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The Complex Journey of Biracial (Korean plus Other Racial/Ethnic Backgrounds) Youth in the Southwest

Kwang-Jong Park

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**The Complex Journey of Biracial (Korean plus Other Racial/Ethnic
Backgrounds) Youth in the Southwest**

by

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B.A., Foreign Trade, Sookmyung Women's University, 1997
M.A., Secondary Education, University of New Mexico, 2003

DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Language, Literacy, and Sociocultural Studies

The University of New Mexico
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May 2012

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DEDICATION

To my dear father, Jae-Suk Park (박 재석), and my dear mother, Seo-Ran Jang (장 서란) who have taught me with love, honor, honesty, wisdom, trust, and patience.

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ABSTRACT

This study explores how biracial (Korean plus another racial/ethnic background) youth come to understand their ethnic sense of self in a southwestern state with low ethnolinguistic vitality of Korean language. The qualitative study using individual interviews and focus interviews captures dynamic and complex aspects of identity development in relation to social actors, social contexts and self. Vygotsky's concepts of *Perezhivanie* and *Social Situations of Development* describe the ways in which biracial youth perceive, experience, and reflect on identity-related events. Furthermore, this study investigates the role of language in the identity development of biracial youth. The present study sheds light on the ways in which biracial youth negotiate the multiplicity, fluidity, and idiosyncrasy of identities despite societal dichotomous racial/ethnic labeling. This study shows that heritage language serves as an important foundation for biracial youth as they explore their choices of identities and move toward fulfilling their sense of self. The research also gives insights to the ways in which biracial youth empower

themselves through adopting situational identity when they encounter linguistic and cultural boundaries at the societal and personal level. Findings will inform educators and parents about the complex factors that influence biracial adolescents' and emerging adult's identity formation. I do hope that the data and subsequent analysis may inform educators, parents, and educational researchers to meet students' needs for their positive identity formation.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Background

For the past eleven years, I have taught Korean in a Korean language school in the southwestern region of the United States. Korean language schools, known as “Saturday schools”, are autonomously established and run by Korean residents in foreign countries for the purpose of teaching Korean culture and language to Koreans overseas. These schools are not part of public school systems and most are non-profit organizations formed by local Korean communities. According to the Korean Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development (2003), the purpose of Korean Saturday School is to raise “the national consciousness as Koreans of Korean residents to help them become proud Koreans” (p. 44). However, the Ministry does not seem to be aware in this description of the diverse backgrounds of Koreans who do not fit into the typical image of ethnically/racially homogeneous Koreans. Moreover, this definition does not address the complexity of Korean national identity and ethnic identity for overseas Koreans.

Korea has been known as an ethnically and racially homogeneous country; however, large influxes of foreign migrant workers and foreign brides rapidly change the demographics of Korean society (Hong, 2010). The drastic change in the racial and cultural structure of Korean society and Korean diaspora communities in overseas (Choi, 2003) raised the question “who are Koreans?” (Lim, 2008). Lim brought a significant attention to how the majority of Koreans conceptualize who Koreans are. He said that to be a “real Korean”, one must not only have pure Korean blood, but must also perform appropriately based on “the values, the mores, the mind-set of Korean society” (p. 1). He further explains that overseas Koreans are not quite Korean enough (“real” Koreans

concerned) “despite sharing the same blood” (p.1). Due to this reason, the first page of a textbook written by the Korean Ministry of Education used in Korean language schools for overseas Koreans posed a question that is difficult for Korean people with diverse backgrounds to answer. The main title of this first lesson is: ‘어느 나라 사람이에요? [u-neu-sa-ram-ee-ye-yo?], or “What Country Are You From?” This question is difficult for many Koreans to answer. For example, how can a Korean adoptee answer this question? How about students who were born in the United States but have Korean parents? How about students who have more than just a Korean heritage? As a researcher who grew up in Korea and learned to be “Korean” vs. “Non-Korean”, I never thought about these questions when I was in Korea. Since I came to the United States, I have been trying to find the perfect label that describes my self-identification in English. My students at the Korean language school have been trying to find their self-identification in their heritage language which often disregards the diversity of persons with Korean heritage.

During my eleven years of teaching at the Korean language school, my students’ backgrounds have become more diverse and have included children of Korean parents, children of adoptive or interracial families, and students without a Korean heritage. Their comments on their language learning and identities have concerned me because of their denial or uncertainty about their Korean identity. They have often said the following words: “I’m supposedly Korean,” “I am Twinkie,” and “How do I say ‘shut up,’ ‘leave me alone,’ or ‘get out of my way’ in Korean?”. These statements have made me think whether the stratification of culture and language that exists in society has compelled them to distance themselves from their Korean parents. These remarks have also made me consider things that I can do to help them have a more positive sense of themselves as

Koreans and gain cultural knowledge to be members of the Korean community. This was the initial purpose of the pilot study that continued to the present research study.

In the pilot study, I focused on students with a mixed heritage background because I thought that children of interracial families lived in ideal circumstances because they could be bilingual and bicultural. I interviewed six biracial students from ages nine through 19. I also interviewed two Anglo American parents who were students in my class and five Korean parents (one Korean father and four Korean mothers). I addressed the following research questions: (1) how do biracial adolescents identify themselves and why? (2) what does it mean for them to learn Korean? (3) what are the terms that they label themselves with?

The findings of the pilot study showed that identities are very personal and idiosyncratic. In addition, the dichotomous perspectives of people's own views, including my own, challenged the authenticity of the participants' identities and set up categories labeled with socially constructed and binary concepts of identities.

My personal life experiences have formed my research lens. I grew up in a town in Korea, which has American military bases and I vaguely remember hearing the term "mixed blood child (Hon-Hyul-Ah)" and stereotypes and prejudices about these children. I learned that it was (still is in a way) definitely undesirable for parents to think about having a non-Korean as their future daughter-in-law or son-in-law. As an adult in Korea, I also met a young adult woman of mixed Korean and African American heritage who definitely influenced my previous stereotypes about persons with mixed heritage. She showed mistrust towards Koreans, and she had a negative attitude toward Koreans. This led me to presuppose that all mixed heritage people have a negative attitude toward, and

distance themselves from, their Korean heritage and Koreans because of the societal stigma attached to persons with mixed heritage. For these reasons, I thought that the participants in my study might think negatively about being of mixed heritage. However, on the contrary, they articulated their multiple identities and appreciation for diverse cultures. These young participants' honest and in-depth answers awakened my assumptions and biases. The participants helped me see the diversity of what being American means as well as the beauty of this diversity, and the fact that their mixed heritage celebrated this beauty. In this way, they showed me a view that was different from the American mainstream view that being American means being white.

As a result of my pilot study, I gained insights into biracial adolescents' identity formation. At the beginning of the pilot study, I did not see the complexity and fluidity of the multiple identities that my adolescent participants navigated, negotiated and maneuvered within different sociocultural contexts and with different people. I also did not take into account the ages of my participants as a factor that influenced their identity formation. Due to my positionality as the participants' former Korean teacher, I realized that I might have imposed on them my belief in the importance of the Korean language and Korean identity, which might have led these young participants to answer my questions with what they thought I (their Korean interlocutor) wanted to hear. I also understood how the identity of Korean parents as immigrants influenced their ethnic identity socialization of their children, whereas their children recognized or were obligated to claim their dual or multiple heritages due to their parents' different racial/ethnic backgrounds. Moreover, the participants talked about how other people's perceptions influenced their identity-making process and their rudimentary cultural and

linguistic knowledge which could not support their self-identification as Korean. As Connie, one of participants, said, it is hard to pinpoint their identities based on things that people "*pull out from physical appearances or just the last name*". Some of the participants also discussed that their parents can't understand their experiences as being mixed because their parents grew up as full heritage. Later, when I was collecting data for the present research study, I was able to return to the results of my pilot study for further insights.

I started my research because I wanted to help my students' positive identity formation as a Korean but, as a result of my research, my participants taught me to see the complexity, idiosyncrasy and fluidity of identity formation. In addition, my experience doing other pilot studies helped me to better understand a bigger picture of Korean language education in relation to language hierarchy, language attitudes, and the interrelation between languages and identities. These were eye-opening experiences that revealed to me some of the biases that I held, as well as my lack of awareness and knowledge of, as well as insensitivity toward, some of the issues important to biracial adolescents. I did a total of four more pilot studies to better understand how Korean adults who did not fit the typical monoracial/monoethnic Korean reconstructed their identities in terms of the interplay of their self-positionality in relation to where they were and who they were with. These pilot studies included: 1) a survey and an interview with overseas Korean language educators; 2) ethnographical research on a Korean language educator, 3) an interview with Chosun Jok (Korean ethnic minority in China), and 4) a questionnaire with parents who sent their children to Korean language school. These pilot studies helped me see that identities are not static but are flexible, negotiable, and

fluid in relation to whom we meet, where we are, how we position ourselves in the context in addition to what experiences we have and what we hear and have heard.

Based on these pilot studies, I decided for my dissertation to revisit biracial participants of my first pilot study in order to explore in more depth the complexity and fluidity of their identity formation rather than looking at their identity formation from a dichotomous perspective. In addition, my research experience also helped me to make sense of my own identity formation.

Statement of Problem

What's shaped me most powerfully, maybe because I'm half black and half white-that a big chunk of my childhood, I was sort of an outsider, didn't quite fit anywhere. Part of what shapes me is being able to find a connection with all kinds of different people, and want to bring them together and bridge misunderstandings, and bridge conflict, so that we can actually get things done. And that, I think is something that led me into public service. And in some ways, that's something very profoundly American about me. Because when I think about America, at its core, we've got these common values. But we come from all kinds of different places. And if we can unify around those values, that are quintessentially American values, then I don't think there's any problem that we can't solve in this country. (Obama, 2008)

As the above narrative says, the struggle of not fitting in anywhere but also of not being able to be recognized as having the complexity of a mixed heritage was often expressed in the voices of my participants. President Obama (2006) self-identifies as “a black man of mixed heritage” in his book, *The Audacity of Hope* (p. 14). The way that he identifies himself caught my eye: not necessarily as a black man but also with a mixed heritage; not only as a minority but also as a minority among a minority. As President Obama identifies his experience of being half black and half white as a powerful factor shaping who he is, my participants also struggled to find a safe place to understand their sense of themselves against people’s narrow ideas of American as being white and

Korean as being monoracial/monoethnic. Their authenticity as American and Korean was often challenged due to their appearance, linguistic and cultural knowledge and societal expectations.

When I started my research, I chose participants who were the first generation of being mixed heritage and who had one parent who was Korean, because I thought that the ideal circumstances were to be bilingual and bicultural. However, according to Diamond (1994), intermarriage is a cause of language loss since interracial couples may have no common language except the majority language. Based on the 2009 American Community Survey (ACS), of Single Asian population aged 5 and over, 77% spoke a language other than English at home whereas only 18% of Asians who reported two or more races spoke a language other than English at home. This indicates that the percentage of people using only English as a household language increased exponentially through interracial marriage. This may be due to power, prestige, and privilege given to the majority language (Diamond, 1994), which in turn, lead parents not to place a great pressure on teaching the minority language to their children. Therefore, the discrepancy of language status in languages may represent the dynamics of languages existing in the interracial families.

Whereas parents are social agents to transmit their cultural and linguistic knowledge to their descendants, the hierarchy of languages exists at home as well as in society, often creating the reverse role of parents and children. As children get older, children become a master and owner of social and cultural capital in the mainstream, whereas the opportunities, time and circumstances to learn linguistic and cultural capital of the mainstream were not given to their minority parents. Therefore, this study

investigated how parents of biracial adolescents socialized their children and how the parents' language attitudes influenced their ethnic socialization of their children, and how, in turn, this influenced the children's identity formation.

The importance of language in relation to identity formation has been discussed in the literature (Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991; McCarty & Romero, 2005). One of my former students at the Korean language school talked about the importance of language in understanding people and the culture. Tammi, who was half Korean and half White and who wanted to learn Korean at age 37, said:

It is critical that people maintain their heritage language. If you don't, if you can't speak the language of your family, you will be cut off from who you are. I feel isolated from Korean culture and the Korean community here in the US and in Korea because I can't speak the language. I think I would be a different person today if I grew up speaking Korean. Growing up, I think I would have understood my mother better and I think I would have appreciated Korea and being Korean much sooner than I did. (Tammi, Written Correspondence, 2005)

When the minority language is lost, deep social and cultural knowledge is also uprooted. This was evident in Tammi's case as she indicated. Through language, we learn ways to communicate, understand, and react appropriately in the way others expect us to. To do so, we need to learn knowledge, values, and beliefs of the society that we are surrounded by. Language is our means to receive, make sense of, and negotiate meanings in society. In other words, language is the means not only to acquire knowledge but also to learn how to interpret social events (Rosenthal, 1989). Since language is a semiotic mediation (Vygotsky, 1987), it often not only transmits values and beliefs but also frames how we feel, think, and make sense of things.

The Korean language reinforces social hierarchy through using different forms by age and social status (Byon, 2004; Kim & Sells, 2007). Even though when Korean immigrants try to teach Korean etiquette to their children for how to act when they meet Koreans based on Korean values, as a part of their socialization, the children do not understand the social meanings attached to the etiquette if the parents do not socialize their children in the Korean language. In this case, the children do not acquire the meanings, values, and beliefs embedded in the language because they have not consistently participated in these social practices. They are only learning behaviors without endowing or understanding their socioculturally-bounded meanings. Therefore, in the present study, I examined how languages play a role in the identity formation of biracial adolescents of Korean heritage. This study examined how the participants made sense of their identities in their linguistic and cultural encounters with Korean speakers, especially when the participants had only rudimentary fluency in the Korean language.

During my pilot study that preceded my dissertation, I noticed another factor that was important in the participants' identity formation. Other people often asked the participants "what are you?" Since this question was asked frequently, the participants did not seem to be bothered by it. People of the mainstream often expect minorities to be representatives of their ethnic group; therefore, biracial adolescents who are not familiar with their cultural and linguistic knowledge might often be intimidated or frustrated by others' expectations. Obviously, even though my participants had a half white heritage, they did not receive benefits of white privilege as identified by Peggy McIntosh (1989). When biracial persons encounter the question "what are you?", it is as if their "otherness" in their appearance and their biracial backgrounds is not *neutral, normative, average, and*

ideal. Persons with a biracial background are expected to speak for all members of their ethnic group even though their socialization practices and cultural and linguistic knowledge are not that much different from those of the people who ask them to identify themselves based on socially constructed categories. Whereas ethnicity for whites of European origin is optional, ethnicity for people of color is assigned or ascribed by the mainstream society (Waters, 1989). Thus, the fact that they have no need to identify themselves or their choices of their ethnicity can be counted as a privilege that whites of European origin take for granted in their daily activities, whereas the question “what are you?” is not avoidable for people of color.

Ethnic labels have assigned and subjective meanings. There are particular reasons for naming or labeling “others” against “us” because this indicates meanings that one perceives, makes sense of, and reconstructs through experiences. The participants in the present study understood, negotiated, and developed meanings of labels “within, between and across cultural and racial borderlands” (Williams-León & Nakashima, 2001, p.9). Throughout the study, I struggled to find appropriate terms that would present my participants well. I did not want to use the term that carries the baggage of meanings from historical and societal contexts that refers to the *Honhyulah* (a mixed blood child) who is stigmatized by society due to the myth of ethnic purity in Koreans. In fact, the Korean government recently started using “children of multicultural families” instead of “mixed blood child” due to the rapid increase of multicultural families and negative meanings assigned to the label. Nevertheless, subtle prejudice and discrimination against children of multicultural families is pervasive throughout Korean society as Cornell and Wells (1999) describe:

Amerasian children are stigmatized in Asian societies, particularly in South Korea and few Korean Amerasians have had access to public education until 1980 because their mixed-race heritage left them without citizenship. Mixed-race children are often rejected by Korean society because of the assumed work of their mothers. Amerasian children are abandoned by their U.S. military fathers and raised by single mothers, extended families or institutions in societies that discriminate against them. (p. 409)

After discussions with the participants and further exploration of the research literature (Pao et al., 1997; Rockquemore & Brunsma, 2002; Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005; Root, 1996; Stephen, 1992), I feel most comfortable using the phrase “biracial adolescents” which, to me, implies neutrality and does not seem to carry negative connotations in the term. Participants used “half Korean and half American”, “my father is Korean” or “my mother is Korean”. They did not seem to commit themselves identifying with one group over another. Their responses to self-identification seemed to be more neutral in their late adolescence than in their early adolescence. Rather than using socially constructed labels for their self-identification, they responded based on who asked the question to them so that they could manipulate their answers depending on their positionality to others in given contexts. Therefore, I wanted to find the term that takes account of multiplicity of their heritages with neutrality. I did not want to use the *Honhyul* (mixed blood) because the negative meanings that I made sense of the word “mixed blood” could not overwrite the meaning that I acquired and deeply ingrained in my mind. As Root (1996) indicates, “labels are powerful comments on how one’s existence is viewed” in social, cultural and historical contexts (p. xxiii). Therefore, I cannot ignore the historical contexts and sociocultural contexts that I grew up using the word “mixed blood child” as a negative term which is something bad against “pure” and

“purity”. Even though Pao, Wong and Teuben-Rowe (1997) stated that the term “biracial” implies “the mixing of two distinct, pure racial types, as if there was a strict biological basis for racial categorization” (p. 623), I feel more comfortable using “biracial” because it denotes persons with parents who come from two different racial/ethnic backgrounds. In addition, there is no other Korean term referring to biracial adults except “mixed blood child”. Therefore, the term “biracial” seems to be more inclusive, suitable and neutral to use in the current study recognizing the concept of race is socially constructed. Since the terms, “biracial” and “mixed heritage”, are pervasive referring to ones whose parents are from two different racial/ethnic backgrounds in the literature, I used two terms interchangeably.

This study particularly examined biracial adolescents’ identity formation since their identity as Korean and/or American was often assigned to them and challenged because of their limited¹ linguistic and cultural knowledge and even appearance. The purpose of this study was to have a better understanding of biracial adolescents and to help them construct a positive sense of their ethnic heritage. Throughout my research, I explored their experiences of making sense of themselves in terms of their racial/ethnic identities. I particularly focused on the role that language played in their sense of self since language is known to be an essential tool to socialize a novice to be a member of an ethnic group (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008). In an attempt to understand the experiences of these biracial adolescents, this study addressed the following question: How do biracial (Korean plus another racial/ethnic background) youth come to understand their sense of

¹ The use of “limited” in this study is not my intention that views their Korean proficiency as a scale of their authenticity of Koreanness, yet indicates participants’ own perception of their level of fluency in Korean.

self? This overarching question involved answering two other questions: (1) what role do languages play in this process?; (2) what other experiences come into play in terms of self-identification?

Significance of the Study

It is my intent to provide educators, parents, and educational researchers a better understanding of the experiences of biracial youth with Korean ethnic heritage, in relation to Korean language and culture. The significance of this research will provide a better understanding of these biracial youths' experiences when they encounter linguistic and cultural boundaries at the societal and personal level. This study contributes to practices in multilingual and multicultural education for the following reasons. First, even though numerous researchers and language professionals discuss the factors contributing to language maintenance and loss in terms of parents' and children's attitudes and motivation toward language, ethnic or cultural identity, hierarchies of languages, and ethnolinguistic vitality (Baker, 2002; Cho, 2000; Cho et al., 2004; Giles & Johnson, 1987; Lee, 2002; Wong Fillmore, 2000), the literature has paid little attention to the study of ethnic language maintenance for children who come from interracial families. Second, most studies on heritage language and bilingual education in relation to Asian immigrants focus on states with the highest concentration of Asian populations (i.e. New York, California, Hawaii, etc.) Third, most studies on the acculturation of immigrant families have been conducted in cases where both parents have the same linguistic and cultural background. Fourth, most studies on identity development do not take language in identity formation into account. Fifth, even though the importance of longitudinal studies on identity development is reiterated (Branch, 1999; Tsai et al., 2002), the literature on

the relationship between environmental context and children's ethnic identity development has been limited (Sheets, 1999). Since my study is a continuation of my pilot studies and included revisiting my participants, the findings enabled me to take into consideration the interrelationship between human development and social contexts at a given state of the participants' development through the longitudinal study. Lastly, whereas most research on mixed heritage children has paid attention to children of African American parents and Anglo American parents, not much attention has been paid to children of mixed heritage with an Asian heritage background.

CHAPTER 2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Ethnic identity is defined as “one’s sense of belonging to an ethnic group and the part of one’s thinking, perceptions, feelings, behavior that is due to ethnic membership” (Rotheram & Phinney, 1987, p.13). Even though ethnicity influences one’s sense of belonging to an ethnic group (Heller, 1987; Phinney, 1987), ethnic identity is not built just by sharing genetic heritage but by establishing affinity through participating in social practices and learning shared ways to think, perceive, and understand events in social and cultural contexts of the group (Fishman, 1988; Gee, 2001; Phinney, 1990). Individuals are socialized to acquire the ways in which ones perceive, interpret, and internalize meanings of events, activities, and situations in familial, communal and societal contexts. Therefore, in order to understand the identity formation of biracial youth with Korean heritage, it is important to understand how socialization contributes to biracial youth’s identity formation based on their cognitive and psychological maturity, relationships with social agents other than parents and exposure to different social and cultural milieu with age.

Identity development is a self-engaged and self-reflective process of negotiating and synthesizing assigned meanings and self-developed meanings that result from social interactions with others (Adams, 1996; Wallace, 1997). Therefore, it is important to take into account the participants’ own interpretations of their experiences in situated contexts. Children are socialized to be members of society through learning ways of feeling, thinking, and interpreting meanings of events, values, and beliefs through guided participation in cultural and historical contexts (John-Steiner & Mahn, 2004). In individualistic societies such as the United States, societal values of independence and

autonomy demand that adolescents practice their autonomy and independence from their parents more actively than in collectivistic societies (Azmita, 2002; Hong & Domokos-Cheng Ham, 2001).

Vygotsky's sociocultural theory provides the overarching framework in this examination of how biracial youth come to understand their identities when they encounter a discrepancy between their own perceptions of their identities and others' both in the mainstream of the United States, in which they are socialized, and in the Korean ethnic group in which their Korean parent actively participates, but in which they themselves are not given opportunities to be socialized into Korean social and cultural milieu. I will discuss the three aspects of Vygotsky's sociocultural theory that are important to this study.

First, Vygotsky's sociocultural theory provides a way in which to understand the realities of the participants in my study, which were "socially and experientially based, local and specific in nature" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p.110) as well as the nature of the dialectic interaction between myself as the researcher and the participants, which shaped and reconstructed our understandings and knowledge. Second, Vygotsky's concept of "system of meaning" addresses how individuals' meaning-making processes in terms of their sense of identity are interconnected with their socialization processes and social situations of development. People are socialized to perceive, interpret, and respond appropriately to events, activities, and situations. People also identify and make sense of situations based on the systems of meanings in society. In addition, the unity between personal and contextual situations influences how people experience social practices and events (Vygotsky, 1994). Third, Vygotsky's concept of *perezhivanie* speaks to the ways

in which we make different meanings of our identities during our lifelong journey in relation to other people in situated sociocultural contexts. It also helps us understand how people acquire, negotiate, and reconstruct the system of meanings in a given culture in terms of their socialization process and the ways in which the unity of individual development and sociocultural environment influences the meanings that people make out of their experiences in relation to their identities. In particular, the concept of *perezhivanie* attends to the role that language plays in identity development in how people gain, understand and appropriate meanings through interactions with others.

The following figure represents graphically my interpretation of how *perezhivanie*, social situations of development and system of meanings relate to identity formation.

