. In other words, *jogiyuhaksaeng's* bilingualities constructed through transnational movement and education lacked sharedness in either sociocultural context, while having both. Their perceived lack of language was also highly ideological, as it was based on an idealised monolingual speaker synonymous with a native speaker in both contexts. In the Australian context, it was this presupposition of a monolithically idealised and racialised construction of native speakers against whom they constantly evaluated their English. With domestic Koreans, it was the unquestioned assumption of monolingual Koreans as being the norm and the ideal that positioned them as deviant speakers of Korean. Surely, these language ideologies are not limited to Koreans.



The concept of a native speaker has been challenged in the fields of applied linguistics and ELT (e.g. Canagarajah 1999, Kubota 2001, Pennycook 1994, and more), but the notion of the idealised native speaker is still a predominant language ideology both in and outside the English speaking West (Holliday 2006). Pennycook (2012) notes that the extant body of literature and studies has mostly focused on discriminatory hiring practices in the ELT industry and has endeavoured to prove the legitimacy of non-native teachers of English, thus leaving out investigation of the notion of a native speaker and discussion of various attempts to define native speakers. The native versus non-native dichotomy still persists, since the reinstatement of non-native speakers does not deconstruct the notion of an idealised native speaker.

If we disavow the concept of an ideal language, the deconstruction of an idealised native speaker should also be imperative. The notion of an idealised native speaker involves two issues. Firstly, the notion proposes that the language production of a native speaker is ideal or complete, which, secondly, in turn posits a specific population categorised as native speakers who are a monolithically uniform group in that variance in their language production within the group is erased. According to this view, there should be no language proficiency issue for those referred to as native speakers. However, being a monolingual speaker does not equate to ability in all domains and all language skills (Pennycook 2012). This can also imply that there is large variance in proficiencies among those who are categorised as monolingual speakers, although they share large commonality.

The various individual bilingualities indicate that bilingual capacities were closely related to what each individual had been doing and learning through their involvement

and participation in education, peer interactions and social and recreational activities. In other words, the participants' bilingualities were constructed through their education, language use, language environment, and the activities and practices in which they had been involved in their transnational life history. This suggests that language proficiency is part of, and/or embedded capacities for, what we do rather than a set of linguistic skills that presupposes separability from what we do with that language. Language proficiency cannot be reduced to a set of skills that can be separated from what we do. Language is part of what we do as well as what we do with it in various domains, fields, contexts and situations.

Canagarajah notes that language is a social practice and thus language capacity lies in the speakers of the language and their negotiations rather than a predefined form of language (2008). Noting the hybridity of language, in addition to this notion, Pennycook suggests, "languages, like subjects, are always a work in progress (indeed subjects and languages are mutually constitutive), and [that] we cannot therefore understand language without taking particular language practices in particular locations into account" (2010, p. 129). This view of language will be of further help to think about language proficiency and the language production of individual bilinguals in a positive way.

## Implications

The research findings that reveal the complex processes of *jogiyuhaksaeng*'s academic and linguistic adaptation and further development have implications for research on migrant students' bilingualism, teachers, school professions, schools, the educational systems in both Korean and Australian societies. Before discussing this, it should be noted that these implications are applicable to not only other non-Korean early study abroad students but also all immigrant students of transnational background or the so-called 1.5 generation, as this research reveals that they share great commonality in terms of a grouping pattern.

The research shows that *jogiyuhaksaeng*'s English submersion carries a high risk of impeding their academic and language development, when their English levels are not sufficient to fit into a new classroom. For younger arrivals who have rarely learned study skills and any literacy related knowledge and who are also likely to lack knowledge on how to conceptualise the difficulties they face, the risk may be higher if there is little academic and linguistic assistance available. Those who tended to experience smooth adaptation processes were familiar with English medium instruction or had various ways to alleviate the double burden of learning English and subject content simultaneously. This suggests that a transfer in the medium of education should not be too abrupt. Also, given that while the participants pursued English monolingual education on the one hand, but on the other hand in reality they sought academic support through Korean, Korean parents who make the decision for *jogiyuhak* should be informed that the prevalent belief in English monolingual submersion is erroneous, as

well as educational policy makers, educators, school professionals and educational agents working in the ELT industry in Korea. At least, parents who plan to send their children overseas should prepare them for English medium instruction beforehand.

Schools that accommodate migrant students need to be well informed of the issues of migrant students' adaptation processes. The interview data show that most of the participants had little assistance with their academic adaptation and there seemed to be few teachers to understand their struggles. The research suggests that while individual students should make extra endeavour to catch up English in academic performance, e.g. looking up a dictionary to learn new vocabulary, reading books and writing a diary in English, they need assistance to meet their educational and linguistic needs. Schools need to identify a student's level of English and assess whether the student can read and understand the subject content in English if academic and linguistic assistance is provided, so that s/he can gradually catch up to a grade level of academic language. When the discrepancy between a student's English and the average grade level is large, placing a student in age grade classrooms is not recommendable, just as a few participants voluntarily enrolled in a lower school year for their adjustment. The student should be provided with language arts lessons before they are placed in a mainstream classroom.

In order for language arts lessons and related academic support to be comprehensible, first language support should be necessary until students are able to take control of their learning. This could be implemented by providing them with bilingual teachers who can not only give L1 instruction for L2 medium education but also need to have a comprehensive understanding of migrant students' academic and language adaptation.

Other classroom teachers and school professionals who are working with migrant students also need to have a good understanding of the issues and educational needs migrant students face. In this sense, let alone pre-service teachers, in-service teachers should be well informed of the migrant students' adaptation processes that this research illustrates. In addition, effective parent-teacher communication is necessary. The excerpt below is a journal entry from my Researcher's Journal that I wrote after I accompanied Patrick's mother as an interpreter to her parent-teacher meeting. It provides a good example of an experienced teacher with migrant students who gave strong attention to an individual student's learning:

First of all, the teacher appreciated Patrick's mother for bringing an interpreter, so that they could communicate. Then the teacher informed Patrick's mother that Patrick was above average in Math, but he could improve through attempting to verbalise his answer, which would be also beneficial to practicing English. His mother answered that the Math curriculum Patrick was learning in Australia had already been learned in Korea but the way to teach Math in English was different from that in Korean, making him confused. She added that one day he found another way to get an answer on his own. The teacher replied that it would be good to know all three kinds of 'the way Koreans teach Math, the way Australians teach and his own way of getting an answer'. From my perspective (as a Korean speaker's perspective as well as teacher's) it is good that the teacher acknowledged alternative ways to find answers, but it would be good if Patrick could be explicitly informed as this could lessen his confusion.

The teacher also explained Patrick's literacy; when Patrick read out, he caught the

very first syllable very accurately, but this became weak when grasping the second syllable and ever weaker for the third one. Skipping the rest of the words means that he did not look at words on the phoneme level. As a solution, she recommended that he study phonetics books. Patrick's mother replied that her son asked her what 'a, e, i, o, u' were. The teacher's method was having him learn by playing or practising these vowels. Although I attended the meeting as an interpreter, I presented my opinion as an experienced English learner with a Korean background and teacher as well; from my perspective, explicit explanation in addition to practice would be more beneficial. The teacher did not seem to agree, but from my experience in learning and teaching English, explicit instruction is of great importance.

After a few more important discussions about Patrick's school performances followed, the meeting ended. Patrick's mother expressed her satisfaction as she was able to inform the teacher the problems Patrick had due to language barriers. I wrote a researcher's journal entry regarding the discussions and showed it to Patrick's mother to help her assist Patrick in his study. Evidently, Patrick's teacher had observation skills but she also seemed to have a good understanding of migrant students' academic challenges from her experience teaching them. Such a meeting in which a student's teacher and parents can share and discuss their perspectives and experiences was productive in leading to mutual understanding of the student's school performance. As mentioned in the excerpt above, however, the teacher did not seem to agree with the importance of explicit instruction. It is of great significance for teachers to know why and what students find hard to understand. It would be hard for the teacher who seemed to have little knowledge on Korean and the Korean curriculum to understand Patrick's perspective. If

a bilingual teacher can cooperate in this situation, it would be greatly beneficial to the student.

While this research argues for the importance of first language support, this should be different from bilingual education that is designed for the continued literacy development of Korean. First language support means Korean medium instruction to deliver subject content written in English including the associated lesson to teach academic language used in the content, whereas Korean literacy involves language arts lessons in Korean. Given this, research on the type of bilingual education and first language support that could be productive in the Korean education system as well as in the Australian context could be a significant subject of inquiry.

However, the research does not propose that the continued literacy development of Korean itself would necessarily lead to a better result in English development. The absence of Korean has a significant consequence on *jogiyuhaksaeng*'s Korean, as this research shows that those who tended to be isolated from other Koreans found it difficult to interact with other Koreans. In a worst case scenario, this could lead to alienation from their family in Korea. The importance of continued development of Korean lies in their need to maintain the connection with a Korean context, particularly for those who intend to return to Korea, but also for those who decide to remain in Australia in seeking membership. Literacy development in Korean will be beneficial to *jogiyuhaksaeng* in this sense.