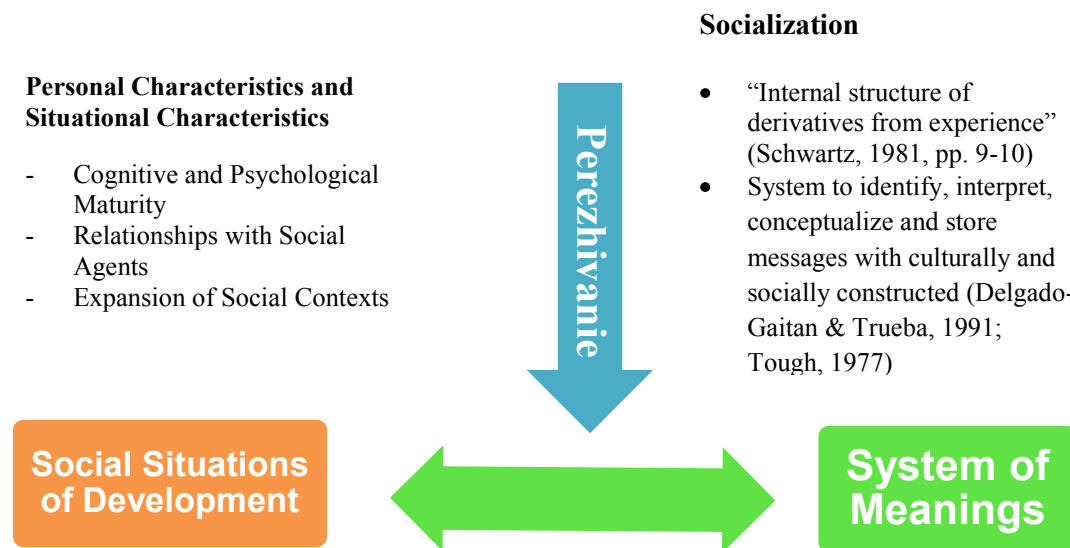


Figure 1. Factors influencing Perezhivanie

Perezhivanie

Vygotsky’s concept of *perezhivanie* helps explain how individuals experience their social interactions in relation to their identity development in relation to systems of

meanings through socialization and social situations of development. It also explains how people make different meanings of their sense of self in different situations through the dialectic relationship between their cognitive and psychological maturity and the environment. The concept of *perezhivanie* explains how people experience situations differently and how this in turn shapes their understanding of their identities.

Vygotsky (1994) identifies *perezhivanie* as follows,

An emotional experience [*perezhivanie*] is unit where, on the one hand, in an individual state, the environment is represented, i.e. that which is being experienced- an emotional experience [*perezhivanie*] is always related to something which is found outside the person – and on the other hand, what is represented is how I, myself, am experiencing this....in an emotional experience [*perezhivanie*] we are always dealing with an indivisible unity of personal characteristic and situational characteristic, which are represented in the emotional experience. (p. 342)

Perezhivanie emphasizes the individual state of self in relation to situational contexts; therefore, it is not static but a fluid and synthesizing process of experiences. Experience involves knowledge, values, and beliefs from historical contexts which support a person's meaning-making process of events, activities, and social practices in presently situated sociocultural contexts and even future experiences. Ratner (1998) discussed the influence of past internalized experience to mediate future encounters with the social environment: "Encounters do not impinge upon a blank slate, but are refracted by accumulated experiences" (p. xiv). Perceptions, emotions, ideals, and imagination shaped by the socialization process contour our experience at a given age and in situated contexts through social relations (Ratner, 1998). When we are young, our knowledge, beliefs, values, and skills are transmitted, mentored, and guided by important others such as parents, siblings, and other socializing agents (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008). Meanings

that children acquire at this point are “the contextual meanings he or she extracts from the speech of adults” (Kozulin, 1990, p.164). Through language development and cognitive and psychological maturity, conceptual meanings are saturated with children’s rich personal experience through expansion of social contexts and development of abstract concepts introduced in school.

Vygotsky (1994) indicates that children’s extent of awareness of the environment and their experiences at a given age are limited in sociocultural, cognitive, and psychological contexts. With cognitive and psychological maturity, our emotional experience [perezhivanie] becomes complicated and self-reflective because of its being situated in and participating in more diverse sociocultural contexts than young children on a daily basis. A great transformation in adolescents’ thought process and the expansion of their social contexts outside the immediate socialization site, e.g. the home, motivates them to explore their sense of self in relation to others in situated contexts. This results from “qualitative changes in children’s social relations and the ways that children make meaning of their interactions in and with their sociocultural environment” (Mahn, 2003, p. 123).

Mahn (2003) also defines “social situations of development” as the dialectic effect between individual development and sociocultural environment (p. 123). He explains that people make meanings from social contexts within interactions by selectively perceiving and interpreting during the stage of cognitive and psychological development of the child. The unity between the expansion of social contexts and the cognitive and psychological developments in adolescents changes the way children experience, make meaning, synthesize, and reconstruct their environment (Mahn, 2003);

“Changes in children’s social situations of development result from and cause qualitative transformations in their perception, experience, appropriation, internalization, understanding, and memory of interaction in and with their environment” (p. 128). Mahn highlights how children experience differently based on children’s social situation of development that influences “reconstruction of the conscious personality based [on the] specific to the given age, [on] the forms of his social existence” (Vygotsky, as cited in Mahn, 2003, p. 128). Identities are constructed by the constant process of reflecting on the relationship between one’s perception of oneself and others’ perceptions of one’s positionality in relation to sociocultural contexts. In addition, individuals’ perceptions of the environment may influence their choice of identities because their cognitive and psychological maturity influences the ways in which they understand, reflect, and synthesize their experiences in relation to their identity development (Vygotsky, 1994). Children perceive and accept given meanings of their identities but they may not have sufficient cognitive and psychological maturity to synthesize meanings in relation to their own and others’ perceptions because their emotional experiences are restricted in social, cognitive and psychological contexts.

As identity involves self-reflection about other’s perception and situational contexts, the ability to analyze, reflect, and interpret situations can reinforce adolescents’ identity exploration. Awareness of sociocultural and historical contexts and reflection on situations and others’ perception help children explore, shape, and reconstruct identities (Mahn, in press). Vygotsky emphasizes that environment is not the sole determinant for how one shapes one’s identity. He contends that the unity between environment and children's individual characteristics shapes the way in which we perceive, interpret,

experience, and live through situations. Individual differences such as personality and gender influence people's different perceptions, interpretations, and internalization of the environment and interpersonal interactions (Grotevant, 1992). Grotevant (1987) suggests that "developmental contexts affect the process of identity formation, and in turn, the ways in which the individual's evolving sense of identity shape his or her subsequent contexts of development" (p. 214). Grotevant's explanation of the interdependent relationship between environments and interpersonal characteristics in identity formation are reiterated in Vygotsky's concept of *social situations of development*. Vygotsky's *perezhivanie* also explains the dialectic relationship between "an indivisible unity of personal characteristic and situational characteristic" and how that relationship impacts people's meaning making of their own experiences in relation to identities.

The following figure 2 represents graphically my interpretation of the multiple factors encompassed by the concept of *perezhivanie* which I addressed in the discussion above. This figure is based on Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory which explains the dialectical nature of interactions between the individual and environments that he/she is surrounded by. The ways that individuals emotionally experience identity-related events are closely interconnected with individuals' meaning-making process due to the bidirectional nature of individual characteristics and environmental characteristics. In addition, socialization through language influences the ways in which people make meaning out of identity-related events. Language is an essential constituent of identity since it interweaves the process of building affinity and sense of belonging through communication.

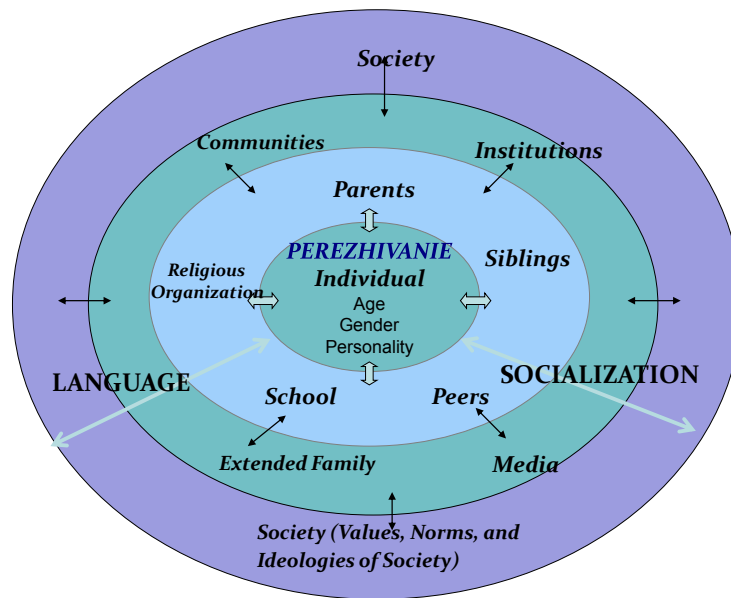


Figure 2. Perezhivanie and Social Situations of Development. Based on Bronfenbrenner: ecological theory of child development from Child Development, by J.W. Santrock, 2007, NY: McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc.

I have discussed how Vygotsky's sociocultural theory frames my research. However, since sociocultural theory does not specifically address the influence of cultural and linguistic stratification on issues of the perceptions, attitudes, and identities of biracial adolescents, I will include critical theory and ethnolinguistic identity theory to provide background on issues of language learning and identity.

Critical Theory

Critical theory helps to better understand how issues of power and hierarchies in society impact promoting and legitimating white, middle class values and knowledge which in turn discourage minority parents to ethnically socialize their children. Critical theory explains how the ownership of cultural and social capital in the society sustains unequal relations between the dominant group and minority group (Popkewitz, 1999);

which in turn encourage minority groups to strive for a positive social identity through mastering English, the emblem of social identity as American rather than being marked as outsiders or foreigners.

According to Fishman (1988), ethnicity is concerned not only with genetic inheritance and behavior but with the meanings one tries to make through one's life. As Tse's (1998) study indicates, the maintenance of the heritage language depends on how much membership in the ethnic group means to individuals. Numerous researchers and language professionals discuss social factors influencing the maintenance and loss of heritage language (Baker, 2002; Cho, 2000; Cho, 2004; Giles et al., 1977; Giles & Johnson, 1987; Ortiz, 1975; Wong Fillmore, 1991, 2000). These scholars discuss how the absence of knowledge about individuals' ethnic backgrounds and negative attitudes toward their heritage languages and cultures are the result of the stratification of cultures and languages in society. The hierarchy that the mainstream places on legitimate and valuable cultures and languages discourages children from learning languages and cultures labeled as less legitimate and less valuable.

Stephen and Stephen (1989) point out that "[because] ethnicity is frequently an important indicator of stratification in a society, identity with a given group may be sought in order to increase one's status of power within the larger society" (p. 510). This also interrelates with the maintenance of the heritage language development. According to Wright, Taylor, and Macarthur (2000), students lose their heritage language more quickly as there is a bigger gap in "the social status, institutional dominance, and numerical superiority between the two languages" (p. 65). Lynch (2003) also emphasizes

the fact that socioeconomic status, gender, social network and language attitudes are crucial elements affecting heritage language acquisition.

If every culture and language were equally valued and appreciated in society, linguistic and cultural hierarchy would not exist. Since sociocultural theory does not specify issues of power, the paradigm of critical theory is necessary to support this. Critical theory is based on the inequality that exists in society. This concept of cultural and linguistic hierarchy is based on the dynamics of power and ideology that affect biracial adolescents' perceptions and attitudes toward languages.

Ethnolinguistic Identity Theory

According to Giles and Johnson (1987), language can be a crucial aspect of ethnic identity in encounters with outgroups. Giles and Johnson also list five propositions in relation to the language and identity of members of a group: (1) language is an important symbol of their identity; (2) language is an indicator of social comparison with an outgroup; (3) acquisition of language is desirable if people perceive their own group's vitality as being high; (4) group boundaries are perceived to be hard and closed; and (5) strong identification with few other social categories (p. 71). In sum, the findings of Giles and Johnson's study (1987) indicate that language becomes salient when people perceive themselves as a part of the ethnic group and the maintenance of the language is supported by demographic, institutional, and political factors. Most studies of Korean Americans conducted in areas with large Korean populations discuss that the fluency in Korean language is often perceived as a symbol of Korean ethnic identity and a silent marker of authenticity of being Korean (Choi et al., 2001; Danico, 2005; Kibria, 2002).

Therefore, it is necessary to explore the ethnic sense of the participants in the present study who spoke English as their dominant language in their lives and lived in a southwestern state of the United States that has low ethnolinguistic vitality of the Korean language: (1) Korean does not have any economic, political, and linguistic prestige; (2) the Korean language does not have much exposure due to the small size of the Korean population in this state; and (3) the Korean language does not have much recognition in media, education, and government in this state. Due to these reasons, it is necessary to examine the ethnic sense of biracial adolescents and what the Korean language means to them, and what role the Korean language plays in their ethnic identity as Koreans.

CHAPTER 3 LITERATURE REVIEW

Children and novices of society are socialized to participate successfully as members of societies (Duff & Hornberger, 2008, 1981; Ochs, 1990). Children form a sense of self by “values, norms, morals, and beliefs” transmitted from one generation to the next through socialization (Demo & Hughes, 1990). Even though parents are primary agents for providing knowledge to prepare their novices to be members of society (Spencer, 1987), the influence of the broader social and environmental contexts should not be disregarded in identity development (Thornton et al., 1990).

Many researchers discuss the conflicts and struggles that minority adolescents experience when they encounter the different demands, expectations, values, and beliefs of their ethnic culture and the culture of the larger society (Miller, 1999; Phinney, 1990; Thornton et al., 1990). These scholars discuss the complexity of minority adolescents’ socialization due to the mismatch between their ethnic culture and the culture of the larger society that adolescents inevitably encounter. According to Phinney and Devich-Navarro (1997), “most ethnic minority adolescents combine their sense of being ethnic and American and acknowledge being bicultural, but their sense of being bicultural varies widely, depending on how they perceive the two cultures and the way they identify with each” (p. 9). While biracial adolescents are exposed to two or more cultures for their daily lives but speak only one language, English, how does it affect students’ sense of belonging to each group? Therefore, I wonder about ways that biracial youth perceive and identify themselves in two or more cultures. In addition, I want to examine what elements influence biracial youths’ sense of belonging to a certain group and how they

negotiate their sense of self in different contexts when they have limited proficiency in Korean.

Since the present study examines the role that language plays in the ethnic sense of biracial adolescents and how they make sense of having a mixed heritage, the following literature review addresses two major themes: (1) identity development and (2) social, cultural and historical contexts that biracial individuals encounter. The first theme, identity development, includes the determinants in identity development which explain how socialization and *social situations of development* influence identity formation. The second theme elaborates on how social and historical contexts influence biracial adolescents to have come to define and situate themselves in the mainstream and in their minority parents' ethnic group. Due to the complexity and idiosyncrasy of the identity formation of biracial youths, I will elaborate on social, cultural and historical contexts that influence biracial youths' social experiences in relation to their identity development.

Identity Development

Stephen (1991) defines identity as “a meaning a self acquires when ‘situated’- that is, cast in the shape of a social object by the acknowledgement of his participation or membership in social relations” (p. 261). However, this definition is not sufficient to explain the idiosyncratic and personal elements in identity formation. People do not make meaning about themselves just by acquiring a meaning assigned to them. As Fishman (1988) emphasizes, ethnic identity is recognized through both self-identification and acknowledgment in the eyes of others. Identity is shaped through the processes of self-awareness and self-reflection, especially when one is situated as “other” in interactions with people, place, and position. People perceive, reflect upon, and reconstruct their

identities when they encounter borders situated by those with whom they interact, where they are, and their positionality in relation to other people.

Erikson (1980) views identity as self-representation across various contexts, emphasizing the fluid and ongoing process of identity formation. “Self” plays a crucial role in constructing identities in conjunction with social interactions with others. Mead (1964), on the other hand, defines “self” as the passive product of social processes in which one takes on the attitudes of others to complete one’s self identity. Ironically, though, Mead’s definition supports the active role of “self” by recognizing the reflexivity, multiplicity and flexibility of self in relation to other people and organizations. Moreover, Hall and Truner (2001) define identity as “the adoption of the beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors of a group and the development of affinity, loyalty and feeling attached to membership” (p. 83) which in turn defines who “the others” are. Therefore, individuals’ idiosyncratic involvement should be regarded in the process of identity formation.

In summation, identity can be defined as a situated, reciprocal, and negotiated process of self- representation in relation to people, place, and positionality. Also, identity is not formed by simply acquiring others’ identities and/or definitions of ourselves but by reconstructing our own identities through how we position ourselves in relation to people and places. These perspectives share the idea that self, society and social actors (others) all play a role in identity formation. In other words, the ways in which people perceive, interpret, reflect on, and reconstruct their positionality result from their socialization by society and social actors as well as their interactions with these.

Ethnic identity. Whereas most whites do not have a sense of ethnic identity related to their ethnic origins (Stephen, 1991), minorities are often questioned and/or challenged about their ethnicity because people often equate their phenotypes with non-Americanness (Takaki, 1993). People often distinguish racial identity from ethnic identity. However, when it comes to ethnic identity development, phenotypic differences which make up a big part of racial identity cannot be separated from people's social and cultural experiences due to their ethnicity. The participants in this study clearly identified themselves as being Korean and did not want to be misidentified as Japanese or Chinese which confirms that they did not want to be identified only with their racial background but rather, with their ethnic background. Therefore, I use the term ethnic identity because it encompasses sociocultural experiences that biracial youth encounter due to their different racial and ethnic backgrounds.

Ethnic identity is defined "as a set of self-ideas about one's own ethnic group membership, which includes knowledge, feeling, and preference about one's ethnicity" (Bernal et al., 1990, p.17). Bernal and his colleagues note that the personal ownership of ethnic group membership is constituted by and through the knowledge, values, behaviors, thoughts, and feelings that a group member adopts through social experiences. Ethnic identity is developed through socialization practices and experiences that situated them to identify themselves as a member of an ethnic group. Rotheram and Phinney (1987) discuss important components of ethnic identity: "[1] ethnic awareness (the understanding of one's own and other groups); [2] ethnic self-identification (the label used for one's own group); [3] ethnic attitudes (feelings about own and other groups); [4] ethnic behaviors (behavior patterns specific to an ethnic group)" (p. 1). Children's

knowledge about their ethnicity and ethnic sense is acquired through a socialization process at the micro level and macro level of social contexts. Cognitive maturity also enables individuals to apprehend abstract and conceptual information and integrate past with present experiences relative to their ethnicity (Bernal et al., 1990). In addition, “the importance and meaning of ethnic identity varies with the specific context and with changes in the social milieu and will be more salient in some situations than in others” (Rotheram & Phinney, 1987, p. 16). People’s ethnic awareness varies depending on their positionality as minority or majority group members in social and cultural milieu (Rotheram & Phinney, 1987).

Identity development and language. John Steiner and Tatter (1983) said “the development of language is a development of social existence into individualized person and into culture” (p. 83). This section will lay out how language mediates experiences that individuals make meaning out of their sense of self in social relations.

Language is a constituent of identity which symbolically marks the membership to a certain group (Norton, 1995). Through language, a novice of society is socialized to function and perform through acquiring ways in which he or she perceive, interpret, and respond to social and cultural behaviors appropriately in and across socially and culturally defined situations (Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986). In other words, socialization through language means learning language as a system, used to identify, interpret, conceptualize, store messages with culturally and socially constructed meanings (Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991; Tough, 1977).

Identity is socially and historically constructed through social comparison with others and reflection within ourselves upon social interactions in various contexts (Baker,

2006; Heller, 1987; Jung & Lee, 2004). Therefore, language is important to participate in social and cultural practices and mark their membership to the social group based on sensitive rules of social interactions, shared background knowledge and experience (Heller, 1987; Schieffelin, 1986). In sum, language interweaves many aspects of identity development because language engages in the process of identity development which is shaped by the acknowledgement of his/her participation in social relations, one's affinity and a sense of belonging and commitment (Fishman, 1988; Stephen, 1991). Figure 4 shows the ways in which language engages in identity development.

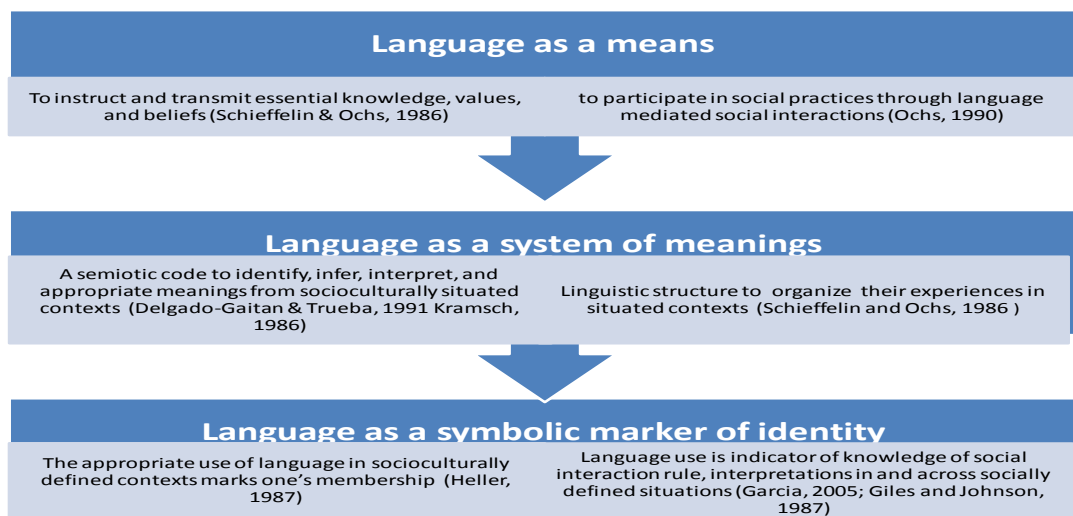


Figure 3 Language Roles in Identity Development

Moreover, language has symbolic power which indicates hierarchical relations of social status of language speakers (Bourdieu, 1991). Language becomes a symbolic marker of the social position of language speakers through an asymmetrical relation of power and prestige in languages. Bourdieu (1985) defined cultural capital as the values and legitimized knowledge of the dominant culture which entails language as a mean to

legitimize social and cultural behaviors of the dominant group and maintain the hierarchy of social groups through power, prestige, and resources that the language of the dominant group speaks. In America, the use of non-English or a non-standard English accent marks immigrants as foreigners and outsiders or positions them as being in lower social class and as having less cultural capital than people who speak English with great fluency (Shin, 2005).

Norton (1995) commented that a person negotiates his or her sense of self within and across different sites at different points in time through language. Language plays a critical component in ethnic identity because it facilitates or hinders social interactions which allow a person to negotiate his or her identity through communication (Noels et al., 1996, p. 71). As Wenger (1998) discussed, people define themselves not only through the practices we engage in but also through social practices in which they cannot engage. Because language is a means to access “participation in activities and the formation of social relationships” (Heller, 1987, p. 199), language plays a large role in developing a sense of belonging to a certain group and at the same time it is used as “a dimension of comparison with outgroups” (Giles & Johnson, 1987, p. 71). Since children and other novices in society construct their sense of belonging through language-mediated interactions by acquiring tacit knowledge, value, and beliefs, language becomes a tool through which they can gain and or be denied access to social practices (Bruner, 1996; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008). Non-participation in sociocultural practices situates individuals’ positionality as other. According to Phinney and Devich-Navarro (1997), “most ethnic minority adolescents combine their sense of being ethnic and American and acknowledge being bicultural, but their sense of being bicultural varies widely,

depending on how they perceive the two cultures and the way they identify with each” (p. 9). Therefore, language is a core constituent of identity because it attributes individuals’ perceptions and their positionality in diverse contexts.

Biracial identity development. Most models of ethnic identity development discuss that the initial stage of ethnic identity starts with acceptance and preference for the values, norms, and attitudes of white dominant culture (Atkinson et al., 1989; Kim, 1981; Phinney, 1989; Sue et al., 1998). Since these models focus on the ethnic identity development of monoracial populations, biracial individuals’ experiences, wherein people query “what are you?” and challenge their authenticity of being American and being ethnic, were not addressed in these models (Suyemoto & Tawa, 2009). In addition, while most studies examining the biracial identity development focus on children of mixed black and white (Kerwin, 1992; Kerwin & Ponterotto, 1995; Rokquemore & Brunsma, 1999), Kich (1982) proposed a three-stage model of Japanese-White biracial identity development addressing the developmental process of biracial identity formation with age: (1) *awareness and dissonance*, in which they experience being different from others (3-10 years); (2) *struggle for acceptance*, where biracial persons become more aware of their differences in comparison to others’ perceptions and explore their choices of identities (8 years old through adolescence or early adulthood); and (3) *self-acceptance and assertion of an interracial identity*, where biracial persons develop their positive sense of self as biracial persons. Although Kich discussed the interplay among the dynamics of the family, the community, and oneself in the biracial identity development, he did not take account of the impact of societal pressure and ideology on biracial individuals’ conceptions of race (Clancy, 1995). Clancy (1995) emphasized that biracial

person's perceptions and their choices of racial categories are restricted and assigned within society. Moreover, due to diverse backgrounds of biracial persons, it is crucial to consider other factors that influence the biracial identity development.