Up to the present, this task seems to be solely students' responsibility. One way that the Australian education system supports this is offering Korean language education in

schools. One of the participants replied that she continued to read in Korean through the Korean language class in her high school. As of 2009, there were only 49 schools teaching Korean as of 2009 throughout Australia and 100 per cent of Year 12 students taking Korean in NSW, South Australia, and Victoria were known to be Korean L1 background speakers who arrived in Australia having been largely educated in Korean (Shin, S.-C. 2010). In addition to low take-up in schools, most students who take the class at junior secondary level drop the class at senior high school years “due to the absence of suitable courses, a lack of qualified, skilled teachers, no clear pathways for continuation of studies and approaches to curriculum delivery that are not engaging and connected to students’ interests” (Shin, S.-C. 2010, p. 3). Providing more Korean classes with a well tailored curriculum and quality teachers will also be beneficial to other Korean students who were born in Australia.

Given these aspects of transnational bilinguality, other more productive ways of bilingual development should be possible that help students maintain their connections to Korean contexts. The Korean ministry of Education needs to support these Korean language classes for Koreans living overseas, not only for these *jogiyuhaksaeng*, but also second and third generation Korean children and Korean adoptee children in Australia. The Korean ministry of Education should also be prepared for accommodating returnee students’ readaptation into the Korean education system. In doing so, educational policy makers and educators should be better informed on the issues of transnational migrant students’ academic and linguistic challenges. This task is increasingly important in Korean society as the society now has an increasing population of multicultural migrants and children from intermarriage families.



## Conclusion

As much of the data analysis in this thesis cover negative and harsh experiences, many *jogiyuhaksaeng* reportedly struggle, give up, or fail to achieve academic and social adjustment in their new learning context (Kim, B. S. 2000). In many cases, the language barrier is a central issue both in academic and social adjustment. This research illustrates that many of those who managed to adjust to a new learning environment and advance to higher education in Australia, remained constrained in their choice of subjects. They tended to gain successful academic achievements by focusing on less language-dependent subjects such as Mathematics and Sciences and having private tutoring and extracurricular lessons. Those who experienced an initial smooth academic adjustment had comparatively little language barriers as they were familiar with English medium instruction and/or the content learning was not demanding. Yet, their language discrepancy from grade levels became prominent in Humanities and Social Sciences subjects in late high school years. Early study abroad, implying such an inherent risk in academic development, thus tends to be favourable to those who had an aptitude for and an interest in less language-dependent areas of study such as Science, IT and Business. As such, an abrupt transfer in the medium of education has significant implications and long-term consequences in regard to impediments to language and academic development.

In this vein, it should be remembered that *jogiyuhak* as an educational strategy for gaining bilingual proficiency is in fact through English monolingual education/submersion in which immigrant students are mostly placed as a linguistic and cultural

minority. As discussed in Chapter 3, submersion classrooms are designed for English monolingual students and thus lack consideration of migrant students' educational and linguistic needs. *Jogiyuhak* may be mistaken for an immersion programme as elite bilingualism as it involves high tuition fees and living expenses and students are from affluent middle class families, but it veers more toward submersion education that is characterised particularly by the absence of first language support. This situation must be fundamentally related to the question why the commonly reported negative experiences in *jogiyuhak* are not much different from the difficulties that immigrant students in general face; lack of educational support in the first language leading to problems in academic achievement, anxiety over language proficiency both in Korean and English, and the sense of inbetweenness. Bilingualism as a consequence should thus be distinguished from bilingualism as an educational model.

While this research acknowledges a potential risk of submersion, there is a wider range of outcomes in *jogiyuhaksaeng*'s academic and language development. Evidently, some participants attained a high level of academic achievement and successful entrance into the job market. In this sense, *jogiyuhak* offers transnational opportunities in terms of possible future job prospects in the Korean and Australian job markets, and elsewhere. Some participants working in the Australian job industry or studying in an Australian university expressed their wish for transnational movement to further their career development. Likewise, success in academic achievement and career paths is an index to determine the success or failure of *jogiyuhak* and accordingly those participants who were successful in their study abroad would also be more likely viewed as balanced bilinguals.