Suyemoto and Tawa (2009) discuss several factors influencing choices of racial and ethnic identities by multiracial Asian Americans: (1) *acceptance or exclusion*, which means social experiences of being accepted or excluded from their ethnic reference groups; (2) *physical appearance*, which influences one's perception of oneself based on others' perceptions of appearance; (3) *cultural knowledge*, which becomes a scale to evaluate the authenticity of being ethnic and a base for racial and ethnic identification; (4) *family experience*, which indicates parental ethnic socialization and experiences with families from both parents, (5) *historical context*, which is constructed by society to maintain racial hierarchy; and (6) *regional context*, which influences experiences of being biracial (p. 389).

Biracial individuals may identify themselves differently in different situations; however, choosing one group over another group does not necessarily mean that that person is denying affiliation with a specific group but may simply be that person's choice of a racial/ethnic identification which is comfortable at the point in time (Basu, 2007; Root, 1996). Rockquemore and Brunsma (2002) contend that "the racial composition of significant social networks" and their own and others' perceptions on appearances influence them make different choices in different situations: "what occurs within [social] networks and the type of interactions that individuals have within those settings affect their choice of racial identity" (p. 340). Furthermore, inconsistencies in ethnic identification of high school biracial adolescents do not mean that multiethnic students

are perfidious in their ways of self-identification but reflect their understandings and strategic decisions about their multiple identities (Lopez, 2001). In the following section, I elucidate elements influencing our ways of understanding identities.

Identity development and adolescence to emerging adulthood. The dialectic effect between individual development and sociocultural environment, called “social situations of development” (Mahn, 2003), explains the extent of awareness of surroundings and different ways of understanding, reflecting, synthesizing and reconstructing the environments increasingly with age (Mahn, in press; Phinney, 2005). Ying, Han and Wong (2008) contend that “psychological and cognitive maturation and increasing contact with the extra familiar world, individuation and signification exploration across life domains” helps adolescents to make the leap from identification with their parents at a young age to exploration of their choices of identities in adolescence (p. 510). Ying and Lee (1999) also discuss that increasing life experiences through more encounters with people in diverse contexts resulted in adolescents’ awareness of “disequilibrating experiences”, which result from their awareness of the mismatch between others’ and their own perception of who they are (p. 198). Deutsch and Hirsch (2002) emphasize that adolescents need to integrate, differentiate and balance between their own perceptions and other people’s ideas about them in their identity development. Due to specific characteristics and different scopes of social interaction and situated contexts with age, I divided youth to two different periods, adolescence and emerging adulthood.

Adolescence. Many scholars (Adams & Berzonsky, 2003; Erikson, 1968; Grotevant, 1987; Phinney, 1989) emphasize adolescence as a critical period in identity

formation due to cognitive maturity that enhances self-reflection, comparison, and synthesis of adolescents' experiences in various contexts. Mahn (2003) emphasizes the importance of adolescence in terms of "qualitative changes in children's social relations and the ways that children make meaning of their interactions in and with their sociocultural environment" (p.123). Mahn (in press) discusses "conscious exploration of their social identities, social relationships, and sociocultural worlds" through "conceptual/abstract thinking" due to cognitive and psychological maturity (p. 7). With age, adolescents are able to reflect on, interpret, and generalize their experience in sociocultural and historical contexts and make sense of themselves in relation to their interactions with social actors in various contexts. Adolescence is a time for "carving out a new self-identity from the sum of their lifetime experiences" (Buriel & Cardoza, 1993, p.198-199). School also plays a great role in introducing adolescents to a broader range of social relations, development of conceptual thinking and systems of knowledge (Mahn, 2003).

As adolescents develop cognitively, they are able to think about themselves with abstract and multidimensional concepts rather than with visual and observable aspects of self-description and self-perception in their childhood (Rosenberg, 1986). For instance, biracial children have a tendency to think of themselves as either Korean or American according to their appearance, language fluency, and linguistic and cultural knowledge. In adolescence, they have a better understanding about the multiplicity of identities. Adolescents become aware of self in relationship with others in their social environment, developing appreciation of their uniqueness as well as a sense of belonging. In addition, as adolescents are more exposed to social contexts outside of family, their cognitive and

psychological maturity helps them recognize and reflect on peoples' perceptions with a greater capacity for self-reflection and choices of multiple and potential identities (Phinney & Alipuria, 1990; Sue et al., 1998). The growth of abstract cognitive skills and perspective-taking abilities enables adolescents to reflect, synthesize, integrate and generalize self-concepts (Azmita, 2002; Deutsch & Hirsch, 2002). It also leads to understanding ethnicity as a more abstract, multiple, and situational concept (Greene, 2002).

Brinthaupt and Lipka (2002) explain that younger children focus more on thinking of themselves by "personal attributes and possessions, features of the bodily or categorical self", whereas older children tend to think of themselves in terms of "internal, covert, psychological dimensions" (p. 3). Children's meaning-making is empirical until they come to understand and develop conceptual and abstract ideas which enable them to reflect on their own thoughts (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). Therefore, children may accept the assigned meaning of being a member of a certain ethnic group but, as they mature cognitively and physically, they negotiate their sense of selves through reflection, reexamination and synthesis of interaction with social actors in diverse contexts. In other words, as they grow, they are more actively involved in their identity development rather than accepting ascribed and assigned meanings by society and others.

For early adolescents who are extremely sensitive to others' recognition, approval, and evaluations affirming their competence, belonging to a certain group is a way of evaluating their social competence (Brinthaupt & Lipka, 2002; Finkenauer et al., 2002). In addition, they are not only conscious of their body and physical appearance but also evaluate their body and physical appearance against culturally and socially accepted

standards and norms which may lead them to disregard their minority background (Brinthaupt & Lipka, 2002). Because others' evaluation and recognition play a great role in early adolescents' self and identity, adolescents may develop a negative sense of themselves when they perceive a gap between who they think they are and others' expectations. Therefore, minority students cannot help but struggle as they develop an identity when others' perception and recognition of their image do not match with their own perceptions and when others recognize them as outsiders. When people inquire about the biracial adolescents' identity, it may remind the adolescents that their appearance doesn't quite fit into the mainstream. In addition, a query from a minority group member may also cause adolescents to think that the ethnic group challenges their authenticity of being a part of the group due to their appearance, limited linguistic and cultural knowledge.

Adolescence is a time to explore and develop potential identities which make them feel valuable with sensitivity to others' feedback on their identities (Goossens & Phinney, 1996). The autonomy that adolescents pursue away from parents facilitates them to explore their choices of identities, beyond identities that parents impose on them directly or indirectly (Brinthaupt & Lipka, 2002). Adolescents in the United States are more engaged in "renegotiating their relationships with their parents in ways that will grant them more autonomy in their time, decision making, and activities" (Brinthaupt & Lipka, 2002, p. 168) because of the socialization process valuing autonomy, independence, and self-reliance (Kim & Choi, 1994).

Adolescence is often framed by societal norms that are society's expectations or standards concerning what they should be like. Lesko (2001) discusses that the identity of

American adolescents is shaped into “racial hierarchy, male dominance and national strength and growth” through the influence of macrocontexts (p. 46). Lesko (2001) also indicates that adolescents are socialized to carry ideas of proper and mature human beings that stem directly from a middle class white perspective. In other words, minority students, who participate in more organizations and institutions in the mainstream, internalize values and practices of productivity and responsibility of a racially hierarchical society through affectional ties and cooperation where white middle class males’ lives, needs, and perspectives are valued, legitimate, and normative behaviors.

Phinney (2005) emphasizes “experiences of being treated stereotypically or discriminated against, or being asked to label oneself ethnically can be strong motivators of exploration” (p.130). Minority adolescents also assess the status of their ethnic group in the United States and understand assigned meanings by society on the ethnic group and explore, reflect and achieve their own meanings of it. Through experiences in broader contexts introduced by the media, national ideology, political movements and immediate environments such as home, work, and community contexts, adolescents develop their identities.

This following section focuses on socialization experiences with the expansion of social contexts and how the enrichment of experience influences identity development beyond adolescence.

Emerging adulthood. As early adolescents emerge to late adolescence and emerging adulthood, they navigate, explore, and synthesize meanings of their sense of self through increased awareness of their sociocultural and historical contexts, and through reflections on situations and others’ perceptions (Mahn, 2003; Vygotsky 1987).

Models of identity development take age into account (Jacobs, 1992; Kerwin & Ponterotto, 1995); however, most models concur that identity development is not static and uniform but depends on how one experiences events, social practices and activities in situations (Hong & Domokos-Cheng Ham, 2001).

Grotevant (1987) argues that identity development is a life-span process and identity exploration continues beyond adolescence. Phinney (2005) also writes about the fluid characteristic of identity formation throughout the life journey. Identity exploration seems to be accelerated during adolescence because of physical, cognitive, psychological development and the expansion of social contexts. For adolescents, the necessity of identifying themselves in relation to others in diverse situations triggers identity exploration due to “changing circumstances and new experiences” (Phinney, 2005). Beyond adolescence, Phinney said that due to increasing cognitive abilities, appreciation for the complexity of experiences, and the ability to consider diverse perspectives of ethnicity in ethnic and dominant groups, people are able to synthesize the multiplicity of their identities in diverse contexts.

Phinney (2005) said, “emerging adulthood is the period in which the identity issues encountered in adolescence are tested for fit new experiences” (p. 129). Financial independence and decision-making regarding their life commitment leads young adults to encounter new experiences which motivate them to explore their identities. A wider range of exposure to different cultures, situations, and knowledge provokes emerging adults to think about their place in society (Kroger & Green, 1996; Phinney, 2005).

Whereas adolescents are exposed to limited social situations, young adults are introduced to diverse experiences which enrich their understandings of their sense of

themselves (Waterman, 1982). Phinney (2005) characterizes emerging adulthood as a period of “a great awareness of the diversity within their own group and other groups that can lead to an increased appreciation for the complexity of experiences related to ethnicity” (p. 121). In other words, young adults make their own conclusions about their identities, not necessarily from others’ perceptions, but from balancing others’ diverse perspectives and their own reflections on these. Young adults realize their alternative and multiple identity choices rather than accepting identities assigned by society and others. Young adults face the reality of making decisions about a job, residence, affiliations and challenges from people in the wider society which leads them to think about the meanings and implications of their ethnicity (Phinney, 2005).

Adolescence and young adulthood are crucial periods when adoption, negotiation, and re-synthesis of the meanings of their identities are possible due to their cognitive and psychological development, which in turn enables them to be able to explore choices of identities in diverse contexts and achieve a sense of self. Cognitive and psychological development is shaped by “the culturally organized concepts appropriated through the activity of living” (Lantolf and Thorne, 2006, p. 114). Adolescents’ and young adult’s cognitive and psychological maturity along with the expansion of their social contexts change the way in which children experience, make meaning, synthesize and reconstruct their surroundings. Baker (2006) said that people develop identities “through social comparison, labeling by others, dialogue within ourselves and with others, and through the experience of ever-varying contexts” (p. 408). Therefore, the expansion of social contexts and cognitive and psychological maturity creates more encounters in which they

can challenge their identities in relation to their interactions with others in various contexts.

So far, I have discussed the role of age in identity development in terms of cognitive and psychological development, exposure to a wider range of social contexts, and diverse experiences situated by place, people, and self positionality in life.

Socialization

Every ethnic group has beliefs, values, and norms determining who is “well educated” or has a “good upbringing”, and how well a novice of that group is socialized in a given culture. Koreans emphasize “가정교육(Gajeong Gyoyuk),” or “home education,” which traces the responsibility of education back to the family, especially parents. Polite and appropriate expressions in discourse and well-mannered cultural behaviors reveal children’s good upbringing. Therefore, children’s inappropriate linguistic and cultural behaviors are attributed to parents’ irresponsibility for their children’s education at home (Park & King, 2003). In the perspective of teaching legitimate behaviors, attitudes and moral values to children, the concept of “well-educated at home” is similar to “*bien educado*” by Spanish speakers. *Buena educación* (well- educated) and *Bien educado* (well-educated person) does not necessarily indicate education at school or through books. Instead, it has broader meanings than education in English. It constitutes knowledge of cultural values and appropriate ways to interact with members in the group (Valdés, 1996). The engagement in social practices of “consejos (spontaneous homilies designed to influence behaviors and attitudes)” happens in any group, and it involves a socialization process in which children internalize cultural values, behaviors and attitudes desired and expected by the ethnic group (Valdés, 1996, p. 125).

According to Delgado-Gaitan and Trueba (1991), referring to their study on Mexicans and Mexican Americans, different interpretations of well-mannered behaviors can exist based on what cultural values Mexicans and Mexican Americans follow. For example, open and public ways of expressing personal feelings can be expected in mainstream cultural values, while this might not be seen as an appropriate behavior in the presence of older Mexicans who follow Mexican traditional values. Therefore, *Buena educación* constitutes a socialization process beginning in the home and extending to a wide range of social and cultural milieu that they are exposed to. Based on cultural values, one behavior can be interpreted as well-mannered in one context but interpreted as inappropriate in another.

Socialization is the process through which children develop their cultural and social competence as they construct “an internal structure of derivatives from experience” in their social and cultural milieu (Schwartz, 1981, p. 9-10). Through the socialization process, children learn cultural values, social behaviors and cultural systems of meanings across a wide range of social experiences in sociocultural contexts (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). This socialization process applies not only to children but also to any novices to new linguistic and sociocultural environments. Ochs and Schiefflin (2008) discuss how socialization happens when there is an asymmetrical relationship in knowledge and power. We become apprentices in activities, events, practices, identities, and matters pertinent to family, community, and diverse environments through a range of social experiences across our life span. Socialization is the process of evolving, developing and adopting the values, knowledge and beliefs of situated environments throughout the

course of life based on the enrichment of experience in relationship with social actors (Scheibe, 1995).

The process through which children are socialized to primary cultural values and social behaviors is called enculturation. People are acculturated or assimilated through secondary socialization when they re-enter, expose, engage, and participate in new linguistic and sociocultural environments as novices (Shi, 2006). When socialization occurs in multiple contexts, enculturation is the socialization process of learning, adopting, and internalizing linguistic and cultural competence, and systems of meanings tied to events, social practices, rules of interactions and identity (Romero et al., 2000; Roosa et al., 2002).

Acculturation is a process of adopting the scheme of the cultural norms of the dominant group while maintaining and retaining primary cultural norms (Uba, 2009). In contrast, assimilation happens when newcomers of society do not wish to retain their cultural norms and values but become immersed in the attitudes, values, and identity of the dominant group (Berry, 1997). Families of the dominant culture do not have to make an extra effort to teach their values and behaviors to their offspring because their children participate in daily social practices saturated with the dominant culture, whereas minority families have difficulty socializing their children in their ethnic culture and language because of its lack of legitimacy, visibility, and power. For interracial families, the dynamics of socialization are even more complicated. Whereas American parents are already enculturated to the dominant culture as their primary socialization, immigrant parents have to be resocialized to the dominant culture and language as novices.

Berry (1997) discusses how when people encounter different cultural and linguistic environments, they use different strategies to maneuver in two or more cultural groups with respect to *cultural maintenance* and *contact and participation*. Even though Berry (1997) is aware of the power dynamics between dominant and non-dominant groups and their influence on acculturation strategies, Berry's explanation is a rather rigid and binary concept which does not recognize a flexible and fluid process of acculturation of immigrants. In particular, many United States born Asian Americans may not be completely socialized to their heritage culture; therefore, the concept of acculturation as cultural maintenance does not apply to them.

The linkage between United States born Asian Americans and the acculturation process must have resulted from the image of the Asian American as a perpetual foreigner and sojourner from another country, which in turn reinforces the image of "otherness" of Asian Americans and denies Asian Americans' contributions to American history (Lee et al., 2009). Rather than distinguishing acculturation as "the process of adopting to the norms of the dominant culture" and enculturation as "the process of (re)socializing into and maintaining the norms of the ancestral culture" (Uba, 2009, p. 99), we should take into account that United States born Asian Americans are situated to be socialized into both the dominant culture and their heritage culture in their enculturation process.

Most of the literature on the socialization process of children of immigrants does not take into account how immigrant parents' attitudes and ideologies toward the cultural and linguistic hierarchy between American culture and their heritage culture affect their decision making about their socialization practices at home. Immigrant parents may make

decisions about whether to socialize their children into their heritage culture or not, based on their own ideology. Even though immigrant parents retain their cultural norms and participate themselves in their ethnic communities and function effectively in the mainstream and their ethnic communities, their acculturation strategy might not predict how they decide to socialize their children. For example, Korean parents in interracial families who are culturally and linguistically competent and function effectively in their ethnic community and dominant society might not think that it is necessary to socialize their children to be members of Korean society due to their immigrant identity and assimilation ideology. Berry's acculturation framework may explain immigrant parents' different modes of acculturation; however, it does not extend to parents' socialization practices, which do not necessarily socialize their children to function in two different cultural and linguistic environments unlike the immigrant parents themselves. However, as long as immigrant parents participate in social practices with other Korean immigrants and keep in touch with relatives in their home country, children of interracial families are situated to acculturate into two different cultural and linguistic groups in everyday activities regardless of the extent of socialization.

People primarily acquire the ways that an ethnic group commonly uses to become aware of and make sense of events and worldviews. These views are reinforced through diverse sites of socialization such as familial, communal, and institutional contexts. Because language plays a great role in interactions with others for the purpose of obtaining, negotiating, and constructing tacit knowledge to participate as members of society, I will discuss the interrelationship between language socialization and identity development.

Language socialization and identity development. Schieffelin and Ochs (1986) capture main ideas of language socialization: “socialization through the use of language and socialization to use language” (p. 163). The role of language in socialization should take into account two perspectives. First, language is used as a tool to instruct and transmit essential knowledge, values, and beliefs to the next generation. Language is a means for a novice to acquire sociocultural knowledge and to participate in interactive social practices embedded in historical and cultural contexts (Shi, 2007). Second, language is a semiotic code which contains ways of understanding culturally and socially bounded meanings in social practices, events, and activities. Language is a system used to identify, interpret, conceptualize, store messages with culturally and socially constructed meanings (Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991; Tough, 1977). This confirms the idea that language is a “linguistic structure on the organization of culture and thought” (Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986, p. 169). Therefore, language is a marker of the competent member based on his or her appropriate interpretation of social and cultural behaviors and responses in and across socially and culturally defined situations (Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986).

As Bruner (1986) emphasizes, social practices, values, and beliefs are transmitted through language with continuous interactions and experiences rooted in social and cultural contexts. Ochs (1990) also refers to the role of language in socialization as the process by which children and other novices in society acquire tacit knowledge through “language mediated interactions” (p.2). Children are socialized through caregiver’s consistent modeling, repetition, reaction, and scaffolding in repetitive and guided participation in formulaic and interactional routines (Rogoff, 1990; Shi, 2006). Participating in social activities becomes more sophisticated through the subsequent

mastery of language which enables children to think in abstract concepts and to interpret meanings of social events through dialectic interactions and their reflections on those interactions with others (Vygotsky, 1978, 1987). Socially legitimate and accepted norms of discourse are mastered by “primary cultural, personal, situational, and relational experiences” (Shi, 2006, p. 235). Children who grow up in different social and cultural milieu with different attitudes, values, and worldviews develop different points of reference towards the use of language, which mirrors differences in the system of the meanings of their experiences (Tough, 1977). For example, “chrysanthemum” might not mean anything to a certain language group, but this flower is reminiscent of funerals to a certain language group since it saturates their experiences in their cultural milieu. The use of words may convey different meanings to various language groups because diverse awareness and divergent ways of interpretation about situations are acquired through their experiences in sociocultural practices (Tough, 1977).

With respect to the interrelationship of language socialization and identity development, language is seen as a means to form social relationships and to participate in activities which help to build a sense of belonging by sharing experience, knowledge, values and worldviews (Heller, 1987). Language encompasses local meanings associated with social contexts and sensitive rules of social interactions which enable one to negotiate and to construct meanings of their sense of self in their social and cultural contexts (Bialystok, 2001; Halliday, 1975; Norton, 1997; Rotheram & Phinney, 1987). “Shared ways of speaking become symbolic of shared background knowledge, of shared culture” (Heller, 1987, p. 187). Language is a system to filter our perceptions and ways of interpreting, categorizing, and synthesizing our experiences (Kramsch, 1986).

Miscommunication between speakers of different languages does not necessarily result from language itself but from the disagreement of the meanings and values of the conceptual thinking underlying the words, which have been built up from a wider range of contexts of our experiences (Kramsch, 1998). “Linguistic meanings and meaning makings are therefore necessarily embedded in cultural systems of understanding” (He, 2008, p. 2). For example, parents who learn English as a second language might not be able to effectively convey their meanings to their children who are English speakers because English Language Learner (ELL) parents do not negotiate, infer, and appropriate meanings with the same system of meanings that their children construct, understand and function within, in their social and cultural milieu, to which their ELL parents have limited exposure.

The mastery of language requires acquisition of socially and culturally bounded meanings to be able to clarify, elaborate, and guide their listeners’ interpretations of conversations by stimulating their cultural background and social expectations (Kramsch, 1986). Therefore, parents who learn English in limited contexts might not convey, negotiate, and appropriate meanings in the same way that their children learn from their school, peers, media and other sites and agents of socialization. Because minority parents and children do not share the same linguistic and cultural experiences, they have different ways of interpreting culturally and socially defined situations. For parents who learn English as a second language, they use their primary socialization as their reference to perceive, interpret, and respond to their experiences in new linguistic and cultural environments (Rosenthal, 1987). Therefore, communication between minority parents and their children inevitably gets harder because each must supply missing information to

the other due to their different ways of structuring, filtering, and appropriating messages and meanings acquired through experiences rooted in their socialization. Reciprocity in conversations requires shared background knowledge which, when present allows conversants not to have to say more than is necessary to convey information (Kramsh, 1986).

The appropriate use of language in socioculturally defined contexts marks one's ethnic membership because it reflects the speakers' background knowledge and ways of utilizing and expressing the background knowledge to underline group membership and ethnic identity (Heller, 1987). Language is "both a symbol of ethnic identity and a means of defining ethnic boundaries and ethnic identity" (Heller, 1987, p. 200). Language builds borders to determine insiders and outsiders of a social group based on the specific knowledge they share. Language is not only a means to acquire appropriate ways to be a member of an ethnic group but is also an indicator of "knowledge of its functions, social distribution, and interpretations in and across socially defined situations" (Heller, 1987, p. 168). For Korean Americans, appropriate ways of Korean language use confirms authenticity of Korean identity (Danico, 2005; Kibria, 2002), and it is viewed "as a prerequisite to being a Korean" (Choi et al., 2001). The collectivistic and hierarchical values of Korean culture are embedded in Korean language, and the inappropriate use of honorific expressions according to the social status of speakers results in disqualification for Koreanness which often discourages and frustrates second generation Korean Americans (Shin, 2005).

To have membership in an ethnic group means to have tacit knowledge of worldviews, linguistic and cultural behaviors which are embedded in culturally and

socially constructed situations through everyday mundane practices and to have the ability to make predictable but appropriate inferences on people's discourse and behaviors (Heller, 1987). Heller discusses that identity is socially constructed through social interactions in the activities and situations in which people engage to learn ways to perceive, interpret, and appropriately react in different situations. For biracial children who do not speak the language of their minority parent, they are limited to participating in socioculturally organized practices and to acquire knowledge, attitudes, and values transmitted through interactions with members of the ethnic group even though they are situated to socialize in two different linguistic and cultural environments. In this case, language becomes a border that biracial persons encounter in their interactions with Korean speakers. Not knowing the Korean language restricts them from experiencing, sharing, and internalizing the system of meanings which would allow them to build their sense of belonging with the group. In addition, parents who do not develop their proficiency in English as fluently as their children may have conflicts and misunderstandings with their children because of their different ways of making sense of events (Rosenthal, 1987).

Parental socialization and identity development. Parents are the primary agents in socializing their children to understand, negotiate and interpret meanings within and across sociocultural contexts. Parents also socialize their children to understand what it means to be a member of a certain group and influence their awareness of ethnic/racial differences positively or negatively (Alba, 1990; Demo & Hughes, 1990; Garcia, 2005; Kim & Miura, 1999; Spencer, 1983; Thornton et al., 1990; Xie & Goyette, 1997). However, not many studies have been conducted on the relationship between parental

socialization for cultural maintenance and children's ethnic identity, especially with immigrant families (Phinney et al., 2001). Moreover, even though intermarriage is an indicator of a high degree of assimilation and is responsible for the subsequent loss of the heritage language (Byun, 1990), there is a paucity of literature on parental socialization in interracial families as well as on biracial children's ethnic identity relative to linguistic and cultural maintenance.

Ethnic socialization is "the developmental processes by which children acquire the behaviors, perceptions, values, and attributes of an ethnic group and come to see themselves and others as members of such groups" (Rotheram and Phinney, 1987, p. 11). Whereas researchers have investigated how the ethnic socialization of African American families focuses on transmitting cultural values and ethnic pride, adopting the cultural and social capital of the mainstream society, and awareness of racial barriers, how other minorities accomplish their ethnic socialization has not been discussed (Phinney & Chavira, 1995).

Since parents and other socialization agents use language to transmit their cultural content to their children through parenting, schooling and media (Knight et al., 1993), language is a centerpiece of ethnic socialization. Appropriate language use is an indicator of cultural knowledge and social rules based on how one negotiates and apply social meanings to linguistic practices in a wide range of contexts (Garcia, 2005). Parents not only socialize their children to social and cultural norms but also transmit their own language attitudes and ideology to their children through daily discursive practices which are conveyed with words or interactions (Garcia, 2005). For instance, parents may reveal their preference of language use in bilingual or multilingual contexts. Through those

daily social practices, children are socialized to interpret the meanings embedded in language practices which convey hierarchical relations among languages (Garcia, 2005). For immigrant parents in interracial families who have been (re)socialized to adopt the racial hierarchy of the new society, they may not want their children to associate with the minority group that has lower racial status; therefore, parents often identify their children with the group that receives the least discrimination and prejudice or none at all (Xie and Goyette, 1994). Parents also influence their children's self-identification because they selectively provide information about their ancestors and label their children's identity based on their ideology. Parents' ideology is reflected in their daily socialization practices and language policy at home.

Immigrant parents' decisions about which values, beliefs, and behaviors they choose to socialize their children depend on their own primary and secondary socialization enriched by their experiences encountering different sociocultural contexts. Romero, Cuellar, & Roberts' study (2000) shows that parents who have high ethnic identity and low acculturation are more likely to endorse ethnic socialization of their children. Romero and her colleagues studied the parental socialization attitudes of college students of Mexican descent towards both American culture and Latino culture. Their findings suggest that less acculturated parents were more likely to agree with the American socialization scale, which indicates the influence of sociopolitical and cultural factors on parental socialization attitudes. That is, parents want their children to be socialized into American culture for a better future. Social values existing in languages reflect the hierarchical social position of speakers; therefore, people invest in acquiring appropriate language use corresponding to the social groups in which they want to

participate (Bourdieu, 1991). Immigrant parents' attitudes about valuing English as cultural and social capital in their home country become reinforced by the difficulties, disadvantages, and discrimination that they experiences due to their lack of English fluency in their host society. Therefore, immigrant parents want their children to master the language of power for higher social mobility because they themselves have experienced discrimination, humiliation, and inferiority due to their own limited English fluency ²which also marks them as a perpetual novice, foreigner, and sojourner.

Parental decisions and wishes about their children's' language practices are shaped by the power relations and ideologies of historical and social contexts and are reflected in parental socialization practices (Morris & Jones, 2008). Parents often socialize their children to recognize discrepancies in power, prestige, and value among languages and practice this discrepancy at home, which leads to the loss of their heritage language in favor of the dominant language (Morris and Jones, 2008). Parents, who maintain and retain their native cultural beliefs and values while they are learning in new linguistic and cultural milieus, may not emphasize socializing their children in their ethnic culture over the mainstream culture. Therefore, parents become acculturated and linguistically and culturally competent in two different social practices. Depending on parents' attitudes toward socialization in the ethnic culture and or in the mainstream culture, they may or may not decide to socialize their children into two cultures. Not only in family contexts, but also in communities, schools, and other contexts, children are

² I am fully aware that the word "limited" connotes deficit and negative views for English Language Learners (ELLs). The use of the word "limited" is not my view on seeing ELLs with a deficit model, yet, reveals societal ideology that Korean parents and many other minorities adopt to view their English fluency as something lacking and as a handicap in society. I take the stance that different languages and cultures can serve as resources to society.

socialized to understand “how different codes and varieties construct and index various identities and role” through social interactions (Howard, 2008, p. 188): not only in “explicit discourses” but also “implicitly embodied in and constituted by social practice” (p. 189). Children or novices to a society internalize and acquire “indexical linkages to desired social positions and affective displays” through their socialization experiences (Howard, 2008, p. 189).

Wong Fillmore (1991, 2000) draws special attention to immigrant parental socialization. Immigrant parents become (re)socialized to the culture and language of the new society where children are primarily socialized. Thus, children of immigrants become competent members with cultural and social capital of the dominant culture. She points out the consequences of immigrant parental socialization in parents’ second language as follows: (1) limited capacity to socialize their children in, and pass on “their values, beliefs, understandings, or wisdom about how to cope with their experiences” (Wong Fillmore, 1991, p. 343) and (2) loss of parents’ role as “authority figures, teachers, and moral guides” (p. 207). Since socialization happens when there is an asymmetrical relationship in knowledge and power (Ochs and Schiefflin, 1986), immigrant parents become apprentices into activities, events, practices, identities, and matters pertinent to the new social and cultural milieu which threatens their family dynamics of parents as master and children as novices. Children of immigrant families become language and culture brokers for parents which shifts minority parents’ role as masters of power and knowledge to novices (Pease-Alvarez & Vasquez, 1994). In addition, the findings of Jones’ and Morris’ (2005) study suggest that ‘language decision-maker’ results from parents’ negotiation of their power relations, roles and responsibilities in the household.

However, in interracial families, the household language is not necessarily decided by parental power but by the power, prestige, and privilege of the language and culture that can give power, authority, and legitimacy to a parent who can speak the language of the dominant society as well as to children who acquire the cultural and social capital of the dominant culture.

If this is so, then why do immigrant parents decide to socialize their children in the language of the dominant society and take the risk of above-mentioned losses? In the following section, I particularly examine Korean immigrant parents' (re)socialization practices by identifying factors such as 'parental language attitude' and ideology involved in cultural and hierarchical relations of languages and culture.

Parental socialization and language ideology. Language ideology is defined as “a set of justifications for using one language over others in varying circumstances” (Jeon, 2008, p. 55) and language attitudes refer to “a reflection of psychosocial attitudes about languages that convey the social, cultural and sentimental values of the speakers” (Choi, 2003, p. 82). Hegemonic relations in social and cultural values among languages often decide language practices at familial, communal, and macro level of social contexts. Language practices are strongly related to people's investment to acquire symbolic and material resources increasing their social and cultural capital constructed by hierarchical relations in power and ideological processes (Norton, 1995; Valdés, 1998).

The hierarchical relations of languages and the exercise of power within language speakers have been discussed in terms of cultural and social capital required for social mobility (Purdie et al., 2002; Yosso, 2005). People establish their social status by acquiring the language of power and prestige. According to Tajfel and Turner (1986),

“individuals strive to achieve or to maintain positive social identity” (p. 16). In other words, if one’s current social identity is unsatisfactory and if he or she doesn’t have emotional affiliation to a particular group and has a negative evaluation of his or her own group in comparison to another group, an individual will strive to join the group with the more positive social identity for him/her (Tajfel and Turner, 1986). Since language is “constitutive of and constituted by a language learner’s social identity” (Norton, 1995, p. 13), people invest to learn language if it can provide symbolic and material resources that lead to the social identity with higher social mobility. Therefore, language practices are not neutral but “are invested with power relations and ideological processes” (Valdés, 1998, p. 7). As Bourdieu (1991) indicates, languages constitute power to understand, control, and negotiate the system of meanings in situated contexts which give people security, competence, and even the position of higher social status.

To speak is to appropriate one or other of the expressive styles already constituted in and through usage and objectively marked by their position in a hierarchy of styles which expresses the hierarchy of corresponding social groups. (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 54)

Immigrant parents who experience hierarchical relations of languages invest time learning English which provides the access to power, prestige, and security that they want to be guaranteed in a new society. Language encompasses power to control in social relations. Immigrants who have never experienced depriving their dignity, security, and power because of language in their home country might be more susceptible to ideological processes of language hierarchy in their host society.

English has been a prestigious and powerful language of the new diglossia in Korea (Cho, 2002) and global contexts (Crystal, 1998). Asymmetric power,

legitimacy, values and material and symbolic investments among languages result in linguistic imperialism (Bhatt, 2001; Canagarajah, 1999). English maintains the status as the language of the world in political, economic, social and cultural markets (Bhatt, 2001). Korean parents influenced by linguistic imperialism value English as cultural and social capital, and they want their children to acquire this capital, English, by creating a new family structure called "wild geese family" which refers to a family who lives separately in different countries for their children's English education (Kang, 2003; Kim, 2010; Lee & Koo, 2006). This phenomenon has rapidly increased for a decade among upper middle class and educated families who want to stabilize their social status with English as social and cultural capital for themselves and their families (Lee and Koo, 2006). In early immigration history, low heritage language retention among Korean immigrants resulted from their effort to achieve upward social mobility through the mastering of English (Byun, 1990). Current Korean family's transnational mobility from Korea to America is among families with upper socioeconomic class and well-educated backgrounds who want their children to master English to maintain their cultural and social capital.

So far, I explain factors that contribute to identity development and how parental ideology plays in their socialization practices which instill a certain identity in their children. The following section elaborates on what it means to be biracial in two different social, cultural and historical contexts, in the United States and in Korea.

Social, Cultural and Historical Contexts of Biracial Individuals

Rodriguez (2003) mentioned that the Census Bureau's decision to allow Americans to check more than one box in the "race" section of the 2000 Census was an

important step toward greater identity freedom. He thinks that it means endowing racial issues with the complexity and nuance that people with mixed heritage deserve.

Nonetheless, checking more than one box for their racial identification cannot solve the complexity of status and identity for people with mixed heritage. In America, the status of people with mixed heritage has been decided and/or ignored depending on dominant political and economic interests (Williams-León and Nakashima, 2001). Because of the “one drop rule”, biracial persons are assigned the lower status of the group (Spencer et al., 2000). For example, even though one of the parents is white, if the other parent is from the minority group, children are automatically assigned the minority status. On the other hand, since “mixing” with other races in Korea is viewed as damaging national pride in ethnic purity, children with mixed heritage have traditionally been stigmatized and ignored by Korean society. The concept of Korean as monoethnic often contributes to the perception of children with mixed heritage as non-Korean (Murphy-Shigematsu, 2001). Therefore, children with mixed heritage are often excluded from both societies and regarded as “foreign” or designated as “other”. In the next section, I elaborate on social, cultural and historical contexts that biracial adolescents encounter, in two themes: (1) biracials in the context of the United States and (2) biracials in the context of Korea.

Biracials in the context of the United States. Many people seem to adopt political ideas that everybody is American “not only by birth [or] by citizenship” (Du Bois, 1996, p. 44). However, non whites, who are American citizens, are questioned about their authenticity of Americanness (Takaki, 1993; Wu, 2002). People with mixed heritage are not an exception and are subject to people’s doubts and questions regarding the authenticity of their Americanness. Takaki (1993) states that this is the result of

people's narrow ideas of defining American as white and nonwhites as foreigners and outsiders.

The notion of equating American with whites is a result of legitimatizing white middle-class history, culture, values, as official knowledge through a Eurocentric curriculum (Apple, 2000; Ladson-Billings, 1999; Lesko, 2001). Eurocentrism means the invisibility of people of color in American history and exposure to ideology promoting the image of people of color as “outsiders to civilization, as violators of an alleged social contract who must be dragged out into the light of white rationality” (Allen, 2004). Eurocentric notions of knowledge and truth have constructed the minorities as “others” and “subordinate” groups because their cultural and social capital are excluded in schools (Cochran-Smith, 2004; Ladson-Billings, 1999). Under these sociohistorical circumstances, it would be hard for minority adolescents to appreciate and value their cultural and linguistic backgrounds when society claims those as inferior and uncivilized.

Moll et al. (1992) refer to funds of knowledge as “historically developed and accumulated strategies (e.g., skills, abilities, ideas, practices) or bodies of knowledge that are essential to a household's functioning and well-being” (p. 132). The concept of funds of knowledge explains how many teachers often regard the cultural capital of the mainstream as legitimate and valued, while the funds of knowledge of minority students brought into the school are regarded as deficient and inappropriate. Apple (2000) discusses how the content of textbooks focuses on “‘American’ themes of patriotism, free enterprise, and the ‘Western tradition’” (p. 49). In other words, students from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds happen to learn inferiority, subordination, and shame about their own culture because “legitimate” knowledge in the textbooks silences the

historical experiences and cultural expressions of women, people of color and others who have been less powerful.

According to Root (2001), when both parents are born in America, the children unconsciously equate “American” with “white,” and typically feel they have access to both since they have two American born parents, one of whom is white (p. 68). Parents may create more affinity and belonging to the mainstream culture since they have more exposure to white culture rather than the minority culture. According to Hall and Turner (2001), racial identity is defined as “the adoption of the beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors of a group and the development of an affinity, loyalty, and feeling attached to membership within it” (p. 83). They also mentioned that one’s realization of racial identity is through encounters with other groups who have different racial heritage than one’s own. If it is so, through institutions of the white mainstream culture, minority adolescents often develop affinity with the dominant group while distancing themselves from the heritage that is regarded as inferior, worthless, and uncivilized. Devaluing and excluding culture and language of minorities to promote the superiority of whites often leads not only the mixed heritage students but also minority students to have few opportunities to build knowledge about their heritage.

Biracials in the context of Korea. While mixed heritage with white creates higher status in hierarchical racial and cultural order between black and white in Latin America and America (Bonilla-Silva, 2003), there is a different perspective about “mixing” with other races in Korea, where the concept of “pure blood” and “단일민족(Dan-Il-Min-Jok, “monoethnic”) is emphasized since Korea has been known as a racially homogeneous country.

After the end of the Korean War, through the 1965 U.S. immigration reform, many women came to the United States as “war brides” of soldiers (Yang & Shin, 2008). Many war orphans came to the United States which was the beginning of Christian-sponsored Korean adoption programs. However, many women and children were abandoned in Korea. They were often stigmatized by Korean society. As a racially homogeneous country, Korean society socializes Koreans to be proud of one pure ethnicity, even though mixing with other races must have happened through the history to some degree. Because of Koreans’ monoethnic ideology, children with mixed heritage were abandoned by Korean society, as well as by their American fathers. The homogeneity of Koreans is represented by the requirements for the driver’s license which doesn’t have to indicate hair color nor eye color. Koreans have believed and learned to be proud of being “monoethnic” Koreans. In other words, under this belief, Koreans look like, speak like and act like Koreans. Therefore, Korean people who define Korean as monoracial/monoethnic face challenges that biracial persons bring into this concept.

Children with mixed heritage were abandoned by Korean culture and American culture. They are “others” to both worlds. According to Murphy-Shigematsu (2001), mixed children in Japan seem to have a similar situation.

For those American-Japanese children who remained in Japan, nationality law based on patriarchal family systems, and racial attitudes based on the myth of the ethnic purity of the Japanese people contributed to the perception of them as non-Japanese. Multiethnic children could only receive Japanese citizenship if their American father did not acknowledge his paternity. However, the legal status of those who did obtain Japanese citizenship was in direct contrast to prevalent social attitudes that regarded them as foreign and made them target of prejudice and discrimination. (p. 209)

Like Japanese nationality law, Korea bestows citizenship at birth to persons with a

parent who is a Korean national, and citizenship is not given to persons who are born in Korea if their parents are not Koreans, whereas America endows citizenship by birth on its territory and by birth to parents, when one parent is an American national. It wasn't too long ago that Korean nationality was given at birth to children with a Korean mother and foreign father. Until 1998 when the nationality law was revised, a child with a Korean mother and a foreign father wasn't endowed with the citizenship because Korea is a patriarchal society. Transnational migration and globalization call for the shift from homogeneous and patriarchal concepts of Koreans to the notion of heterogeneity and gender equality on Korean citizenship (Lee, 2006). Even though the Korean nationality law was revised by necessity, peoples' thoughts on 'who Koreans are' has not been easily changed yet.

Interestingly, the status of the child with mixed heritage is often ignored and determined by society. As mentioned earlier, the children with mixed heritage are often excluded from both cultures, and they were often regarded as "foreign" or designated as "others". In addition, they are consistently questioned by others about their identity, such as "what are you?".

According to Lewis-Charp, Yu, and Friedlaender (2004), each group creates its own world with their own cultural knowledge and behaviors combined with values and beliefs. They also mentioned "borders arise when knowledge, skills and behaviors in one world are more highly valued and rewarded (e.g., by members of the dominant group)" (p. 109). These borders also arise when we are situated and encounter different values, behaviors and meanings than we are accustomed to having. Sometimes, we are so immersed in our environments with familiarity and solidarity that we cannot recognize

our own knowledge, values and beliefs. However, we reflect, negotiate and reconstruct ourselves in relation to others in diverse contexts which allow us to distance ourselves from solidarity and familiarity of our environments and people.

Identity formation is an evolving and ongoing process because we encounter borders everyday, created by people, place, and position. Sometimes we cross these borders acquiring the knowledge, values and beliefs of the group to which we want to belong. However, borders created by the dominance of power, privilege, and prestige complicate or restrict border-crossing because the dominant group has control over the official knowledge which justifies the subordination of other cultural and social knowledge (Apple, 2000). Kibria (2002) discusses the differences between race and ethnicity in relation to internal elements versus external elements to influence one's identity formation. She refers to race as "a system of power" in which the dominant group constructs racial hierarchies and boundaries which enable meanings to be assigned to different racial groups. She argues that an ethnic group is formed by "its members of a self-conscious... [and] shared of belonging to a distinct group" (p. 5). However, when we talk about ethnic identity, we cannot disregard the concept of race constructed by a societal system that influences identity formation. That is, boundaries are often built because of promoting certain cultural and linguistic traits as cultural capital and official knowledge. The following chapter provides how I conducted my research to examine how biracial adolescents make meaning of their sense of self in two or more borders created by hierarchal relations of cultural and social capital in a given culture.

CHAPTER 4 METHODOLOGY

This study focuses on the ways in which biracial adolescents perceive, interpret, and reflect their life experiences in terms of understanding their identities within and across different sites at different points in time. There is little known about how individuals change meanings about their ethnic identity over time, and at different stages of their lifetime (Tsai et al, 2002). The present research, which was conducted three years after my pilot study with participants and their parents, allowed me time to be able to investigate the participants' evolution of their sense of identity due to their age across a three-year span of time.

A qualitative research was used to capture the meanings that biracial adolescents made from their life experiences that are shaped by the dialectical effect between an individual's development at a given age and interactions with others in socio-culturally situated contexts. This research also provided another situated context that led participants to relive their experiences, yet reconstruct those in a given time and place.

The objective of this chapter is to give better insights into the research design, field setting and participants, data collection methods and data analysis. I also addressed ways in which I ensure the trustworthiness of the data, yet included how my research positionality was engaged in the research. Furthermore, in order to check my biases and assumptions that come from my life experiences, I used a research journal and critical friends to examine my understanding of the data.

Research Design: Qualitative research

Denzin and Lincoln (2005) discuss that qualitative research emphasizes “socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the research and what is

studied, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry” (p. 10). Alasuutari (1995) discusses that “[reality] is composed of interpretations of meanings and rules of interpretation on the basis of which people orientate themselves in their everyday life” (p. 27). According to Kouzlin (1990) and Vygotsky (1987), effective communication can occur when the interlocutor and speaker understand meanings of the subject and contexts. Therefore, the qualitative research methodology is beneficial to examine meanings that participants make sense of events, social practices, and activities in situated contexts. In addition, the research situates participants and the researcher in the context negotiating meanings of each other’s experiences through conversations. It also enables closing the discrepancy of different interpretations of meanings between the participants and the researcher and to expand understanding of each other’s experience as well as one’s own understanding.

Qualitative research fits well with my inquiry about how biracial persons come to understand their sense of self. First, participants’ meaning making of their experiences in relation to identity is constructed and situated by sociocultural contexts. Second, the researcher is not only an inquirer but also influences participants’ experience through the research. Finally, the researcher’s meaning making on the data is shaped by “situational constraints” from the researcher’s own experience (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005, p. 10).

According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), “the purpose of a research inquiry is to ‘resolve’ the problem in the sense of accumulating sufficient knowledge to lead to understanding or explanation, a kind of dialectical process that plays off the theoretical and antithetical propositions that form the problem into some kind of synthesis” (pp. 226-227). For this study, the problem that I wanted to resolve was to find ways which

promote a positive sense of self for biracial adolescents. However, once I gained more insights into biracial adolescents' experiences, I had a better understanding about ways that biracial adolescents maneuver and negotiate their identities within people's binary concept of defining who are Koreans and who are Americans. The problem of dichotomous perspective of identities for minorities have been addressed in the literature (Gaskins, 1999; Root, 1998, 2002; Williams-León & Nakashima, 2001). This study is to better understand how biracial adolescents and young adult make sense of their identities in multiple, fluid, and idiosyncratic perspectives rather than viewing their multiple identities as identity confusion.

Since qualitative research takes into consideration a dialectical process between the participants and the researcher, it enables retrieving the data in depth and accumulating sufficient knowledge to understand identity formation of persons with mixed heritage. Qualitative research is crucial to conducting this study because it examines the challenge of biracial adolescents and an emerging adult in their identity development in terms of encounters with people in diverse contexts.

Identity is shaped through a reciprocal, mediated and negotiated process of self representation in various contexts and interaction with people (Fishman, 1988; Gee, 1989; Jin & Cortazzi, 1998; Stephen, 1991). Since my participants reported that they did not develop fluency in Korean (one of their parents' first language) as they develop fluency in English, I want to explore how languages influence biracial identity formation, especially, when it comes to the role of social interaction in relation to language and identity. In addition, I want to explore biracial adolescents' perceptions and attitudes of the Korean language and culture, and its influence on their identity formation.

Since the focus of this study is to hear the voices of six biracial persons (Korean plus another racial/ethnic background) in the meaning-making process of their identities, the present study tries to understand the meanings that biracial adolescents make from their experiences. Through four biracial adolescents' voices, this study presents the complexity and variability of experiences of persons with biracial backgrounds. In addition, the follow up study, conducted three years after the first interview with participants and their parents, allows time to investigate changes in identity development across a three-year span. Different types of interviews in addition to a self-reported questionnaire were used to develop a full range of information and to gain insight into participants' contextual experiences and their own meaning-making of their experiences (Kvale, 1996; Sediman, 1991; Weiss, 1994).

The study pays particular attention to experiences of biracial adolescents in the southwestern state of United States with low ethnolinguistic vitality for Korean. In an attempt to understand the experiences of these students, this study addresses the following question: How do students of biracial (Korean plus another racial/ethnic background) youth come to understand their sense of self? This overarching question involves answering specific questions: (1) what role do languages play in this process? and (2) what other experiences come into play in terms of self-identification?

Field Setting: A Southwestern State

This study took place in a southwest state that is known as a multicultural state and is often regarded as a "majority minority" state. De Vargas (2003) even describes this state as a "tricultural state" where "the Hispanic and Native American cultures have managed to coexist for generations and complement the dominant Anglo culture" (p.2).