However, even those individuals who were successful in study abroad expressed the perception of a lack of language and associated sense of discomfort and inbetweenness. This cannot be fully accounted for as a perspectival matter in terms of how to view their bilinguality, but rather seems to be related to *jogiyuhaksaeng*'s transnational bilinguality. To explain this, it should be noted that their Korean is neglected while they are submerged in an English environment. The larger the gap in their Korean in comparison to domestic Koreans, the more potential there could be for their lives to be conflicted on their return to Korea. Difficulty could arise both in the readjustment to a Korean academic context, if they are still students, and social interactions with other Korean speakers. At the same time, they tend to lack an affiliation with local Australians, as evidenced by *jogiyuhaksaeng*'s separate grouping from local Australians as well as other sub-groups of Koreans. As such, this research reveals that their sense of inbetweenness was derived from their difficulty in finding people to affiliate with, apart from each other, which was attributed to their lack of proficiency in two languages although it was more related to a lack of sharedness due to their transnational life experiences. This suggests the locally constructed nature of language proficiency on the one hand, and thus, on the other hand, their sense of inbetweenness was rather inevitable due to their transnationally constructed bilinguality. Their inbetweenness may be an unavoidable cost that they have had to pay in order to gain English.

In some cases, this transnational bilinguality can have implication for an individual's linguistic repertoire as one participant revealed difficulty in finding vocabulary to express himself in either language, whereas a female participant reported that she utilised her language repertoire in both languages and as such she defined herself as a bilingual. Another participant described his lack of language in terms of using emotive

language and literary expressions. These participants were all successful in fulfilling their performance as students and professional duties as employees. It seems to suggest that while the focus was placed on aspects of language from an instrumentalist perspective other aspects and functions of language were neglected. In a way, the endeavour to gain English as perceived linguistic capital leads to an overshadowing of other aspects of language.

Ultimately each individual must assess and evaluate their own *jogiyuhak*. Indeed, the participants revealed a conflicting and multiple evaluation of their *jogiyuhak*. Some participants were satisfied with their *jogiyuhak* as they were successful in academic achievement and their endeavour to gain English in order to secure their future job culminated in their career paths and transnational job opportunities. Some were positive about their *jogiyuhak* despite the difficulties they revealed in academic performance and their struggles with English. They also valued their cross-cultural experiences that they believed equipped them with a more open and wider perspective than domestic Koreans. It is interesting that while those who tended to have reached a comparatively high level of English explicitly revealed a sense of confusion about their perceived lack in two languages, those who reported significant difficulty in English displayed confidence in their English on the grounds that it would be superior to domestic Koreans' English. Others, however, expressed regret over their *jogiyuhak* decision believing that financial and familial costs outweighed gains. They thought that their English would not be as valuable in Korea as previously because these days many domestic Koreans are equipped with good English and also their English would not be advantageous in Australia compared with local Australians.

However, a common factor in these conflicting perspectives was that their evaluation was fundamentally based on how they believed their English was valorised in both societies, although this did not necessarily correspond to their levels of English. Many participants expressed the desire for better English at a potential cost to their Korean. This indicates the dominant status and prioritised place of English, and signals that English fever and associated language ideologies have not abated. This research addresses the consequence of early study abroad on the attainment of bilinguality and in doing so illuminates the questions of what is language and what constitutes language proficiency. This may help us to think about language learning as a life-changing decision.

## APPENDICES

- Appendix A: Romanisation Style and transcription convention
- Appendix B: Consent form for Participant, English version  
                   Consent form for Participant, Korean version
- Appendix C: Information Letter for Research, English version  
                   Information Letter for Research, Korean version
- Appendix D: Interview Protocol, English version  
                   Interview Protocol, Korean version

### Appendix A: Romanisation Style and transcription convention

In this thesis, I adhere to the current ‘Romanization Style’ revised by The National Institute of the Korean Language and promulgated by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in 2002. According to the report of the survey on the response to the revised version from non-Koreans’ perspective (Park, B.-I. 2007), it is preferred by speakers of languages other than Korean, and also easier for Korean speakers.