However, this state has more than just three cultures. Asian cultures are also present in New Mexico. According to the 2010 U.S. census, Asians represent 1.4% (28,208) of the total population of this southwest state (2,059,179); and among Asians, Koreans represent 11% (3,092) of the Asian population. Drawing on Giles' and Johnson's (1987) ethnolinguistic identity theory, the Korean ethnic group in this state does not have a high ethnolinguistic vitality as determined by three factors: "(1) status factor (such as economic, political, linguistic prestige), (2) demographic factors (such as absolute numbers, birthrate, geographical concentration), and (3) institutional support (such as recognition of the group and its language in the media, education, government)" (p.71). Due in part to the small size of the community, the Korean language does not have economic, political, and linguistic prestige; therefore, neither the Korean language nor the Korean ethnic group is recognized in the media, education and government. Children of Korean ethnic background do not have much exposure to Korean language and culture. Moreover, biracial persons who speak English as their household language have even less exposure to the Korean language and culture than Korean monoracial families.

Profile of Participants

For the process of identity formation of biracial adolescents, this study examines the experiences of biracial persons when they encounter borders that people set up linguistically and socioculturally. Since I focused on the specific issues and participants, I chose a purposive sampling to maximize information to answer my research questions (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Merriam (1998) discusses that purposive sampling uses criterion-based selection for choosing participants and sites the ways in which mirror the purpose of the study. Participants were selected meeting the following

criteria: (1) first generation of being biracial, (2) parents with two different racial/ethnic heritages (one of the parents was born and grew up in Korea and the other parent was born and grew up in the United States, and (3) most time spent in the southwestern state with a high concentration of Hispanics.

Six participants participated in this study. Two of the participants were excluded for this study because one is much younger than the other participants and the other participant had both parents who were born and grew up outside the United States.

The participants' names are pseudonyms and, when a participant has a Korean name, a pseudonym for the participant also has a Korean name. This table is based on the participants' responses about their self-identification and demographics. The self-identification of participants and their Korean parents have changed over time, and I will discuss this in a later section. The pilot study was conducted from December 2003 through July 2005. The dissertation study was conducted from March 2007 to March 2008.

As shown in Table 1, participants ranged in age at the time of the pilot study from thirteen to nineteen with a mean age of fifteen and a median age of fourteen. At the time of the dissertation study, the age range of participants was seventeen to twenty one. All informants indicated that their first language was English. All participants in the survey reported that one of their parents was a native speaker of Korean, and reported Korean language use in their home was not much. All participants also reported that the language they communicate with their Korean parent was English. They self-evaluated their fluency in Korean to be lower than three on a scale from one to ten.

Table 1***Profile of Participants***

	Age	First Language	Language Use	Language Use with a Korean Parent	Self evaluated Fluency in Korean [1-10]	Family Structure	Self Identification*
Angela	17	English	100 % English	English	1.5	Korean Mother Anglo -American Father Korean Step-Father	Korean
Allen	18	English	99.9% English 0.01% Korean 0.09% Spanish	English	0	Anglo -American Mother Korean Father	Whasian (White Asian)
Misoon	18	English	98% English 2% Korean	English	2.5	Korean Mother Mexican American Father Anglo-American Step-Father	Korean
Connie	21	English	100% English	English	2.5	Korean Father Anglo-American Mother	American

Note. Self-identification has been changed by age, social contexts, and situations. It will be discussed later.

Three out of four participants were in middle school at the time of the first interview (pilot study), and one participant was a college student. As shown in Table 1, it indicates the percentage of Asian population in their schools at the time of the pilot study and the dissertation study. Connie was a college student at the time of the pilot study and dissertation research, so I put the percentage of Asian population in her high school year. Except in Misoon's case, the Asian population increased from the participants' middle school to high school years.

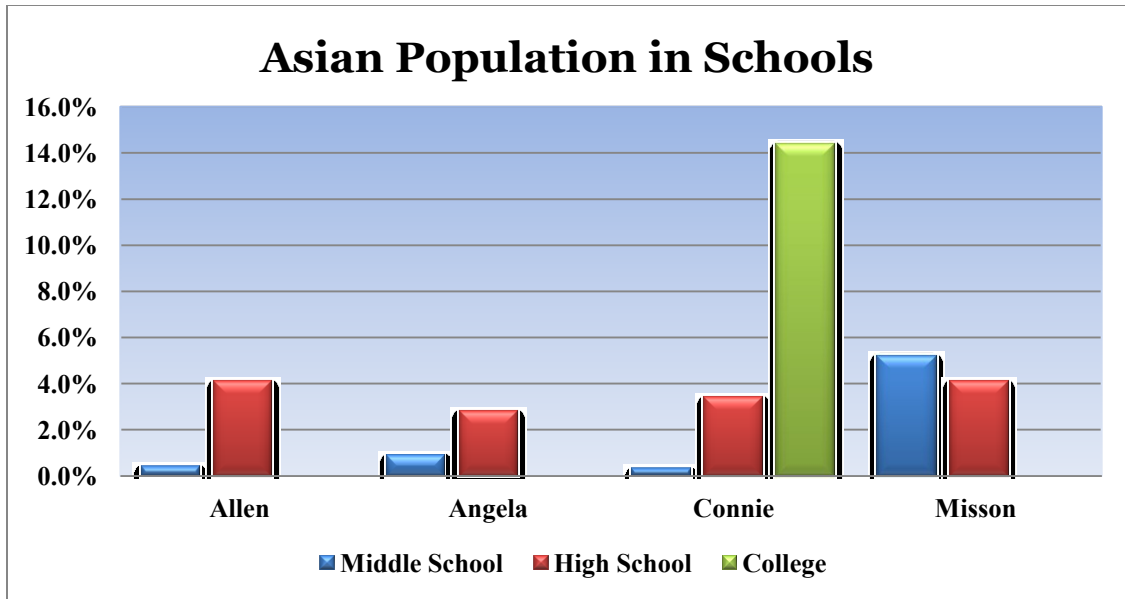


Figure 4. Asian Population in participants' schools

Since Connie is Allen's older sister, his demographic of school also shows the pattern of Asian population of schools that Connie attended.

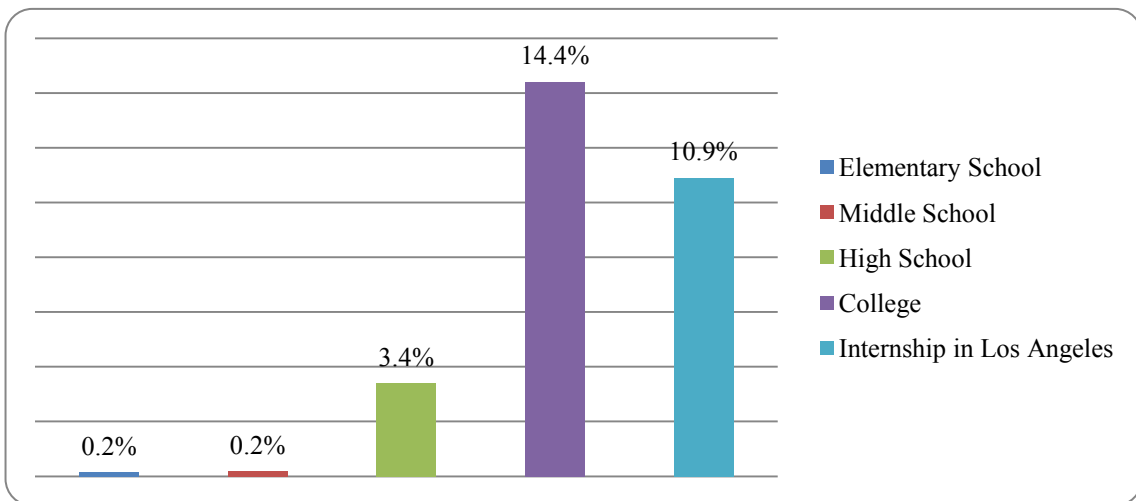


Figure 5. Asian Population in Connie's Social Contexts

Since Connie was a college student at the time of the first interview, she was able to explore her identities by situating herself in Korea and a Korean American enclave in Los Angeles. The above chart shows Asian population in the context that she was

situated. For a better understanding of the findings of the study, I have included a brief summary of participants' backgrounds.

Angela – “Korean people judge you.”

In the first interview, Angela had a negative sense of having Korean heritage. She said that Koreans are more accepting of her older sister because she looks more Korean and speaks fluent Korean. She also said that the reason that her sister identified herself as Korean is due to the bad relationship with her biological father. Even though her mother remarried to a Korean American, she did not indicate him as her step-father neither in her interview nor in the self-questionnaire. In her second interview, she changed her self-identification from American to Korean. She identified herself as Asian in her self-questionnaire and she stated that language was not important to her identity with the group because she identified herself by who she is not her language. In her self-questionnaire, she wrote down her race as Asian/German even though she checked Asian for the ethnic group that she identified with. She answered that she associated more with Americans than when she is around full Koreans and Americans. She said that her racial experience in middle school lead her to discern her Korean heritage as well as social othering experience from the Korean community. She pointed out that she is Korean due to her mother and home environment that she is surrounded by. She seemed to have a more positive attitude about Korea after her trip there in 2007.

Allen – “I made up the word ‘Whasian’, White Asian”

In the first interview, Allen identified himself as Korean American. He mentioned that he and his brother are the only Asian kids in his school which made them different from other kids. He also stated that he wanted to be known for both sides of his parents'

backgrounds not just being Korean or American. He said “I see my mom as American, my dad as Korean so I’m just Korean American”. In the self-reported questionnaire, he wrote his race as Whasian (White Asian) and he checked Caucasian (white European) and Asian (Korean) for the ethnic group that he identified with. He also answered that he would feel more associated with Americans rather than Koreans because he was raised in American culture and was exposed to a small amount of Korean culture. However, he said that he checks “Asian” for his race in his standard test because it best shows his difference from a Caucasian.

In the second interview, when he read the transcript of his first interview, he told me that his identity had changed since the first interview. He said that going to high school where there are more Asian students made him create the term “Whasian, White Asian” because Asian students often challenged his authenticity of being Asian. Allen used the term “Whasian” to maneuver around people’s expectations and perceptions so that he was not vulnerable and disempowered in any situation. However, he added, “(for) the most part, I am just American” indicating that his upbringing and socialization were not that much different from his peers and others who ask the question “what are you?”.

Connie- “here is my own space not needing to be a part of one specific group...”

In the first interview, Connie was in Korea attending an intense Korean language class. While in middle and high school, Connie said that she disliked thinking she was part Korean and wanted to have blond hair and blue eyes, which is the typical image of an American. Whereas she said that learning Korean helped her fulfill her personal identity and to help justify who she was in the first interview, she said that learning

Korean was not as important as before since her Korean grandmother passed away and she felt closer to aspects of the Hispanic culture and language due to her upbringing in New Mexico and social networks with Hispanic friends.

In the second interview, I asked her to fill out the self-reported questionnaire. At that time, she identified herself as “half white and half Korean”, “American, sometimes Korean-American”. However, in another self-reported questionnaire that she filled out during the focus group interview, she identified herself as “American because that is my nationality”. Moreover, she chose to opt out of the racial identification category in the questionnaire. She wrote, “race is socially constructed, therefore, I do not want to participate”. She also mentioned that in the standard test, she checked “Caucasian” and “Asian” for her race so she can be a minority. She also said that associated more with Americans because she grew up in America.

Connie tried to explore her identities by situating herself in Korea and a Korean American enclave in Los Angeles. She said that the two experiences in Korea and in Los Angeles changed her identification to American. She said that she found the middle point between Korean and Korean American after a summer internship in Los Angeles. In particular, she said that she wanted to distance herself from the Korean American group due to Korean traditional values that did not coincide with American ones.

Connie indicated that having an American mom as opposed to a Korean mom must have brought different socialization aspects because the ways in which her mother taught her was not different from social norms, values, and manners from the mainstream.

Misoon – “I just say ‘ Korean’ cause I look more Asian than I do Hispanic.”

In the first interview, Misoon identified herself as Korean. Because her mother remarried to an Anglo American when she was young, she did not spend much time with her Hispanic father. She said that her father did not try to transmit the Spanish language or Hispanic culture to her even though her great grandmother on her father’s side wanted her to be a proud Latina. She told me that many people questioned the fact that she had a Korean first name and a Hispanic last name as if she picked a Hispanic last name for herself.

Misoon told me that she self-identified more as Korean because she is around more Korean people and the Korean culture due to her mother than Hispanic people. Even though in both interviews, Misoon identified herself as Korean, in the second interview, she responded that she would answer Korean or Hispanic based on how the interlocutor asked the question. However, she also said that she would not bring up the fact that she is half-Hispanic unless pressed. In her self-reported questionnaire, she identified her race as Asian Hispanic and she checked Hispanic in the standard test.

Data Collection Methods

Data collection methods were employed to describe the manner in which biracial adolescents interpret, shape and reformulate their experiences: individual interviews, a focus group interview, and dyad and triad interview and self-reported questionnaires. I added the pilot study as a data collection method because findings of the pilot study helped me to frame their identity as fluid, multiple, and idiosyncratic rather than static, dichotomous and universal. The figure 1 shows data collection methods and how the pilot study was a part of the present study.

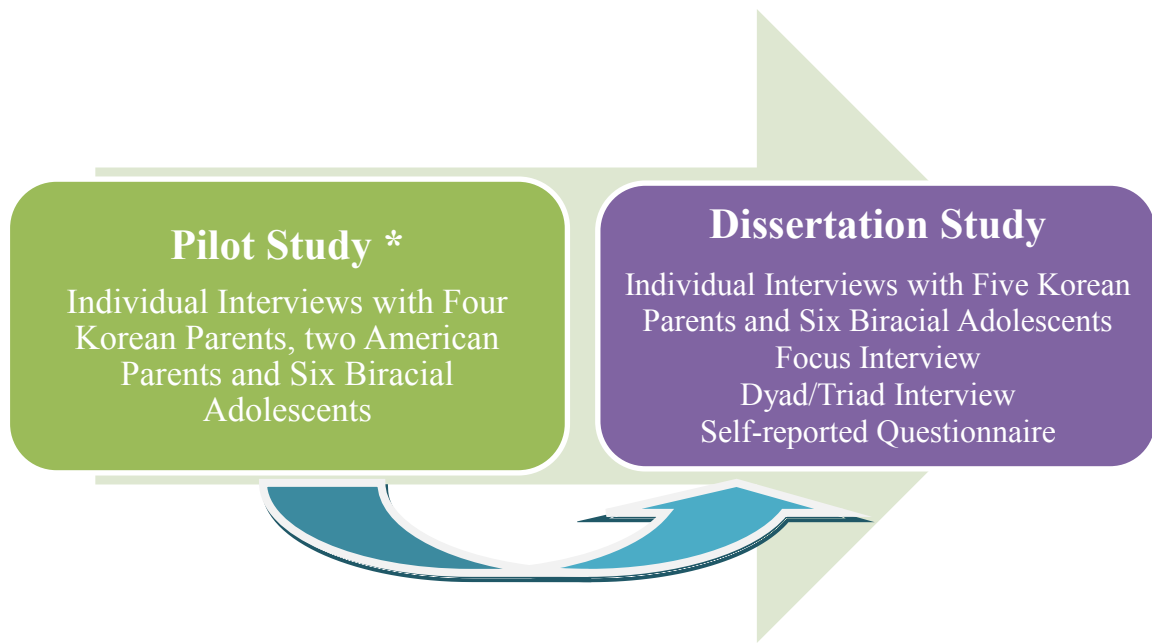


Figure 6. The Progress of the Study

* Six biracial adolescents from the pilot study were recruited for the dissertation study. Their interviews and their parents' interviews from the pilot study were used as their first individual interviews in the dissertation study.

The pilot study. As Seidman (1991) suggests, pilot studies often help researchers test out their research structure and provide tips with “the practical aspects of establishing access, making contact, and conducting the interview” (p. 30). The pilot study preceded the dissertation study by approximately three years.

The purpose of my pilot study was to better understand my students' experiences as biracial persons and what learning Korean means to students and their families. As a teacher, I was concerned about my students' negative attitudes toward learning Korean language and Korean identity. I focused on biracial adolescent's background because of the sudden growth of students with biracial background in my class and my idea of interracial families as an ideal circumstance to being bilingual and bicultural.

For my pilot study, I used in-depth interviews with biracial adolescents (Korean plus another racial/ethnic background) and their parents (four Korean parents and two American parents). In an attempt to understand the experiences of biracial adolescents in the interrelationship between language and identity, I asked students and their parents how they identify themselves and what learning Korean means to them.

Findings show that authenticity of participants' identity as Korean and/or Americans are challenged by others because of physical appearance, rudimentary linguistic and cultural knowledge, and others' perceptions. Findings suggested that society, social actors (others), and self are main components for constructing identity. Furthermore, I realized that the dichotomous perspective of identity formation of biracial children often disregarded idiosyncratic, multiple, and situational characteristics of biracial children's identity formation. Therefore, participants' own ways of making sense of events, social practices, and activities in relation to their identity formation should be examined. The study also indicated that language played a greater role in negotiating, reconstructing, and meaning-making of self identification in relation to society, social actors, and self. Therefore, if people do not have a means to communicate, interpret, negotiate and define meanings of the symbolic system, it is hard to understand the specific meanings, knowledge, values, and beliefs that the ethnic group transmits through social practices and interactions with members of the community. The pilot study led me to better focus the dissertation study on considering the complexity, multiplicity, and idiosyncrasy of identity formation. For the dissertation, I counted the pilot study as my participants' first individual interviews.

Individual interviews. Kvale (1996) explains that “through conversations, the traveler can also lead others to new understanding and insight as they, through their own story-telling, may come to reflect on previously natural-seeming matters of course in their culture” (p. 4). As Kvale (1996) discusses, the interview is not only to have participants answer questions but also formulate their own conceptions of their reality. Alasuutari (1995) discusses that “[reality] is composed of interpretations of meanings and rules of interpretation on the basis of which people orientate themselves in their everyday life” (p. 27). While the purpose of this study is to examine how the experiences of biracial adolescents (Korean plus other racial/ethnic background) influence the way they make sense of themselves, participants’ active involvement such as reflection on their experiences in specific contexts is necessary for this study. Seidman (1991) discusses that “the combination of exploring the past to clarify the events that led participants to where they are now, and describing the concrete details of their present experience, establishes conditions for reflecting upon what they are now doing in their lives” (p. 12). Therefore, participants’ present and past experiences should be considered to understand how they make meaning of their identity formation. As LeCompte & Preissle (1993) and Alasuutari (1995a) discuss, the different experiences in accordance with the social and cultural structures lead to different interpretations. Vygotsky (1987) also asserts that cultural and historical contexts at a given age shape how people think and interpret events. Therefore, as a researcher who grew up in Korea and has a strong Korean identity, it is crucial to listen to the voices of biracial adolescents in the contexts they encounter. As identity is shaped and situated through interactions between society, social actors (others), and self, qualitative research fits to explore identities of biracial adolescents’ background

focusing on the interrelationship between social experience and meanings (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). Because of the dialectic relationship between the researcher and the participants, the researcher's positionality and participants' meaning making process of their identities needs to be examined.

Participants met with the researcher, who was also their former teacher, to discuss issues about their experience of being mixed heritage (Korean plus other racial/ethnic backgrounds), identity issues and language attitudes. The in-depth interviews were semi-structured and an interview lasted for 30-60 minutes at a convenient place and time. Each interview was audio-recorded with the permission of the students and later transcribed. Questions were semi-structured and additional questions were retrieved from the responses of the interviewee in the previous interview. I provided the transcript of their interviews to remind them of their first interview that I had conducted 3 years prior and to think about their perceptions and things that had changed since the last interview in terms of identity formation.

I also interviewed Korean parents whom I had interviewed for my pilot study because the participants' narratives often pointed out their Korean parents' influence on their identity formation. The participants discussed that Korean parents discouraged their Korean ethnic sense of selves and imposed more American identity on them. I believed that the parents' response to their children's inquiry about being Korean was not intentionally discouraging, but their ways of making sense of identities could influence the ethnic socialization of their children. Therefore, I needed to interview Korean parents to find out how they see identities of themselves and their children and their language attitudes toward Korean and other languages.

Focus group interviews. According to Krueger (1994), a focus group is defined as “a carefully planned discussion designed to obtain perceptions on a defined area of interest in a permissive, non-threatening environment” (p. 6). Since I was their former Korean language teacher, students might have been intimidated during interviews. Therefore, rather than controlling the discussion, I wanted students to discuss their opinions, attitudes, and perceptions about learning the Korean language, Korean language school, and experiences of being biracial and their identities. A focus group can provide “a range of opinions, ideas and experiences, and thus generates insightful information” on Korean language learning, Korean language school and identities (Litoselliti, 2003, p. 2). Group interviews were also used for triangulation purposes or used in conjunction with other data-gathering techniques. Focus group interviews served four purposes: (1) to provide a safe environment for participants to freely discuss the research topics, (2) to triangulate for the purpose of putting individual responses into a group context (Morgan, 1993), (3) to stimulate embellished descriptions of experiences shared by members of the group (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005), and (4) to collect a range of insights and knowledge in conjunction with other data-gathering techniques (Litoselliti, 2003).

In a focus group, students’ opinions based on their unique and idiosyncratic experiences help participants think, reflect, discuss, articulate and synthesize their perceptions on the topic. Students had an opportunity to review and reevaluate their own understandings and experiences (Litosseliti, 2003). I believed that the focus group interview was significant for students to share similar or different issues that they experience as a person with a Korean ethnic heritage. This focus group provided insights on multiple and different views of perceptions, attitudes, and identities of students with a

Korean ethnic heritage. In addition, the dynamics of interaction within a group context facilitated discussions among participants and had participants explore the issues (Morgan, 1993).

I used a focus group to elicit students' perceptions, attitudes and opinions about Korean language learning, the interrelationship between languages and identities in conjunction with in-depth interviews. I wanted to provide participants an opportunity to share their experiences of being biracial with other adolescents so that they would know that they were not alone in dealing with their multiple identities in situational contexts.

The focus group consisted of seven participants (six participants and Jamie, a critical friend). Four of the participants had taken a Korean class together previously, except for Connie and Timothy. I made no attempt to screen out friends or acquaintances because a number of participants live in the same area, e.g. mothers of children who are involved in the Korean community or young people in the same church. To start off their discussion, the participants watched selected excerpts for ten minutes from the video, *School Colors* which is a 1994 PBS series Frontline program disseminating the issue of diversity through looking at a Berkeley high school. I chose a few excerpts that captured high school students' lives who tried to balance between being ethnic and being American. The focus group interview was scheduled at a time and location that was convenient to the participants. I thought that the video 'school colors' would facilitate a discussion about issues and experiences of being biracial. From the individual interviews that I conducted over the past three years, I noticed that many participants seemed to have different meanings of identification such as Koreans, Korean American, and American. Also, some of the participants talked about being more American, so I wanted to hear

opinions from other participants. Individual interviews with participants had me thinking about how different they feel from their parents who are full heritage and how their parents influence their children through the ethnic socialization. Whereas I assumed that participants would have negative attitudes toward being mixed, participants appreciated their biracial background and being exposed to different cultures. Due to this reason, I asked them what kind of experiences they had had because of their biracial backgrounds. Also, I shared reasons that they were hesitant identifying themselves as Korean such as appearance, rudimentary cultural and linguistic knowledge and people's perceptions. Since language fluency was one of the reasons that they referenced as a determinant of Korean identity, I also asked participants' opinions about the relationship between identity and language. Most of all, I wanted to know how they identified themselves among participants with biracial backgrounds. During the second interview that I conducted with participants, I also noticed the change of participants' self-identification; therefore, I asked them the rationale for their identity change.

Dyads and triads interview. The reasons that the focus group interview did not turn out as well as I expected were three-fold based on participants' responses: (1) the private matter of the topic, (2) low rapport and familiarity with other participants, and (3) prudence about others' opinions. Even though I thought that the focus group interview might give participants more power and voice as a majority against the researcher, the relationship between participants, personality and the private matter of the topic were the main reasons that participants were reluctant to share their opinions. Therefore, the participants suggested using pair interviews, a suggestion that was well-received by the participants. Edmunds (1999) introduced triads or dyads as alternative focus group

settings which allow enough time to discuss the topic in detail. Even though the focus group interview is normally used in market research, this interview structure was useful to collect insight and different opinions based on each participant's experience. In addition, the dyads and triads provided an opportunity to triangulate the data in addition to the interaction with other participants. Edmunds (1999) points out the disadvantages of smaller focus groups in relation to limited information; however, the smaller size of the focus group can be beneficial to inquiring idiosyncratic experiences of the participants. While I had hoped that this focus group interview had provided a chance for participants to interact and build upon the responses of other participants (Krueger & Casey, 2000; Morgan, 1997), dyad and triad interviews seemed to provide solidarity between participants so that participants could extend and elaborate accounts of their experiences building on other participants' responses (Wilkinson, 2004). A dyad and triad interview provided an opportunity to observe interactions between participants.

Self-reported questionnaire. The purpose of the self-reported questionnaire was to see ways that participants responded to their racial/ethnic identification and that of their parents in the written form. Since participants' situational identities in various contexts drew from the findings, their response in the written form was necessary to triangulate the data. Also, the questionnaire was administered once and used to gain information about the demographics of participants. A 23-item questionnaire with open-ended questions was constructed in English to target participants' demographic information such as age, gender, ethnicity, self-identification, and how they identify their parents/their step parents (if it was applicable) (11 items), language information such as the first language, language use, the extent of Korean usage versus English and language

attitudes (8 items) and experiences of having Korean ethnic background and learning the Korean language and culture (4 items). The learners completed the 20- minute questionnaire when they got together for the focus group interview. They were asked to finish the questionnaire before the focus group or after the focus group interview.

Data Analysis

According to Wolcott (2001), analysis refers to “the examination of data using systematic and standardized measures and procedures” (p. 32). In other words, analysis is organizing the data based on inquiries of the study and making sense out of the data (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). However, Strauss & Corbin discuss that analysis is not a structured process but a “free-flowing and creative one in which analysts move quickly back and forth between types of coding, using analytic techniques and procedures freely and in response to the analytic task before analysts” (p. 58). I tried to synthesize the data from each participant through crossing multiple data sources; interviews, focus group interviews, questionnaires, and the research journal. The procedure of data analysis was alternated between data collection and analysis. Questions were developed through subsequent iterations of inquiries, insights, reflections, and further analysis of data collection (LeCompte & Pressle, 1993; Mile & Huberman, 1984).

After transcribing interviews verbatim, I read through the transcripts and marked striking segments of interviews. I categorized codings derived from the data, and similar categories merged into themes. Categorizing the data into themes helped me organize and analyze data by inquiring, discovering and weaving the small pieces of data together (Miles & Huberman, 1984). Using categories, I highlighted passages from multiple data resources that mirrored the data from the participants. I presented the analyses of

interviews and self-reported questionnaire in juxtaposition to the direct quotation to give a fuller account of the experiences of having mixed heritage background and influence of social contexts, social actors and the self toward identity formation. I conducted analyses along two dimensions: role of languages and language practices on identity formation and experiences of being biracial. I combined three analysis methods to identify themes, discover relationships and develop explanations for research questions: the constant comparative analysis, domain analysis, and typology analysis.

First, I read the transcripts and highlighted the places that stand out for the topics that I am interested in or research question related. Then, I merged codings to categories that had something in common and recurred throughout participants' narratives. Table 2 shows how coding merged into two categories. For example, the relationship between language and identity was repeated in most participants' narratives. Language as a means for intergenerational transmission of values and beliefs, language as a symbolic marker of social identity and language as an identity capital were categorized to language and identity, which explain different roles of language in identity development..

Table 2
Examples of Coding and Categorizing

<i>Identification</i>	<i>Determinants of identity</i>	<i>Language and Identity</i>	<i>Negative experience</i>
People's perception	Nature Identity – heritage	Language as identity capital	Middle school
Appearance	Linguistic and cultural Knowledge	Language as symbolic marker of the group membership	Not fitting in
Korean name	Social relationships	Language is “constitutive of ...a language learner's social identity”	Dissonance between one's identity and others'

Situational identity	Self vs. Others	Language is a means to understand culture.	perception What am I?
Social contexts	Other's perception	Language is a means to function as a member	Racial experience
Social actors	Affiliation	Language is a large part of how person thinks that how they identify themselves	Feeling uncomfortable, and ostracized
Social status of the group			

Figure 6 shows an example of how categories interrelate with each other.



Figure 7. Factors Influencing the Negative Sense of Self

Second, after constructing categories, I linked them to understand relationships between these categories using the domain analysis. Among semantic relationships that Spradley (1979) identified, I used cause-effect (X is a result of Y, X is a cause of Y), rationale (X is a reason for doing Y), function (X is used for Y) and attribution (X is an attribute, or characteristic, of Y). The examples of semantic relationships were listed in

the Table 3. For instance, biracial adolescents' negative experience is a result of the discrepancy between their own perceptions and others' on identities due to their physical appearance and their cultural and linguistic knowledge. Early adolescents are sensitive to others' recognition and approval; therefore, not being able to negotiate multiple identities caused them to fail evaluating their sense of self positively. For early adolescents who are in the process of achieving their sense of self, situations like being recognized by a member of a minority group by members of the mainstream, yet have limited linguistic and cultural knowledge to identify with a Korean ethnic group might be tough to deal with.

Table 3

Examples of Semantic Relationships

Semantic Relationships	Examples
Cause-effect	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Negative experience is a result of Discrepancy between their own perceptions and others' on their identities Not fitting in Inability to see identities with multiple and abstract Concepts • Parents' socialization practices are a result of their ideology underlying their racial and language attitude. • Biracial adolescents' doubly otherized experiences are a result of people's dichotomous perspectives of viewing white as being American and biracial individuals as non-Korean.
Rationale	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age is a reason for changing views on identity With age, the expansion of social contexts, increasing the ability of perspective skills and balancing the needs of individuation and integration enables one to see multiplicity, fluidity and the idiosyncrasy of identities.
Attribution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strong desire to fit into culturally and socially accepted standards and norms is a characteristic of early adolescents. • Insecure feeling about their social position and seeking

	<p>for peer group conformity is a characteristic of early adolescents.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Being conscious of their body and physical appearance and being sensitive to others' recognition and approval is important to early adolescents.
Function	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Situational identity is used for navigating and practicing the multiplicity and fluidity of identities. • Situational identity is used strategically for biracial adolescents' benefits. • Situational identity is used for exploring choices of identities while they straddle racial/ethnic borders in terms of social contexts, others and their self-reflection.

Third, after identifying recurring patterns which emerged from the data, I used typological analysis. LeCompte and Preissle (1993) refer to typological analysis as “dividing everything observed into groups or categories on the basis of some canon for disaggregating the whole phenomenon under study” (p. 257). Since the typological analysis is beneficial to use at the initial groupings of data (Hatch, 2002), I used it to group categories with research questions after coding. Table 4 shows examples of typological analysis. Based on my research questions, I sorted out the role of languages. For Korean parents, English played a role of gaining legitimacy and power as a member of the mainstream, whereas biracial adolescents felt that their fluency in Korean got in the way of their chances to learn about their backgrounds and to build social relationships with Korean speakers.

Table 4

Examples of Typological Analysis

<i>Language Roles</i>	
Language as boundary	Feeling of being marginalized, incompetent, and uncomfortable

Language as capital	Understanding the sense of self Gaining social status and power Forming Social relationships
<i>Experiences of Being Biracial</i>	
Othering experience	Being the outsider from the mainstream Being outsider from the Korean ethnic group Being different from parents, relatives, and peers
Socialization experience	Parents' socialization practices Lack of ethnic socialization Limited participation in the Korean social and cultural practices
Social situations of developmental experience	Different experience in different stages of life Different experience in social contexts Different experience by personal characteristics

Trustworthiness

The importance of planning trustworthiness is emphasized especially in qualitative research because it uses an inquiry-based process (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 1998). Lincoln and Guba (1985) address the notion of trustworthiness to which makes the research findings of naturalistic inquiry worthwhile to pay attention. Bashir, Afzal and Azeem (2008) said that trustworthiness can be established by “eliminating biases” and the richness of the information. I adopt several strategies to capture valid and reliable multiple and diverse realities of biracial adolescents’ identity formation.

First, I triangulated the data adopting Patton’s (2001) different types of triangulation in terms of (1) triangulation of data sources which used different forms of interview (individual interview, focus interview, and dyad and triad interview) and self-reported questionnaire to compare participants’ responses and their attitudes and behaviors based on the contributions of a range of people, (2) triangulation of investigator

and through multiple analysts which researcher's reflexivity needed to be self scrutinized throughout the research in collaboration with others' fresh eyes, and (3) theory triangulation which adopts different theoretical perspectives to look at the data. I used developmental psychology, cultural psychology, and sociology to compare prepositions that different disciplines talk about issues around identity formation.

Second, prolonged engagement in relationships with participants and their family and pilot studies provided a bigger picture of issues around biracial adolescents' identity formation. The past eleven years of my teaching experiences in the Korean community, observation, and participation in activities of Korean community gave me insightful views on the field.

Third, participants were asked to read interview transcripts to clarify or elaborate their point of view for the accuracy of the data. Merriam defined "member checking" as a way of "taking data and tentative interpretations back to the people from whom they were derived and asking them if the results are plausible" (p. 204). Since I believe that research is done in collaboration with participants and researchers, participants reviewed and confirmed their interviews. It gave participants opportunities to rethink the issues and had them check researchers' misunderstandings or misinterpretation of their comments.

The most common criticism of qualitative research is that the researcher may impose values, beliefs and biases onto the participants and may have thus influenced the data. As Denzin (1989) discusses, "value free interpretive research is impossible" (p. 23). Therefore, the researcher needs to pay attention to his/her prepositions, values, and biases related to inquiry. In addition, the researcher should pay attention to ways in which the study was conceptualized and presented in terms of data collection and data analysis

(Merriam, 1998). To ensure the trustworthiness of this study, I examined my positionality which can be relevant or influential to the study. Due to the importance of critical examination of researcher's perception, ideology and experiences for validating the findings, I used (1) critical friends to scrutinize contextual relativity in terms of research questions and interpretation of findings and (2) my research journal to lay out the process of the research and examine the cohesion and consistency during the course of the study.

Researcher's Positionality

As Lincoln & Guba (1985) emphasized, researchers should examine our own values as well the values of the context or situation. Morrow (2005) pointed out that researchers are co-constructors of meanings of the data. As Herr and Anderson (1997) stated, "informant narratives are not merely elicited, but rather created out specific social contexts and interactions between interviewer and informant" (p. 47). The personal values, beliefs, and experiences of the researcher cannot be avoided in selecting the problem and particular method, analysis and interpretation of findings. Therefore, it is important to indicate what undergirds the whole process of research in detail.

According to Lewis-Charp, Yu, and Friedlaender (2004), each group creates their own world with their own cultural knowledge, behaviors combined with values and beliefs. They also mentioned "borders arise when knowledge, skills and behaviors in one world are more highly valued, and rewarded (e.g., by members of the dominant group)" (p. 109). This border also arises when we are situated and encounter the different values, behaviors and meanings that we are accustomed to have. Therefore, it is important for me to delineate my own positionality in relation to the present study because it may have

influenced aspects of data analysis and its interpretation. There are three significant positionalities and experiences that affected my viewpoint and constitutes knowledge around the study: (1) my positionality as English Language Learner; (2) a Korean full heritage adult living with a family of a biracial adolescent; and (3) a mother of a biracial child. All these positionalities juxtapose realities and experiences that have brought me to my own particular place and position into the research.

First, when I came to the United States for my study, the term ESL (English as Second Language) was given to me as well as the social meanings attached to it. Rather than complementing the fact that I am bilingual, the accents and ways in which I speak English seemed to be a symbolic marker of an outsider and foreigner and a lack of ownership of social and cultural capital in the United States. I also experienced and witnessed how English fluency mediates immigrants' experiences to save face and keep security, dignity, and empowerment. Depending on the level of English fluency, it becomes a powerful border or tool that immigrants and migrants have to cross everyday to survive. Therefore, I understand parents' socialization practices that do not emphasize instilling Korean identity and Korean language. They are forced to choose the path that their children won't recur their own experiences of embarrassment, discrimination and disempowerment due to their lack of English fluency.

Second, frankly, I did not have a clue of being biracial because I grew up in Korea and both of my parents are Korean. As my participants said, I am so called "Korean Korean" and "100% Korean". Due to this reason, living with a biracial adolescent and her family helped me gain insights on the social realities of biracial adolescents and Korean immigrants in the United States. Jamie shared her stories in school about how she juggled

with Asians stereotype such as “nerd” or “boring” and others’ expectations of her as Asian. As I heard her stories about “the drama in school”, I realized why adolescents often told me that they have not thought about the issues that I questioned them. Jamie helped me to become aware that adolescents’ social realities, “the drama in school” were more real, immediate, and important social realities than my research issues.

Living with Jamie introduced the aspect of language use at home amongst children of immigrants. I often wondered why Korean parents talked to their children in English rather than in Korean. While I stayed with Jamie and her family, I experienced how challenging the task is of raising children bilingually. Even though I tried to speak with Jamie in Korean, it was hard for us to keep the conversation flow in Korean without switching to English. Because Jamie was more exposed to American social and cultural practices, when I introduced a new Korean vocabulary, I had to explain culturally bounded meanings in Korean as well as social and cultural contexts related to it. It often dragged our conversation to a long one which discouraged us to talk in Korean. As a Korean mother told me that adolescents are not patient enough to listen to a long explanation, Jamie also dismissed our conversation by saying “never mind”. Jamie told me that it is easier for her to talk to me in English because “it happens in English”. Since she is socialized mostly in English-speaking social and institutional events and activities, English is the language that contains socially and culturally bounded meanings in contexts that she experienced.

Third, when my child was born, I had a better understanding about participants’ Korean parents’ concerns and realities. Korean mothers often told me that they felt that they were not as good as other American mothers who possess more linguistic and

cultural knowledge of the mainstream society. As a new Korean mom, I could share the ways in which Korean mothers felt vulnerable and incompetent in the society that does not appreciate or legitimize their linguistic and cultural knowledge. After hearing others' comments based on American social norms about childrearing practices, I could not help but think that the ways in which I raise my child (which I think is the proper and well mannered way of childrearing in Korean culture) might be seen ill mannered and might view me as an uneducated and foreign mother who does not have enough cultural capital to perform appropriately in the context of childrearing practices in the United States.

Korean immigrants struggle to decide whether they should socialize their children to be a member of the mainstream or a member of their ethnic group, which might mark their children as an outsider or foreigner as they are often labeled. They may feel sad to think that they may lose their ways to pass down values, beliefs, stories, wisdom and advice that their parents passed down to their children. When my child, JuEun, was born, I had a better understanding about the realities of interracial families who have a higher risk of losing heritage language. Until the reality of an interracial marriage hit me, I did not understand why my participants' parents said that it was hard for them to speak Korean, their native language, to their children because their father was English-speaking. But now I know that language engages the interlocutors into the conversations. Even though mom may speak to a baby in the native language, if dad is there with them, talking about the father or with the father requires him in the discourse, making the mother switch to the language the father can understand. In language acquisition, language socialization can happen with the interplay with media, society, community and family to reinforce societal norms, values, and beliefs. Therefore, parental socialization

practices in the minority language have many more challenges to instill to their children with values, beliefs, and knowledge that can be transmitted through the constant language practices, once their children enter school and are more exposed to speak English.

As Pillow (2003) pointed out, we as researchers should concentrate on looking at “how does who I am, who I have been, who I think I am, and how I feel affect data collection and analysis” (p. 176) as well as how we explore this process in our participants. For this reason, I kept my research journal and field notes to reflect how my investigation evolved and developed. Since the research is conducted through dialectic relationship between participants and researcher, it demands researcher’s “self-conscious awareness of the process of self-scrutiny” as well as that of participants (as cited in Pillow, 2003, p. 177).

Through the research, I have learned participants’ realities and their understandings of their multiple worlds (Sears, 1992). As Sears (1992) states, researchers should be aware of the culture that they belong to because the culture frames their world view. Therefore, I monitored my understandings and interpretations through the use of critical friends and the research journal.

Critical friend. According to Herr, Anderson and Nihlen (2007), a critical friend plays three roles. First, it is necessary to verify “the researcher’s assumptions, biases, and understandings” (p. 153). Second, a critical friend can provide different ways to interpret the data and suggest alternative ideas and analysis. Third, through conversations with a critical friend, researchers find a way to articulate their thoughts, ideas, and inquiries for further analyses. The importance of a critical friend has been discussed in the matter of validity and credibility of the qualitative data by suggesting different lenses to see the

data and providing an opportunity to examine and verify the researcher's interpretation (Anderson, Herr, and Nihlen, 2007; Costa & Kallick, 1993; Herr & Anderson, 2005; Rossman & Rallis, 2003).

I used "critical friend"³ to cross-examine the ways in which I interpret findings. Since I am an ESL learner, word choice and interpretation of English native speakers might be different. Since meanings of words can be multiple depending on contexts (Miles & Huberman, 1984), my sense and meanings of words developed in different contexts and influenced interpreting the data. Additionally, since I was very close and familiar to my field setting, I needed a critical friend to help me distance myself to describe and disclose the information in detail so that the reader can reflect and identify with the data with a wide range of understanding (Merriam, 1998).

For a long time, I struggled about whether I should regard Jamie and her mother as participants or as critical friends. Jamie's involvement with the feedback on self-reported questionnaires, in development of the interview questions and her participation in the individual interviews, a focus interview, and a triad interview provided much more information than any other participants. She supported my research in many ways: (1) her insights and interpretation as an adolescent about other participants and the research study, (2) interactions with me in natural settings not the research setting, and (3) better word choices to make interview questions comprehensible to adolescents and English-native speakers.

³ According to Anderson, Herr and Nihlen (1994), a critical friend is "another insider, but one who plays a devil's advocate role" (p. 4).

Jamie's first language is English, and she indicates her portion of language uses in Korean and English as 20% and 80%. She said that she usually uses Korean with her parents. She identified herself as Korean American, half Korean and half American. Jamie speaks mostly in Korean with her step-dad and speaks English and Korean with her mother but more English than Korean. Living with Jamie gave me deep insights into adolescents' lives and being biracial. Jamie goes to a Korean church with her family. She told me that she mostly speaks English even in a Korean church with her peers. Her narratives about Asians in her school and her reaction to TV programs in which Asians are portrayed as silly and entertaining subjects often reveal her identity as Asian. She also distances herself from the smart and nerdy image of Asians in school.

Jamie's mom, Sumi, shared her concerns raising a young teenager in the United States along with the difficulties of managing her business as a Korean immigrant. She told me that many of her customers expect her to be like a China doll, and she acts like one because it helps her have a better business. Her honest discussion opened my eyes about issues that immigrants encounter everyday. She often mentioned that I may not understand many things because I am in higher education and not in the real world. Therefore, living with Sumi's family enriched my experience and research.

Sumi was recruited as a critical friend who provided insights on sociocultural practices that Korean parents follow in relation to their children's socialization. As a Korean immigrant mother, she expressed her concerns and expectations for her daughter. In the relationship with me, she expected me to be a social agent for her daughter as an Imo (aunt), which allowed another social role participating in the socialization such as

disciplining, supervising, and educating her daughter. Due to these reasons, I decided to invite Jamie and Sumi as my critical friends.

Sumi is my close friend, and Jamie is the first generation of mixed heritage with a Korean mother and an Anglo American father. Currently, Jamie lives with her mom, and her step dad who is Korean. Jamie joined in my study as a critical friend because my research journey came across her family during my research. I moved in with Jamie's family to help out their familial matter. I gained insightful views on being biracial as well as being an adolescent from living with Jamie's family.

As my participants viewed me as *Korean Korean* or *Korean American* because of their own view of making sense of labeling, the fact that both of my parents are Korean made me *Korean Korean*, whereas some of the participants thought that I was *Korean American* because I am bilingual and I have surrounded myself with American friends and American culture. The way we make sense of social events is influenced by our experiences and parents' socialization in our earlier childhood. Since I did not grow up in the United States and did not spend my adolescence in the United States and especially I did not grow up as being a mixed heritage child, the way I perceive, experience, interpret and reflect might be far different than the way adolescents make sense of their world, adolescents' culture as subculture in the United States. Therefore, the use of critical friends provided another lens to look at experiences of biracial adolescents and Korean immigrant parents. Jamie's so called "all dramas in school" were never exposed to or understood by parents who grew up in other countries or by parents who spent their adolescence much earlier and in a different country with a different socialization.

Research journal. As LeCompte & Pressle discuss (1993), research cannot be isolated from the researchers' experiences, which contain the originality and the direction of the study. Therefore, the study is not static but fluid due to the situated constraints that the researcher experienced throughout the research journey.

Each person has unique experiences in accordance with one's sociocultural and historical contexts. My experiences as an international student, a Korean language teacher, a doctoral student, English Learner, a mother of a biracial child definitely shaped the way I interpreted meanings in diverse contexts. Therefore, I needed to record what I was thinking and how my thoughts are changing in terms of language and identity. As our prior experiences influence how we make sense of our experiences in the present and the future, I often recognized myself focusing all events in relation to my research topic. As Jamie told me, "you always see things with culture stuff". The documentation of my interests, inquires, and thoughts on the research were beneficial for me to understand how my personal identity also changed through my experiences and how this change also influenced the research. Relationships with my students and their families cannot be excluded in my research journal because we learn, negotiate, and reconstruct our knowledge through social interactions with others. A research journal was helpful for me to examine my biases, values, assumptions and the process of the inquiry (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The research journal was documented from August 2003 to September 2009.

CHAPTER 5 FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Like, students here will identify me as Asian right away, but, like if, I mean, another Asian person who actually maybe just recently transferred from China or Korea would be like, you know, I am just this white. Everyone else here, um... you know I made up the word I think my freshman or sophomore year, Whasian, White Asian. And I like to use that because it doesn't really make sense, it is not a normal word. It doesn't tag me as anything so people can, you know, go off on me about "oh, you're nothing like this" or in order to decide how to judge, you know, exactly what my cultural background or racial background is, so, I mean, I can explain in any way I want to for the particular situation. Um. Yeah, still think that it might...that having a Korean dad does affect me a little bit differently than other people but, for the most part, I am just an American. (Allen, First Individual Interview, January, 2004)

As Allen, one of participants, explains his experience of people's dichotomous perspective of defining who he is, and of social othering not only from the mainstream, but also from the Asian community, made him create a term, *Whasian*, which empowered him to decide who he is based on context. Ethnic identification entails one's own sense of belonging to the group based on ethnic attributes (Aboud, 1987). Whereas people assume biracial adolescents' identity is based on their ethnic attributes, such as their appearance and/or surname, biracial adolescents' own ethnic sense is rather complicated because ethnic attributes that they think they possess may not be authentic or sufficient enough according to who questions them about it. Biracial individuals often encounter dissonance between their own perceptions and others' perceptions regarding their identity.

As seen in Allen's comment, his physical appearance has brought about questions from other people about his foreignness; however, he himself also struggles between his cultural and linguistic knowledge to back up his Koreanness and his socialization as an American which is not much different from his American peers. Yi (2009) stated, "individuals continuously engage in presenting, representing, and performing who they

are in relation to *others* and in revising their sense of self while interacting and observing how others position themselves” (p. 103). The findings of the present study show that participants’ social experiences which were *otherized*⁴ by social actors and contexts shape their identities through the examination of their positionality relative to others. Biracial adolescents experience “social othering” not only from the society in which they grow up, but also from the ethnic community to which one of their parents belongs. Participants talk about people’s question, “what are you?”, which reminds them of their non-Americanness, whereas, at the same time, their basic linguistic and cultural knowledge constrained their participation in social and cultural practices with Koreans. As Williams (1996) acknowledged, biracial individuals feel “doubly othered⁵” by people’s constant interrogation of the authenticity of their Americanness and their Asianness.

Biracial adolescents’ basic cultural and linguistic knowledge comes from the socialization practices that their parents want to instill in their children so that they have an American identity. Parents’ socialization practices start from their decisions about their place of residence, school, and culture (Quian, 2004). Drawing on past research on

⁴ The author refers to *social othering* or being *otherized* as the experience when one feels different, isolated and marginalized from the context (Kamada, 2010) because people’s and institutions’ rigid, dichotomous, and static categorizing places “some people as outsiders, as other than normal, standard, or acceptable” (Kich, 1996, p. 265).