#### Summary of the Romanisation System

**Vowels are transcribed as follows:**

simple vowels

ㅏ	ㅓ	ㅗ	ㅜ	ㅡ	ㅣ	ㅝ	ㅚ	ㅛ	ㅜ
a	eo	o	u	eu	i	ae	e	oe	w

diphthongs

ㅑ	ㅓ	ㅛ	ㅠ	ㅝ	ㅚ	ㅜ	ㅞ	ㅜ	ㅟ	ㅡ
ya	yeo	yo	yu	yae	ye	wa	wae	wo	we	ui

**Constants are transcribed as follows:**

plosives (stops)

ㄱ	ㄲ	ㅋ	ㄷ	ㄸ	ㅌ	ㅍ	ㅑ	ㅑ
g, k	kk	k	d, t	tt	t	p	pp	b, p

affricates

ㅈ	ㅉ	ㅊ
J	jj	ch

nasals

ㄴ	ㅁ	ㅇ
n	m	ng

fricatives

ㅅ	ㅆ	ㅎ
s	ss	h

liquids

ㄹ
r, l

For detailed information on Romanization of Korean from

[http://www.korean.go.kr/eng\\_new/document/roman/roman\\_01.jsp](http://www.korean.go.kr/eng_new/document/roman/roman_01.jsp) for English version,

and [http://www.korean.go.kr/09\\_new/dic/rule/rule\\_roman\\_0101.jsp](http://www.korean.go.kr/09_new/dic/rule/rule_roman_0101.jsp) for Korean version.

There are some exceptions of a few terminologies and proper names that have pre-existing romanized spellings already in frequent use: e.g. *Hankyoreh*, *Chosun*

Italics indicates Korean word transliterated in English and quoted interview data.

# Appendix B Consent form for Participant

## English version



UNIVERSITY OF  
TECHNOLOGY SYDNEY

### UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY, SYDNEY *CONSENT FORM -Participant*

I \_\_\_\_\_ (*participant's name*) agree to participate in the research project titled “Korean *jogiyuhaksaeng*’s early study abroad, bilingual and identity development in the Australian context (UTS HREC Ref #: 2008-334A) being conducted by Bong Jeong Lee, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (Education) of the University of Technology, Sydney, PO Box 123, Broadway 123, Broadway 2007 (tel: 02 9514 9641) for her degree of PhD.

I understand that the purpose of this study is to explore the experiences of Koreans’ early study abroad and examine their language and identity development by engaging a few selected Korean students who came to Australia in their childhood or adolescence and have spent more than 5 years in Australian schools.

I understand that my participation in this research will involve 3 face-to-face interviews of approximately 6 to 8 hours in total length. Bong Jeong Lee will observe part of my everyday life for 1 or 2 days of my choice if I agree to and may ask some follow-up questions through e-mails and phone-calls. I understand that interviews will take place at an agreed convenient site. The interviews may be audio-recorded if I agree to this arrangement and Bong Jeong Lee may take notes at the interview. I understand that unless I prefer to use my real name, pseudonym will be used. Any personal information identifiable as myself will be de-identified, and all information that I provide for Bong Jeong Lee will be kept in a locked drawer and password-protected electronic database. I also understand that Bong Jeong Lee will ask me to read the story of my experience written by her and I can contribute to modifying the story.

I am aware that I can contact Bong Jeong Lee or her supervisor Professor Alastair Pennycook on (02) 9514 3067 or [Alastair.Pennycook@uts.edu.au](mailto:Alastair.Pennycook@uts.edu.au) if I have any concerns about the research. I also understand that I am free to withdraw my participation from this research project at any time I wish, without consequences, and without giving a reason.

I agree that Bong Jeong Lee has answered all my questions fully and clearly.

I agree that the research data gathered from this project may be published in a form that does not identify me in any way.

\_\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_  
Signature (participant)

\_\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_  
Signature (researcher or delegate)

**NOTE:**

This study has been approved by the University of Technology, Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about any aspect of your participation in this research which you cannot resolve with the researcher, you may contact the Ethics Committee through the Research Ethics Officer (ph: +61 2 9514 9772 [Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au](mailto:Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au)) and quote the UTS HREC reference number. Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated fully and you will be informed of the outcome.



# Consent form for Participant

## Korean version



UNIVERSITY OF  
TECHNOLOGY SYDNEY

### UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY, SYDNEY

#### 연구참여 동의서-연구참여자

저, \_\_\_\_\_(참여자 이름) 은/는 UTS 의 인문사회과학(교육)학부에서 박사과정을 밟고 있는 이 봉정 (주소 Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (Education) of the University of Technology, Sydney, PO Box 123, Broadway 123, Broadway 2007, Tel: 02 9514 9641)의 ‘호주에 거주하는 한국 조기유학생들의 조기유학, 이중언어 발달 및 정체성’ 에 대한 연구에 참여할 것에 동의합니다. (UTS 휴먼리서치 윤리위원회 승인 번호#: 2008-334A).