⁵ Comaz-Diaz (1996) refers to the experience of being racially excluded within their own group, as well as being outsiders in the mainstream as doubly marginalized experience. In this chapter, the author refers to doubly otherized experience as the experience that biracial adolescents have when they feel isolated and marginalized not only within the Asian group, but in American society as well.

the racial identification of biracial Asian children by Saenz et al. (1995) and Xie and Goyette (1997), Quian (2004) stated that the ethnic identification of children who have one Asian parent depends on the parents' experiences of race relations and the relative status between the husband and the wife in society's racial hierarchy. Therefore, if minority parents experience racial discrimination, they do not want their children to identify with the minority group. In addition, if there is asymmetrical power between the husband and the wife due to the ownership of cultural and social capital society, children may learn to side with the parent who has more legitimacy, value and power in terms of cultural and social capital. Parents, who want to instill an American identity in their children, or who do not necessarily emphasize socializing their children into the ethnic group that one parent belongs to may not transmit the values, beliefs, and tacit sociocultural knowledge of that ethnic group to their children. In turn, children may not have the linguistic and cultural knowledge to perform appropriately according to the rules of social interactions in the ethnic community.

Ethnic self-identification includes "self-understanding process of defining oneself evolves concomitantly with the knowledge of others, one's relationship to others, and the ability to verbalize this" (Rotheram & Phinney, 1987, p. 18-19). As children become older, their way of defining themselves changes as they begin to reflect others' perceptions. With age, they gain perspective-taking skills⁶, social awareness, and develop different relationships with social agents (Azmita, 2002; Deutsch & Hirsch, 2002). As they are mature, the ways they make sense of events in relation to their identities changes

⁶ According to Hall (2004), perspective taking skills refer to "the ability to see things from a point of view other than one's own" (p.1).

with cognitive and psychological maturity and expansion of social contexts. Children identify themselves with their primary socializing agent, such as parents. However, as they become older and experience increased autonomy from their parents and knowledge of themselves and others, they begin to reflect, synthesize, and construct their identities through social experiences. For example, in early adolescence, their peers play a greater role in defining who they are than their parents' ethnic socialization practices in the family context.

Phinney (1996) contended that "the particular form that one's ethnic identity takes is likely to reflect an interaction of cultural socialization experience in society, the way one is perceived by others, and one's own construction of these experiences" (p. 925). In particular, youth who are situated in dissonant social contexts where they feel socially dissimilar may experience negative self-appraisal leading to low-self esteem (Rumbaut, 1994). Biracial children who are not ethnically socialized may feel uncomfortable in dissonant social contexts in which their minority parent actively participates in because they are not familiar with the linguistic and cultural behaviors of the group. In other words, biracial adolescents who encounter a discrepancy between their own perception and others' perceptions of their Americanness may lead them to have a negative sense of themselves. Youth who seek social acceptance and approval may not desire dissonant contexts that have a high level of social dissimilarity, which influence their self-esteem and self-appraisal of their social competence (Rumbaut, 1994).

Parents' socialization practices, which do not necessarily focus on ethnic socialization, as well as people's rigid, dichotomous, and monoracial concepts of race, place biracial adolescents in dissonant contexts in which they eventually learn to employ

innovative coping strategies to come to understand the multiplicity, complexity and fluidity of their biracial identities.

This chapter examines the identity formation of biracial adolescents of Korean plus other racial/ethnic backgrounds. The dissonance that they experience between their own perceptions of their identities and others' motivates them to negotiate the multiplicity, complexity, and fluidity of their identities in their day-to-day interpersonal encounters. Their experiences of being doubly otherized by the mainstream and by the minority may result from the socialization process that they experienced in their families, communities and society.

As mentioned above, identity formation of biracial adolescents is complex, but for the purposes of this study I present pieces of that complex journey to identity formation. This section will lay out how languages play an important role in biracial adolescents' identity formation, and influence biracial adolescents' doubly otherized experiences, their parents' ethnic socialization and their ways of maneuvering in the dissonance between people's perceptions and their own perceptions of their identities.

Language and Identity

There are many factors that influence identity formation including surnames, phenotypes, language, amount of cultural and social access, etc. (Standen, 1996). With regard to these factors, I focus on how languages influence the social experiences of biracial adolescents, which in turn influence their choice of racial and ethnic identity. The findings of the present study show two themes of the roles of language in identity formation including, (1) language as a mediator to meanings, experiences and sense of self and (2) language as a symbolic marker of social identity given by social, cultural and

identity capital. Whereas the first section below focuses on biracial adolescents' self-reflection regarding their social experience due to their heritage language fluency, the second section describes the dissonance between parents' language attitudes and their biracial children's language attitudes.

Language as a mediator to meanings, experiences and sense of self. Milligan (2005) discussed how identities are constructed, negotiated, and developed "by how we feel about places and how we feel in places" (p. 2105). Hall (1994) and Young (2009) contended that understanding ourselves requires us to examine how we position ourselves in relation to others in diverse contexts. Biracial children who think they do not have enough linguistic and cultural knowledge to be able to participate in social and cultural practices may feel incompetent, isolated and distanced from Koreans. As Connie recalls her experience,

In Korean language school, in church, most kids, they were Korean, and their parents spoke Korean to them at home, so most of them spoke Korean and understood at least. But my dad never spoke Korean at home; I didn't understand it at all. So I always felt very alienated in that environment. So I think that was the beginning of where I started feeling distanced from the culture, and I found I wanted to distance myself because I was never comfortable in that environment. (Connie, First individual interview, July 2005).

Connie also had a negative sense of self and felt uncomfortable when she was around her Korean-speaking relatives. Because of her non-participation in language-mediated social interactions, Connie felt isolated from these contexts and, in turn, had a negative impression of the Korean side of the family.

I saw my family in South California, and they all spoke Korean, and I didn't. So I felt uncomfortable. And then, feeling uncomfortable, I disliked it. So, I, especially in middle school, I really disliked [being] part Korean. I had a negative impression through elementary to middle school, even

just before college. I had a negative impression...- just because I didn't feel comfortable when I was with my family or with my dad's Korean friends. So I had negative impression of it.... since I always felt so uncomfortable around other Korean people because I didn't understand the culture 'cause I've never been taught it. My impression was like, "h-oh they want to make me feel uncomfortable because they speak language that I don't know. they are doing this on purpose, they wanna make me feel like this." So that was mainly my impression. Just being young, that's what I thought. (Connie, First individual interview, July 2005)

As Gee (2001) discussed, discourse plays a great role in individuals' building affinity identity through participation in groups' shared values, beliefs, attitudes and social practices. Therefore, adolescents' lack of opportunity to engage in identity construction and negotiation through communication may contribute to their distancing themselves from the group (Norton, 1997).

In the present study, Angela thinks that her sister is more accepted by Korean people not only in her looks but also in her language fluency.

I think that the only difference between her [my sister] and me, oh, [actually] it's big difference, but she's more confident in everything she does, and I think that because she looks more Korean, she feels, like, more, like, comfortable around Korean people, because she can understand them. She can talk Korean, she can read it, write it... and I am kind of, just really shy, and she's, like, able to more, like, open to Korean people just because she speaks it, and she's, like, basically she has fluency in Korean everything. (Angela, First individual interview, December 2003)

Even though Misoon said that the Korean language is not important to her identity as a Korean, she also commented about her interaction with Korean-speaking adults stating that she thinks that Korean adults in her church are frustrated and mad at her because she cannot speak Korean. For biracial adolescents who cannot speak Korean fluently, their participation in social activities in a Korean community is limited. In this

case, language becomes a boundary that students encounter in social interactions with Korean speakers.

At the church, I think they just don't like that I don't speak Korean when they talk to me. I think they just get frustrated .. 'cause I don't know what they mean.... I don't speak Korean [to them]. I think they kind of get frustrated because they wanna talk to us, but all I can use is '안녕하세요'[hello] I think they're kinda mad. (Misoon, Focus Group Interview, June, 2007)

Misoon reiterates Connie's uneasy feeling about not being able to participate in Korean language mediated social interactions with Korean people. Misoon, who usually identified herself as Korean, felt different when she went to religious activities conducted only in Korean. Her frustration, which came from not being able to participate in the religious activities, perpetuates her otherized feeling due to the language barrier.

Yeah, oh well, it's kind of hard 'cause when the pastor, like, does sermon stuff, like you have to wear, like, translation things, and so that's kinda hard 'cause you can't understand what he's saying, and I wish I could. And then, just in church, when they're talking to everybody, I'd like to understand that, but it's, like, difficult. And then, sometimes when my mom's talking to me, especially when she talks about me, 'cause, you know, they're always saying my name, and then I don't know what they're talking about, so that makes me sad. (Misoon, Second Individual Interview, March 2007)

Misoon expressed her feeling of discomfort when she is in Korean speaking contexts.

No, I don't [feel comfortable with full Koreans] ...I'm just there...not knowing what they're saying. (Misoon, Second Individual Interview, March 2007)

Stephen(1991) defined identity as “a meaning a self acquires when ‘situated’- that is, cast in the shape of a social object by the acknowledgement of his participation or membership in social relations” (p. 261). As Fishman (1988) emphasizes, ethnicity is recognized by both self-identification and acknowledgment in the eyes of others. Identity

is shaped through the processes of self-awareness and self-reflection, especially when one is situated as “other” in interactions with people, place, and position. People perceive, reflect upon, and reconstruct their identities when they encounter borders situated by those with whom they interact, where they are, and how they position themselves in relation to other people. As participants discussed earlier, their non-participation in language-mediated interactions with Koreans led them to feel disapproval from members of the Korean community because they felt incompetent and disqualified due to their lack of Korean language fluency.

Whereas biracial adolescents in this study felt uncomfortable and isolated in Korean language environments, they identified themselves as American because they shared similar experiences with others. The biracial adolescents in this study, who were socialized in English and participated in social and cultural practices reinforced by the media, their peers, and other institutions, may not have the shared experience that Heller (1987) described to build a sense of belonging. Allen said that his socialization process was not much different from people who asked him “what are you?”

Well, I'm trying to tell like, 'cause people assume that I am Asian but not, I mean like, you know I'm in the middle so I just want them to understand that I have grown up here. I mean, my thought process is gonna be pretty similar and you know, and interests, too, as far as you can go on, you know, an individual scale...it's relatively similar, you know, I know (assertive voice) what's going on politically here. I am not like, you know, they'll ask me like random questions about Asian, I really don't know. Not from there. So I mean. I identify my, I guess, maybe personality more as American, but I've got...I really don't know what it... maybe what differences are there. I just want them to understand that I am not really culturally very different. (Allen, Second Individual Interview, April 2007)

Allen states that his thought processes and shared experiences are not that much different from other Americans who have grown up in the United States. Allen's comment

echoes Schieffelin's and Och's (1986) statement of language as "linguistic structure on the organization of culture and thought" (p. 169). Allen also added that his social networks are not like ethnic cliques whose members speak their own ethnic language and hang out with their own ethnic group.

Yeah. Half Asian, half American, whatever, 'cause, you know, they have the same experiences on identity, but as far as it goes with people I know at school I hang out with people that are my friends. Um, I don't really think I make much of difference between... It's just on a social level, like who I talk to...Like there's these Vietnamese clicks, I mean, they just speak Vietnamese and feel the most comfortable there, I don't really franchise at all, but I don't think I feel like I could do anything like that. (Allen, Second Individual Interview, April 2007)

Allen points out that his ways of defining his identity are closely related to his peer groups. According to Heller (1987) who defined identity as "a social construct, grounded in social interaction in the activities and situations that arise as a product of the relationship of a social group to its social and physical environment" (p. 184). Therefore, peers and social relations play a large role in biracial adolescents' identity formation.

Thus far, I have discussed how language mediates their social experiences, sense of self and social relations. Due to their parents' socialization practices, which did not emphasize instilling a Korean identity in their children, biracial adolescents felt incompetent, isolated and distanced from other Koreans. On the other hand, they did not necessarily feel more ethnically Korean than their peers, because their socialization practices had not been much different from theirs. In the first section, I discussed how the basic Korean fluency of the biracial adolescents in the present study led them to feel incompetent and disqualified among Koreans, which in turn caused them to avoid participating in social interactions with Koreans. In the next section, I will describe how

parents' language ideologies and attitudes toward languages and identities influence their daily own discourse, in turn influencing their biracial children's identity formation. In particular, I will examine the discrepancy between parents' and their biracial children's perceptions of identity and language.

Language as a symbolic marker of social identity given by cultural, and identity capital. This section describes the dissonance of language attitude between parents and their biracial children. As Bourdieu (1991) indicates, language is a symbolic marker of social identity. Korean immigrants view English as cultural capital that endows their children with access to power, privilege, and prestige as Americans. On the other hand, their biracial children view language as identity capital that provides a path for them to understand who they are. Biracial children want to learn Korean for the purpose of interacting socially with their relatives and even their Korean parent. Whereas Korean parents see English as a basic constituent of an American identity, biracial children see Korean language as a way to fulfill their personal identity.

English as cultural capital. For immigrant parents, English is the cultural capital in which they invest for material outcome (Valdes, 1998), whereas their biracial children are more likely to invest in learning Korean for their sense of self and to understand their relatives and Korean parent.

Connie recalled her parents' and grandparents' thoughts that learning Korean was not practical. She explains learning Korean is practical for her because it is the core to learning about herself first.

Well, they say it's not very practical, "you should learn Chinese" like even my mother and father and my grandfather said, "why are you learning Korean? It's not very practical, you should be practical" and so,

I mean, I don't think that, I think that I'm being practical, because I think I could very easily, I think that helps my job just having a second language, so I think it helps fulfill me, too, to help justify who I am, where some people say you should learn Chinese... Well, that's not practical to me... I think if I learn about myself, I am more happy about myself, like no matter what, it makes me more valuable in the job market. That's not quite what I am looking for, but I think it fulfills me in the first place. It makes me happy first, then I can apply it the other way around. (Connie, First Individual Interview, July 2005)

Similar to Connie's parents and grandparents, Angela's mother strongly asserted that "First language should be American [English] for all children". She explains why:

In my opinion, whoever was born in the United States, regardless of their ethnicity, they should raise them as an American citizen.... I believe that language is one of the options [for children]. The first language [of all American born children] should be American [English]. (Angela's mother, First Individual Interview, December 2003)

Angela's mother discussed how ESL can be a handicap in school and society.

If their first language is not English, they have troubles in school at a young age. They get hurt by other children because they don't play with them. Also, personality difference. If a child is an introvert and can't speak like them, they don't talk and they can't get along with other children. If they make mistakes when they talk, children will point out their accents, etc. They have troubles at the lower grades and as they go to the higher grades, they may make up the work, but it can get worse later on. ...Even though they graduate from college, they always have a handicap for a long time. Like what happened in Washington [Virginia Tech incident], I could understand the young guy. (Angela's mother, Second Individual Interview, February 2008)

Angela's mother said that, even though she spoke English with her children, her children's English fluency was not perfect enough to pass as Americans which led her children to go through tough times in school.

My child went through difficulties at the beginning. I spent most of time with them alone. Even though I spoke English with my first child, their English is not perfect like Americans'. So she had a hard time. I have seen many children who had a hard time in the lower grades. I think that personality makes a big difference, too. The problem can last long for

introverted children. That's why I think that English should be their first language and then their second language they can choose later on. (Angela's mother, Second Individual Interview, February 2008)

Angela's mother's language attitude definitely determines how she wants her child to be identified in school, specifically, that she not be identified as ESL.

If, for parents, English was their second language, the children of parents with ESL background suffer a lot in their lower grades in school. Of course, if the child is smart, they can catch up fast, but children have different levels. My first child didn't have any problems, and she was able to learn two languages at the same time. I think that she must have a talent for language. But my Angela is kind of an introvert. So it was different. She was sent to as a special class for learning English extra. She did that without my permission because I was a Korean mother. I went to school and told them off. So the principal sent me a letter of apology. I complained about why they sent her to an ESL class even though it was recorded that she was born in America and she is American and her first language is American on her report card...I asked them to give me the registration form that I signed. There wasn't any single word that I wrote in Korean on that form. I was so upset... Angela told me that she was sent to some class where a Spanish teacher spoke Spanish and was not teaching English. (Angela's mother, Second Individual Interview, February 2008)

Likewise, Connie's and Allen's father also states why he didn't push his children to learn Korean:

When they were young, everybody has groupies, so if somebody who speaks another language and if they are a foreigner, they can't get into the main group, so I didn't push them to learn Korean. (Connie's father, First Individual Interview, January 2004)

Connie's and Allen's father pointed out the lack of value of the Korean language as cultural capital, since he did not think that the Korean language would benefit anything in his children's future.

Korea has a small population and is a small land. It is hard for the Korean language to be international language. There is no possibility for that, so I don't think that Korean language is important. (Connie's father, Second Individual Interview, November 2007)

When I asked Angela's mom why the Korean language was not important to her children even though she spoke Korean in her Korean community, she answered, "The Korean language is the language between me and the Korean community, it is not the language that I use with my children". Angela's mother, who thinks Speaking English as Second Language is a handicap, did not place much importance on Korean language learning for her children even though her lack of English fluency causes her to feel distanced from her daughters. As Connie's father and Misoon's mother said, the importance of being a part of mainstream and not signaling their children as foreigners by speaking the minority language influenced their practice socializing their children to be monolingual English speakers.

Interestingly, even though Korean parents participated in social and cultural practices with other Koreans and their children were situated to participate in those social and cultural events, parents did not think that their children needed to learn the Korean language, which is a key to acquire the tacit knowledge that is the indicator of the membership in the Korean community.

As Jeon (2008) and Schmidt (1997) discuss, immigrants who are exposed to assimilationist language ideology think that English endows legitimacy and power to its speakers. Most immigrants think that "English is the real language of the United States and that speaking another language is a 'handicap', a barrier that must be overcome" (p. 351). In the following statement, Angela's mother indicates that she views Spanish as cultural capital for better opportunities for her daughter in the future. At the same time, her comment indicated that she associated Spanish speakers with a lower social position.

I do not care that she doesn't learn Korean...I want her to learn Spanish as her second language because she can help many people using Spanish because those people are poor. First of all, language is connected with jobs, so if a doctor speaks Spanish, they get paid more and will be hired more quickly. So do nurses. (Angela's mother, First Individual Interview, December 2003)

Immigrant parents' valuing of languages with higher social mobility must come from their experience of discrimination, humiliation, and inferiority. According to Shin (2005), parents who experienced embarrassment, discrimination, and insecurity due to their lack of English fluency place more priority on learning English, the language with power and prestige. Parents' experiences of discrimination may make them value English fluency as cultural capital which in turn place them in a position of novice in society and their children as the master of cultural and social capital in a new society. Connie's father said, *"I think to some degree, everyone who does have accent or looks differently, they face that kind of treatment. You know, I went through some of that"* (Connie's father, First Individual Interview, January 2004). Immigrant parents do not want their children to be marked as a perpetual novice, foreigner, and sojourner in their new society, where their children were born.

Parental second language socialization: English as cultural capital. Immigrant parents made a great effort to acquire the cultural capital of their adopted country to have the higher social mobility. As a result of their developing fluency in English, they did not feel that it was necessary to socialize their children in their native language. As parents' English proficiency and comfort level increase with prolonged years of residency in the U.S., parents prefer to use English with their children. Misoon's mother explained that

since she could communicate with her children in English, it was not a priority for her that her children learn Korean.

That's right. If I didn't know English at all and couldn't communicate with them, I might push them to speak Korean. But since we can communicate, if she had to learn Korean to help mom or something, I might push them to learn Korean. Since we can communicate, there is not much problem.
(Misoon's Mother, Second Individual Interview, February 2008)

Parents' socialization in their second language results in several consequences: (1) they are not able to communicate with their children in depth; (2) they experience a reversal in the roles of master and novice in terms of socialization agents; (3) their children's mastery of the cultural and linguistic capital of society place their immigrant parents in the position of a novice in that society.

Korean parents who perceive their English as being basic and their cultural knowledge of the mainstream as lacking often feel that they are inadequate as a mother which gives more power and authority to their children, who have the cultural and social capital of the mainstream (Hwang, 2003). Lee (2002) and Shin (2005) discussed the high priority that Korean immigrant families place on English acquisition to improve their children's future success in the United States. Shin found that that their lack of English proficiency causes many problems and challenges in their lives as immigrants. Especially, participants stated that the lack of English proficiency often put them in shameful situations. This may have caused the parents of my participants to think English is important, while Korean is not important in their children's lives.

Zhang's (2008) study on immigrant Chinese parents showed parents' positive attitudes towards the heritage language. Their positive attitude came from different sources: (1) their belief that language is an important resource for their children's

academic advancement and future career; (2) their belief that language is an important link to their ethnic identity, and (3) language is a strong tie to family relationships. In contrast to findings from Zhang's study, parents in my study show different attitudes: (1) Korean language doesn't give any advantage for children's future career; (2) since parents do not see their children as Korean, Korean language doesn't matter to their children's identity; (3) parents' English fluency is good enough to communicate with their children; therefore, Korean language doesn't matter to family cohesion.

Since socialization happens when there is an asymmetrical relationship between people in terms of knowledge and power (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008), promoting English and the culture of the mainstream results in children's socializing their immigrant parents. Without realizing it, parents give power and authority to their children in order to acquire cultural capital.

People acquire knowledge, values, and beliefs through social activities, events, and practices, through a range of social experiences across their life span. Therefore, parents who have not grown up in the United States may not acquire the appropriate rules of social interaction across a wide range of social contexts. In the present study, Angela's mother talked about her children's comment on her English.

*My children kept telling me "Mom, please don't say 'English is my second language'". They scolded too much, so I felt like I was a teenager.
(Angela's Mother, Second Individual Interview, February 2008)*

Angela's mom, who strongly believes that the first language of children of immigrant should be English, responded,

I feel isolated and lonely because English is my second language and it is really a handicap (Angela, First Individual Interview, December 2003)

Children's possession of the legitimate and valuable knowledge of society definitely places their immigrant parents in the position of novice of the cultural and linguistic knowledge of society, and places their children in the position of social agent for their immigrant parents.

She doesn't have a Korean accent...She just doesn't say them correctly, and it bugs me. (Angela, First Individual Interview, December 2003)

Misoon repeated her frustration,

I feel frustrated. She doesn't exactly know right away, and she kind of doesn't understand at the end. (Misoon, First Individual Interview, January 2004)

As the children grow up, they surpass their parents' level of fluency in the majority language and become more familiar with values of the mainstream. Due to this, the children, who were not used to question their minority parents' status as a master of knowledge, challenge the authority of their parents' knowledge. Biracial children often express their frustration with their different linguistic and cultural membership. Reverse roles in the master-apprentice relationship between a minority parent and his or her children, who have already mastered a discourse with power and prestige, can create ambiguity between the hegemony of the parents' authority and the power and authority that the children have due to their ownership of cultural social capital. Angela commented on her mother's inappropriate ways of interacting with her friends, which made her feel embarrassed.

Sometimes my mom embarrasses me...because she speaks really bad English, and when my friends come over, and she starts talking to them, they don't know what she is saying. And, of course, I know because I am used to it. And then she is really like Asian. You know how Asians are really friendly? And they just hug everyone and say like... oh you're so pretty and stuff? My mom does that to all my friends... I like didn't go to

registration. And my mom went for me. And I get these phone calls and like they're like, "Your mom is so weird. She came up to me and started talking to me. And hugging me and all kinds of stuff." And it's kind of embarrassing, but what can I do? (Angela, Triad interview, July 2007)

Language learners invest in learning the target language to acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources (Norton, 2001). Norton defined symbolic investment as “the desire and need learners had for friends, education and religion, while material investment references the desire for capital goods, real estate and money” (p. 166). In the present study, the parents saw English as a tool to obtain authenticity as a real American; they wanted to pursue English fluency to avoid embarrassment, humiliation, insecurity, and foreignness due to their English ability. As Norton mentioned, “an investment in the target language is also an investment in a learners’ own identity, an identity which is constantly changing across time and space” (Norton, 2001, p. 166). Parents who experienced humiliation, inferiority, and insecurity due to their lack of language fluency realized that their positionality as English as a Second Language Learner (ESL) always indicated that they were novices, foreigners and outsiders in their adopted country. Therefore, they invested in English to change their position so that they could obtain symbolic and material resources. On the other hand, their biracial children wanted to learn Korean to understand who they were and to establish their positionality in their Korean parents’ ethnic group.