본인은 이 연구가 업선된 소수의 한국 학생들을 대상으로 호주에 거주하고 있는 한국유학생들의 조기유학 경험과 그들의 언어 및 정체성 발달에 대해 조사할 것을 목적으로 하고 있음을 이해하고 있습니다.

본인이 이 연구에 참여하게 되면 세번에 걸쳐 총 6 시간에서 8 시간 정도 걸리게 될 인터뷰를 하게 되며 본인이 동의할 경우 연구자가 본인의 일상생활을 1-2 일 정도 관찰할 것이고 차후에 이메일과 전화통화로 보충 질문이 있을 수 있음을 이해하고 있습니다. 인터뷰는 서로 편리한 장소에서 이루어질 것이고 본인이 동의할 경우 인터뷰가 녹음될 것이며 연구자가 인터뷰시 필기를 할 수도 있음을 이해하고 있습니다. 본인이 특별히 원하지 않는 한 본인 본인의 사생활 및 비밀 보장을 위해 본인의 이름 대신 가명이 사용되고 본인의 신분이 노출될 만한 모든 개인적인 정보는 익명으로 처리될 것이며 본인이 제공한 모든 정보는 연구자 외 다른 사람이 볼 수 없도록 잠금장치가 있는 서랍과 연구자만 알고 있는 암호로 보호되는 데이터베이스에 보관될 것임을 이해하고 있습니다. 또한 연구자가 본인의 경험을 바탕으로 쓴 이야기를 본인이 읽은 후 의견을 제시하여 수정할 수 있음을 알고 있습니다.

본인은 이 연구에 대한 의문이나 문의사항이 있을 경우 아래 주소로 연구자나 연구자의 지도 교수인 알레스테어 페니콕에게 (02) 9514 3067 or [Alastair.Pennycook@uts.edu.au](mailto:Alastair.Pennycook@uts.edu.au) 로 연락할 수 있음을 이해하고 있습니다. 또한 본인이 원할 경우 언제든지 이유를 제시하지 않고 이 연구에 대한 참여를 취소할 수 있으며 그에 따른 어떤 불이익도 받지 않을 것임을 이해하고 있습니다.

본인은 이 봉정이 본인의 질문에 모두 충분히 분명하게 답변했음에 동의합니다.

본인은 이 연구에서 수집된 연구 자료가 본인의 신원을 미상으로 하여 출판될 것임에 동의합니다.

\_\_\_\_\_ /\_\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_\_  
서명 (연구참여자)

\_\_\_\_\_ /\_\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_\_  
서명 (연구자)

**주:** 이 연구는 유티에스 인간 연구 윤리 위원회의 승인을 받은 연구입니다. 귀하가 연구에 관련하여 불만 또는 유보사항이 있고 이를 연구자와 해결할 수 없을 경우에는 윤리위원회의 연구윤리원에게 (ph: +61 2 9514 9772 [Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au](mailto:Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au)) 로 연락하실 수 있으며 UTS 휴먼 리서치 윤리 위원회 승인 번호를 참조하시면 됩니다. 귀하의 불만사항은 비밀보장에 의해 처리될 것이며 완전하게 조사되어 그 결과가 보고될 것입니다.

# Appendix C Information Letter for Research

## English version



UNIVERSITY OF  
TECHNOLOGY SYDNEY

### INFORMATION LETTER

*KOREAN JOGIYUHAKSAENG'S EARLY STUDY ABROAD,*

*BILINGUAL AND IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT IN THE AUSTRALIAN CONTEXT*

Dear .....

My name is Bong Jeong Lee and I am a PhD student at the University of Technology, Sydney.

I am conducting research into young Korean international students' experience in their *jogiyuhak* (early study abroad) in the Australian context and would welcome your assistance.

If you decide to participate in this research, I will conduct 3 interviews with you, which will take 6 to 8 hours in total length. You can choose a convenient site for interviews. I will audio-record the interviews and take down some notes. I will also ask you to give permission for me to observe part of your everyday life for one or two days of your choice. I may ask some follow-up questions through emails and phone-calls.

There can be some potential risks for privacy invasion and emotional distress during the interviews and observation. If that happens, I will withdraw my question and reassure you that you can always change your mind and stop participating in this research. Also, I will not disclose any personal information identifiable as you, nor use your real name.

I invite you as my research participant because you are Korean *jogiyuhaksaeng* who started your schooling in Australia at a very young age, having spent more than 5 years, so you can talk about *jogiyuhak* experience.

After all data collection, I will ask you to read the story of your life experience written by me to get your opinion. We can discuss and change the story. This will take you some more time but you can do this at your convenience. I will provide you with further information on your request in order to decide for participation.

If you are interested in participating, or need further information, I would be glad if you would contact me (see below) or my supervisor, Professor Alastair Pennycook on (02) 9514 3067 or [Alastair.Pennycook@uts.edu.au](mailto:Alastair.Pennycook@uts.edu.au).

You are under no obligation to participate in this research.

Yours sincerely,

Bong Jeong Lee  
PhD Candidate  
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (Education)  
PO Box 123, Broadway, NSW 2007  
Ph: (02) 9514 9641  
[Bong.J.Lee@student.uts.edu.au](mailto:Bong.J.Lee@student.uts.edu.au) or  
[bongjeonglee@hotmail.com](mailto:bongjeonglee@hotmail.com)

# Information Letter for Research

## Korean version



UNIVERSITY OF  
TECHNOLOGY SYDNEY

### 연구 안내문

재호 한국 조기유학생의 조기유학경험과

이중 언어 및 정체성 발달

안녕하세요.

저는 University of Technology, Sydney 의 인문사회과학(교육)학부에서 한국 조기 유학생들의 조기유학을 연구 주제로 박사과정을 하고 있는 이 봉정입니다. 여러분을 제 연구의 참여자로 초대하고자 하며 여러분의 귀중한 경험이 이 연구에 많은 도움이 될 것입니다.

여러분이 연구에 참여하게 될 경우, 여러분은 약 6 시간에서 8 시간에 걸치는 인터뷰를 하게 될 것입니다. 여러분은 편리한 인터뷰 장소를 선택할 수 있으며 여러분이 동의할 경우 인터뷰는 녹음될 것이고 제가 필기를 할 수도 있습니다. 여러분이 동의할 경우 연구자인 제가 여러분의 일상생활에 1-2 일정도 참여하게 될 것입니다. 차후에 제가 이메일과 전화통화로 보충질문을 할 수도 있습니다.

자료수집과정 (인터뷰와 연구자의 일상생활 참여)에서 사생활 침해와 정서적 스트레스가 유발될 수도 있습니다. 그런 경우, 저는 질문을 취소할 것이며 여러분은 질문에 대답하지 않아도 되며 언제든지 연구 참여를 취소할 수 있습니다. 또한 저는 여러분의 실명을 사용하지 않을 것이며 여러분의 신원이 노출될 만한 정보는 모두 익명으로 처리할 것입니다.

여러분을 제 연구에 초대하는 이유는 여러분이 오스트레일리아에서 아주 어린 나이에 학교교육을 시작했으며 5 년이상 이곳에서 거주했기 때문에 본 연구에 적합한 조기유학생이라고 판단되기 때문입니다.

자료 수집이 끝나고 나면, 제가 여러분의 경험을 토대로 쓴 이야기를 여러분에게 보여드릴 것입니다. 여러분은 여러분의 이야기를 읽은 뒤 의견을 제시하여 내용을 수정할 수 있습니다. 이 과정이 또한 시간이 걸릴 것이나 여러분이 편리하게 선택하여 할 수 있습니다. 참여여부를 결정하기 전에 여러분이 요청하실 경우 더 상세한 설명을 드리겠습니다.

본 연구에 참여하기를 희망하거나 더 상세한 정보를 원할 경우 연구자인 이 봉정 또는 연구자의 지도교수인 알레스테어 페니쿱 에게 (02) 9514 3067 또는 [Alastair.Pennycook@uts.edu.au](mailto:Alastair.Pennycook@uts.edu.au) 로 연락해주시면 감사하겠습니다.

여러분께서 본 연구에 참여하실지에 대한 결정은 전적으로 여러분에게 있으며 어떠한 의무도 없음을 알려드리고자 합니다. 감사합니다.

이 봉정

UTS 인문사회과학학부 (교육) 박사과정  
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (Education)  
PO Box 123, Broadway, NSW 2007  
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[bongjeonglee@hotmail.com](mailto:bongjeonglee@hotmail.com)

# **Appendix D**

## **Interview Protocol**

### **English version**

#### **Phase 1.1**

##### **Life in Korea and Background information**

1. Which language do you prefer for this interview?
2. When and where were you born?
3. How was your life in Korea?
4. What made you come to Australia? What is your parents' initial purpose, goals or expectations of studying abroad? At what age did you arrive in Australia?
5. What is your English learning history prior to leaving Korea?
6. Did either or both parent accompany and stay with you? Have you lived with either or no parent?
7. What was your and your parents' plan for you stay in Australia?

##### **Early days in Australia**

1. What type of schools have you attended including the language school?  
(e.g. private, public, private-boarding/ demographic constitution in terms of ethnic and language background)
2. Tell me about the first day in your school and afterwards?
3. Whom have you lived with? Who and what language speakers were/ are they?
4. In what way and how often do you contact with you family and friends in Korea?  
What do you talk about with your family? How much do you share your concerns with your parents?
4. What language speakes have you had as your friends?

##### **Adaptation strategies for new school and life environments (life story)**

1. How did you cope with initial difficulties and what were the challenges for you?  
What was your strategy to overcome the problems?
2. How about now? What are the problems and difficulties? How do you find your current situation?

##### **Future plan**

1. What do you want/ plan to do in after high-school/ university? What course and subject in what university are you planning to do take and why?
2. What career do you want to pursue after university? Where and why?
3. Can you tell/ write a story about the roles and meanings of their languages? (I may offer my own story).

## **Phase 1.2**

### **Language proficiency and use**

To what extent and with what confidence, can you perform with comparatively little difficulty in Korean and English in the following fields?

#### 1. In the school contexts

- participating in classroom activities and discussions and other academic performances
- doing assignments including writing essays
- understanding class instructions and catching up with subject contents
- social interactions with peer students and teachers

#### 2. Outside the school contexts

- making phone-calls, taking in-coming calls to enquiry for transactional purpose
- in social transactional settings
- reading and writing business letters and documents e.g. from a bank, the department, schools, etc. and exchanging emails
- work performance in workplace if working

#### 3. Everyday life and in leisure activities

- watching TV news, shows, soap-operas and movies
- listening to music
- reading newspaper
- surfing the Internet
- friends gathering and any other leisure activities

## **Interview Protocol**

### **Korean version**

#### **면담 질문지**

##### **배경 정보와 한국에서의 생활**

1. 이 면담에서 어떤 언어를 사용하고 싶으세요?
2. 언제 어디서 태어났어요?
3. 한국에서의 생활은 어땠어요?
4. 왜 호주에 오게 되었어요? 부모님과 본인의 조기유학에 대한 목적과 목표 그리고 기대는 무엇이었어요? 몇 살에 호주에 왔어요?
5. 호주에 오기전 영어를 배운 경험은요?
6. 부모님과 같이 왔나요? 부모님과 같이 살았어요?
7. 호주에서 얼마나 공부할 계획이었어요?

##### **초창기 호주 생활**

1. 영어학교를 포함해서 다녔던 학교에 대해 얘기해주세요.  
(사립, 공립, 기숙사학교 등등)
2. 학교에서의 첫날은 어땠어요?
3. 누구랑 함께 살았어요? 어느 나라 사람이고 어떤 언어를 사용했어요?
4. 가족들이랑은 얼마나 자주 어떻게 연락하세요? 주로 무슨 대화를 어떻게 나누나요?
5. 친구관계는 어떻게 돼요?

### 새로운 학교와 환경에서의 적응 전략

1. 초기의 어려웠던 문제는 무엇이었으며 어떻게 극복했어요?
2. 지금은 어떤가요? 지금의 상황에 대해 만족하나요?

### 미래의 계획

1. 학교를 졸업한 뒤의 계획은? 상급학교로 진학할 경우 어느 대학에서 무슨 전공을 할 계획인가요? 그 이유는?
2. 대학 졸업 후에는 어떤 직업을 선택하고 있어요? 어디에서 살 계획이에요?
3. 본인에게 영어와 한국어가 어떤 의미와 역할을 하는지 얘기해주세요.

### 언어 능력과 사용상황

아래의 상황에서 얼마나 불편함 없이 자신 있게 영어와 한국어를 사용할 수 있나요?

#### 1. 학교 상황

수업에서의 학업수행  
에세이 쓰기 등의 숙제  
수업 설명 이해 및 과목 내용 숙지  
선생님 및 학생들과의 의사소통 및 교류

#### 2. 학교 밖 상황

전화 문의 등의 전화통화  
공공 분야 및 일상생활에서의 수행  
업무상 편지를 포함, 서류 읽고 쓰기, 이메일을 통한 문의  
직업이 있다면 직장에서의 업무수행

#### 3. 일상생활과 여가 활동

텔레비전 시청, 쇼, 드라마, 영화는 어떻게 하나요?  
음악감상, 뉴스 또는 신문 읽기  
인터넷 검색  
친구들과의 모임 및 여타의 여가활동

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