Korean as identity capital. Cote (1997) developed the concept of identity capital as individuals’ investment in understanding who they are. Identity capital acquisition refers to an individual’s net assets at a given point in time in terms of “who they are” (p. 578). Jo (2009) indicated that heritage language and culture are associated with how

much one values the heritage regardless of his or her linguistic and cultural knowledge. Interestingly, even though the biracial adolescents in the present study had an ethnic sense about their heritage, they did not seem to self-identify as Korean because self-identification entails a sense of belonging and membership, and they did not necessarily feel their ethnic attributes were sufficient enough to call themselves Korean in comparison to their Korean-speaking counterparts. To understand biracial adolescents' ethnic sense of self and identity, it is important to understand the definition of self and identity. According to Brinthaupt and Lipka (2002), self encompasses "self-knowledge; beliefs and ideas that people hold about themselves that are (relatively) stable across different situations and contexts" (p. 27) whereas "identity refers to specific aspects of self that are salient and activated by the social and environmental context in which the person functions" (p.28). Therefore, for the biracial adolescents in the present study, knowing about their Korean heritage pertains to their self, their knowledge and feeling about themselves as a whole; whereas, acknowledging their Korean identity pertains to their functioning as a member in a Korean context and changes depending on the context, the time frame, and the situation in which they ask questions. For instance, the biracial adolescents identified themselves as Korean when their linguistic and cultural knowledge were not challenged. Whereas most participants thought that fluency in Korean did not matter for their self-identification as Korean, they also commented that the Korean language helped them to have self-knowledge about themselves as a whole.

In the present study, Connie explains that language is a way to know the culture which constitutes identity.

Language is important to knowing a culture, and that's, you know, that's something, a part of identity, too, I guess maybe, call yourself Korean...It would be nice to know the language or get to know the culture. (Connie, Focus Group Interview, June 2007)

Likewise, Connie's brother sees language as a path to understand culture; however, he does not see language as the sole component of identity.

I mean it's [learning Korean is] not so much, like maybe of practical use for me. That's not really why I'm going for it, not maybe like necessarily for a profession or something. I just feel like it's something, I feel it's important for me to just get to know that side of my heritage or my father, to get to know the language... I mean I've always been growing up, I've always been identified as being Asian, not really American. And so, as such, I'm gonna actually, you know, know a little bit about it. It's, like, something's missing, so I am going to get it. (Allen, Second Individual interview, April 2007)

Allen sees learning Korean as a way to understand his father's culture, not as an attribute of his identity.

I wanna learn it more just, I guess, to find for myself more understanding of the culture. But I wouldn't identify myself as Korean even if I had, you know, no accent in the language as a second language as it is. (Allen, Second Individual Interview, April 2007)

Interestingly, even though Allen said that Korean fluency did not influence how he identified himself, in the following comment, Allen explains that learning Korean would help him understand his ethnic sense of self, rather than serve as a material investment, such as a job, capital goods, etc.

I want to learn [Korean], but I don't think it's necessarily at, you know, a business or social level. In general, I want to learn because I am a Korean... for the most part, Korean is more just something I'm interested in as part of how I've grown up, and my dad being Korean.... I don't need it at all. It's just to fulfill my own personal agenda or obligations. (Allen, Dyad Interview, June 2007)

Connie and her brother, Allen, state that learning Korean is not necessarily

for their profession or career, but it is necessary to solve the puzzle about themselves. Connie said that even though most of her family, including her parents and grandfather, do not believe that learning Korean is practical for her, she thought that learning Korean is essential to fulfill her sense of self.

I think if I learn about myself, I am more happy about myself, like no matter what, it makes me more valuable in the job market. That's not quite what I am looking for, but I think it fulfills me in the first place...It makes me happy first, then I can apply it the other way around. (Connie, First Individual Interview, July 2005)

I think it was after growing up, I thought of the Korean language and culture as always being kind of like a mystery. Going there [Korea] is finally kind of like solving the puzzle. So, in that sense, I think it was very, like fulfilling for my own personal identity I guess it's kind of like putting in that missing puzzle piece. (Connie, Second Individual Interview, April 2007)

Misoon explains that learning Korean means knowing her culture as well as her mother's.

Just, like, 'cause it is a part of my culture, you know. Like, I am a half-Korean. Maybe just to understand her. or to know, like, the other side of my life. (Misoon, First Individual Interview, January 2004)

Allen emphasized that self-identification as being American was possible without English fluency; however, he also points out that “functioning as American” requires English. Adolescents’ identity is defined by the group to which they belong; therefore, active participation is necessary to sustain their membership. Adolescents are expected to perform as competent members of society, and with increasing perspective-taking skills and social awareness, adolescents may pay attention to their own performance in comparison to others (Brinthaupt & Lipka, 2002; Finkenauer et al., 2002; Phinney, 1990; Sue et al., 1998). According to Grusec (2002), socialization is how “individuals are assisted in the acquisition of skills necessary to function as members of their social group”

(p. 143). In the present study, Allen knows that language constitutes the necessary knowledge and tool to be able to function as a member of a social group.

I think it's [the language is] fairly important 'cause, I mean, it will be difficult to just, you know, communicate. In general, I think it's important just for everyday ongoing chores and what you need to get just the basic necessities of life. It's very important having English as a language which...but I mean that there's plenty of people who live in isolated communities who mainly speak their first language but they aren't...they don't really come into society or mix though, because they have that language. It's kind of a handicap, I mean, you really can't...you're very restricted about what you can do...but since that's not something that is forced upon you. Yeah, you can be American without it, but I don't think you really influence society very much if you can't communicate with society as a whole, so, I would say English is fairly important to functioning as an American. (Allen, Second Individual Interview, April 2007)

As a researcher, I am not quite sure whether language is the pre-requisite of identity or the outcome of language acquisition. However, the fact that relationship exists between language and identity definitely shows in participants' comments. The following excerpt from Connie indicates that she is learning Korean to fulfill her personal identity. She sees a positive relationship between language and identity.

I think it's probably important in any context. Like, language is a large part of how a person thinks, and how they identify themselves, and so, like, if in any context...if a German was in Venezuela and didn't speak any German, I mean perhaps they're German in name, but they're going to be completely Venezuelan in identity for the most part, so I think language is a pretty important part of it. (Connie, Second Individual Interview, April 2007)

Whereas Connie sees a positive relationship between language and identity, Misoon disagrees that language constitutes who she is. She said that identity is more related to a person's actual culture than to the language that a person speaks.

I don't think they're [languages are] really [important to identify] with your identity, 'cause if I can say I spoke French or something like that...but that doesn't make me French or anything like that. I don't think it goes with who you are. I don't think you should identify yourself by what language you speak. I think like if it's, I think if it might be, it's a little important, I guess. If that's like your actual culture...anything like that...but just as far as identifying yourself as someone, I don't think it's important. (Misoon, Second Individual Interview, March 2007)

Language competence acts as a “passport” that confirms her ethnic identity (Kvernmo & Heyerdahl, 1996, p. 494). Ethnic attributes such as name, appearance, and language are keys that others use to recognize them as a member of the ethnic group. Therefore, participants often think that their linguistic and cultural knowledge of Korean is not sufficient enough to be able to identify themselves as Korean.

In respect to the relationship between language and identity, even though Angela responded that language is somewhat important to her identity, in her response, her view on identity and language is clear.

I don't know if it is important but I think it's a little important...Obviously, I mean, if you are American, you can be, like you can be a Korean-speaking American and not speak American. I mean it doesn't work. If you speak Korean fluently, and you don't speak English at all, obviously you're Korean, you are not American so maybe it's important. Maybe it's not....This is a story. My little cousin, he [was] born here and then when my uncle visited him over Spring break, we're playing, and he kept speaking Korean to me, because he doesn't speak English and he is 5... Like he doesn't speak any American, or any English... He doesn't know what I'm saying. ..(How do you identify him?) He is Korean. (Angela, Second Individual Interview, April 2007)

In the discussion above, I discussed how Korean language fluency influences the participants' participation in social and cultural practices with Koreans. However, the participants' basic linguistic and cultural knowledge can be traced back to their parents' socialization practices. Parents who have an immigrant identity and view English as a

tool by which to gain higher social mobility may not ethnically socialize their children. Therefore, whereas Ying and Lee (1999) indicate that Asian American adolescents are most likely to be raised and socialized according to the Asian values of their immigrant parents, the biracial adolescents in this study state that they had insufficient linguistic and cultural knowledge to “back up” their Korean heritage.

In the discussion above, I also addressed the dissonance between parents and their biracial adolescents in terms of their language attitudes, in other words, how parents’ socialization practices result from their perception of English as cultural capital, but biracial adolescents consider Korean as identity capital that they feel obligated to learn to understand who they are. In the following section, I will discuss how other people’s dichotomous perspectives toward defining the identities of the biracial adolescents in the study as well as their parents’ socialization practices influenced their ways of inferring, reflecting, and constructing their experiences.

Experiences of Being Biracial

The findings of the present study show three themes underlying the participants’ experiences of being biracial: (1) their experiences of being doubly otherized, (2) their socialization experiences, and (3) their evolving interpretations of their experiences. Othering experience refers to how appearance and language contributed to the participants’ feelings of incompetency, discomfort and isolation in comparison to other Koreans. Socialization experience refers to the participants’ parents’ lack of awareness about their children’s experiences of being biracial and how these biracial adolescents came to understand their parents’ socialization practices in relation to their own identities. Lastly, evolving interpretations refer to the biracial adolescents’ different ways of

interpreting identity- related events that were contingent on the interplay between their own individual characteristics, and the characteristics of the situations that they were in.

Experiences of being doubly otherized. According to the findings of the present study, participants do not have a problem recognizing both of their heritages; however, the participants struggle because of a dissonance between others' dichotomous perspectives of their identities and their own sense of the multiplicity of their identities. Miville et al. (2005) stated, "people's ubiquitous 'what are you' question perpetuates their marginality based on ambiguous or unidentifiable physical characteristics related to racial/ethnic group membership" (p. 510). Early adolescents who seek other's approval and acceptance may have a negative sense about themselves for being different. As Yi (2009) discussed, identity development is related to people's "roles and performances in any given context" (p. 103). Therefore, biracial adolescents who are socialized to master, practice, and regulate their behaviors according to the societal code of the mainstream may feel ambivalent between others' perceptions of their ethnic attributes and of their own "roles and performances" in their ethnic community. Even though minority adolescents are more familiar with the society in which they are socialized, many biracial adolescents cannot avoid people's expectations based on their ethnic attributes, physical appearance, name, minority parent, etc.

Connie explains the complexity of being biracial.

...Hum, it's difficult I guess, to know how to identify yourself, because being half, you're one and the other and everything, but you're not really both, but you're not really one or the other... Um, I guess I don't really know.... Like at the same time it would be nice to identify with one and not have to straddle the line and not have to worry about titles or designations and just know exactly what you are and not have to struggle with the title. (Connie, First Individual Interview, July 2005)

Allen reiterates his sister's explanation of the complexity of being biracial since people label race/ethnicity in binary terms. In Allen and his sister's case, either Asian or White does not encompass the multiplicity of their identities.

I don't think, like either group's name really fits what I am feeling at that moment or right now about maybe who I am. It doesn't quite encompass everything...it encompasses, you know, again, a better piece that I might have, but not satisfactorily enough to use. (Allen, Dyad Interview, June 29, 2007)

As Stenden (1996) elaborated, people in general have racial ideologies that force biracial individuals to choose "either/or" of their heritages that cannot fully describe their complexity of identities. Allen states that the reason for which he had to make up the word, "Whasian; White Asian", is due to people's simplistic, static, and monodimensional concept of identity.

I don't completely know what I am, because there's two sides, ...kind of deciding, pushing different views, and just I do what I do, and that's why I kind of made up the word, because then they can't really decide, they can't really figure out. Maybe my thought process is on what I identify myself as, so I can turn it any way I want when I don't know. Maybe they get angry that I identify myself as something that they think I am not. (Allen, Second Individual Interview, April 2007)

Misoon, who has a Hispanic last name and a Korean first name, talks about people's questions about her biracial background.

Yeah, they're always...they don't ask, like "What nationality are you? or anything like that. They're just like "What are you?" and so I tell them "I'm Korean". But a lot of people, like when they see my last name, they're almost like "Oh, your last name is Valdez, why is that?" ...like they don't think, you know, my dad's Hispanic. They're just like "Why is your last name Valdez?" Like I picked it myself, but I didn't. (Misoon, Second Individual Interview, March 2007)

Misoon describes her experience of being biracial.

It is kind [off], like, it is cool, and it is hard. 'Cause, like when I am in my Dad's house I do like certain things, like I eat different foods, like I act differently, like around his family...stuff like that. And then with my mom, like when she is with her friends...stuff like that, I am more polite and more like "Yeah!" I am not as hyper and happy...I guess Korean culture is more like restricted...You must do something in a polite way, because others might say something like "You are not polite enough," something like that.... With my mom, you know, you have to act in a certain way toward people because you don't want to offend them because you are used to, like, how things are in Korea. Like being treated in a special way. So I just am more polite...like I do what my mom tells me to do. (Misoon, First Individual Interview, January 2004)

Most participants described the multiplicity of their identities. However, they also described their experiences of being otherized due to (1) other people's ways of viewing White as being American, (2) participants' perceptions that their Korean community and their parents do not identify them as Korean. Lastly, I will discuss how language plays a role in biracial adolescents' othering experience.

What are you? : White as American. The participants in the present study discuss the complexity of their identities and how others' perception of their ethnic attributes influences their identity formation. The participants also explain how people's casual question of "What are you?" otherizes them from the mainstream. The participants felt ambiguous about the mismatch between people's expectations of them based on their biracial appearance and their own sense of their competence in the language and cultural knowledge of the ethnic group to which one of their parents belonged. People's "what are you" question often reveals their perception that Americans are Whites. Whereas Caucasians are not necessarily asked by others "what are you", participants are often expected to explain their racial differences from people's rigid concept of races that non-

whites are non Americans.

As Takaki (1993) stated, the narrow concept of Americans as whites and the image of nonwhites as foreigners and outsiders is pervasive in daily discourse. Even though in the present study, Allen states that marking Caucasian on a university application doesn't benefit him, he also mentions that his identification as Asian may fit better into other people's perception of him. Allen realized that he did not fit into others' existing concepts of race.

Um, even if that wasn't part of it, I will still put down "Asian" cause I...I don't really feel Caucasian...it doesn't really fit maybe who I am, because, um, I look different, I have different parents and by lots of standards or people's view, I wouldn't be Caucasian so...I mean...fitting my own profile of myself rather than other people's, I think Asian's better than Caucasian. (Allen, Dyad Interview, June 29, 2007)

Allen states that people's stock image of Caucasians as Americans caused them to perceive Allen as non-American.

Um, I guess, that would be like kind of a stock image that people refer to 'cause when you think of American, you don't always think of, like you can think of all cultures, but when you actually, like try to look or think of a stock face, you say American...you probably...yeah, I guess I would think of Anglo, Caucasian. (Allen, Second Individual Interview, April 2007)

Misoon reiterates Takaki's (1996) idea of people's concept of whites as being Americans and nonwhites as being foreigners.

... 'Cause when you see, like, we all are Americans 'cause we were born here in America, but when people see me, they think of me as Asian or Mexican. They don't think of me as American. So we're still technically immigrants, even though we were born here and have never lived anywhere else. (Misoon, Second Individual Interview, March 2007)

The participants in the present study suggested that they were used to being asked the question, "what are you?", which implied "social displacement and racial ambiguity" (Williams, 1996, p. 194). Williams contended that "the social-psychological

underpinnings of this question assume the foreignness and nonbelonging of phenotypically ambiguous individuals” (p. 203). Williams (1996) discussed that “the What are you? question has been posed and perceived largely as possessing negative implications by the asker of the question and negative consequences for the respondent indicating marginality, alienation, and exoticization of biracial people” (p. 208). Williams stated the question “What Are You?” may make racially mixed people feel “doubly othered by such constant interrogation” (p. 203).

Connie explains how she felt marginalized in her high school when she was asked “What are you?” by others. Since early adolescents look for social acceptance, people’s question of “what are you” may imply that they do not belong to the mainstream and may lead to low self-esteem for teenagers. At the same time, this question leads them to realize the dissonance between others’ perception of their image and their own perception.

I was so upset ‘cause if somebody asks [what are you], then I have to, like, ask myself, “Oh, then what am I?” I always just thought of myself as “I am Connie”, you know. So it did, like early on in my teenage...my early teenager years, but now it doesn’t, ‘cause it’s just curiosity. (Connie, Second Individual Interview, April 2007)

Allen also realizes that people’s questioning results from the fact that he doesn’t look like the stock image of the mainstream, whites.

They’re trying, I guess, to kind of find me something clear cut, trying just put me, you know, in a category, but I think their background is a little different so they don’t quite understand...it’s kind of a conflict of my heritage, so I mean it’s hard. They ask and I guess it’s a kind of casual question, like I guess that most Caucasian don’t just go up to each other and ask “What are you?” It’ll just be slightly, you know, exotic to them, but they’re trying to group you into something so that they can easily distinguish you....so that maybe they can make assumptions, stereotypes, something to that extent. (Allen, Second Individual Interview, April 2007)

As Connie and Allen said, the American who is Caucasian with blond hair and blue eyes will not be asked “what are you?” by others because this person fits people’s image of a person who is a part of the mainstream in America. As McIntosh (1988) elaborates, white privilege, which is not recognized as privilege by whites, includes not being asked “what are you?” or challenged by others and is a privilege that biracial adolescents cannot have because of “who they are”. As Connie says, “ I am sure that a person with blond hair and blue eyes doesn’t get asked “what are you?” (Connie, Second Individual Interview, April 2007)

Are you really Korean? In addition to questioning the authenticity of biracial adolescents’ as American, people often question the authenticity of their membership in a certain ethnic group based on their ideas about which ethnic attributes are authentic to a certain ethnic group. Biracial adolescents are often questioned by others about their authenticity as members of a minority group because of their appearance, linguistic and cultural knowledge, etc. William (1996) explained that “comments such as ‘you don’t look Chicano’, ‘You don’t talk black’, or ‘You don’t act Asian’ reveal racial expectations” (p.203). Biracial adolescents struggle to understand who they are due to people’s constant interrogation of them (William, 1996).

As Angela says, people’s racial expectations about her image are revealed in their inquiry about her authenticity of being Asian.

I still feel that way, too. I think that when I was with my mom, she looks Korean obviously. Like she’s Asian. I am not. No one...everyone says that [if] I tell them “I am Asian”, they don’t believe me. They think it’s “Oh, really?”, like, obviously, I don’t look Asian. I don’t look Korean, and then I have my mom. I think it just makes me really uncomfortable being

around, like Korean people, just because I don't look Korean. (Angela, Second Individual Interview, April 2007)

Whereas Shin (2005) claims that church participation among second generation Korean Americans plays a crucial role in their learning the traditional values of Korean society and family, Connie, Angela and Misoon feel doubly otherized in the Korean church context among more Korean-speaking people.

Misoon talks about her othering experience in her church activities.

I guess I would identify myself as Korean more when I am with Korean people. And then, I'm...I'm, Oh, well, actually no. Maybe less with Korean people 'cause they're like, "Oh, well," 'cause my mom and I went to church like that, and Koreans are like "No, you're not. You're American," 'cause they know, like, I grew up here in America...everything like that. (Misoon, Second Individual Interview, March 2007)

Whereas Korean churches provide contexts that foreground Koreanness for second generation of Korean immigrants by cultivating in their children a sense of who they are as Koreans in America (Pak, 2003), the findings of this study show that biracial adolescents feel uncomfortable and awkward in a context where Korean monolingualism and literacy are privileged, because they are not necessarily socialized to function in Korean-speaking contexts (Pak, 2003, p. 271).

Angela talks about her othering experience in a Korean church and her thoughts about people's perceptions of her appearance. The Korean church is a microcosm of Korean American society. Korean social and cultural practices are conducted according to the social hierarchy, by age, social status and gender. In addition, immigrant Koreans believe that their adopted identity as Americans symbolizes higher social mobility than if they were a sojourner or foreigner, or had undocumented status. It is possible that

Angela, who did not have extensive knowledge of Korean social practices, may have felt otherized by her experiences with other Koreans.

Most Korean people really do judge you. It's really mean...I don't know how to explain. I don't like to go to church, just because I am not Korean. Well, I am, but I don't look [like a Korean]. ..They never say hi, so it kinda seems like they don't want to talk to you, because [they think] you're American, you don't look Korean. (Angela, First Individual Interview, December 2003)

Misoon's self-identification as Korean is challenged by Koreans at the Korean church that she attends.

I went to church like that, and Koreans are like "No, you're not. You're American" 'cause they know, like, I grew up here in America and everything like that' ...They're (Koreans) more towards, like, thinking "Oh, well, you grew up in America so you're American, and we grew up in Korea so we're Korean. So you should consider yourself American more than you are Korean". (Misoon, Second Individual Interview, February 2007)

When I asked Misoon about whether she had challenged their comment that she was not Korean, her response indicated her cultural knowledge of Koreans.

No, I just say like "Yeah, I'm American, I grew up here". I really don't fight with them 'cause I don't... 'caus, like, it's another thing...It's part of politeness...like in their culture, like, you don't talk back to them so. (Misoon, Second Individual Interview, February 2007)

In my opinion, immigrants do not intend to deny biracial adolescents' membership in the Korean community due to their cultural and linguistic competence or appearance. Immigrants' reaction to biracial adolescents results from immigrants' strong desire to adopt an American identity and not stand out as outsiders (Ong, 1996; Young, 2009). However, for biracial adolescents who explore their identities, this social interaction can be interpreted as an othering experience.

According to the biracial adolescents in the study, people often challenged their identities based on their perceptions of these adolescents' ethnic attributes, such as their physical appearance, name, and linguistic and cultural knowledge. These people's perceptions did not match the biracial adolescents' self-perceptions. For example, people often questioned the biracial adolescents' self-identification of being American or Korean.

As Allen stated, the Chinese exchange student challenged the authenticity of his being Asian. Allen stated that he created the term, Whasian, to identify himself because he wanted to maneuver his identities in different social situations according to people's expectations and perceptions of his identity.

There was a Chinese foreign exchange student when I was in summer school last year, and she was just, like, because you know I was identifying myself somewhere in the middle and...um...she just outright said, "You are not Asian". So I mean, I can't be really sure of really what the difference is, but I know basically what I am. (Allen, Second Individual Interview, April 2007)

Connie, Misoon and Angela discuss how they feel otherized by their parents and the members of Korean community. The participants talk about their othering experience due to their appearance, lack of linguistic and cultural knowledge, and parental ideology.

Whereas the participants felt otherized by Korean and Asian communities, an unexpected finding of the present study was that participants' parents' socialization practices influence their children's ethnic sense of self. The following section describes how biracial adolescents perceive themselves in terms of their interaction with their parents. Biracial adolescents often feel otherized due to people's racial expectations and the ideology underlying their beliefs about identities.

The biracial students in the study who felt a dissonance between their parents' identification of them and their own self-identification may have experienced a resulting negative sense of self. Connie says that her father's comment make her think that she should distance herself from her Korean heritage.

It [Korean American] does make perfect sense, because you are American, but at the same time, you are not like, I mean, ...I guess that you're a very modern type of American and so...I said something to my dad, like "Well, it makes me 'Korean American'?" [and he said] like, "No, you are not Korean American. You are American." So, I mean, then I got impression like, "Oh, you are not supposed to take your Korean side, but you are supposed to be proud that you are, like, Korean "and" American? So, like, I don't even know now. (Connie, First Individual Interview, July 2005)

Whereas ethnic/racial self-identification is not a contested issue for children in monoracial households, the development of a sense of ethnic/racial self-categorization is a primary socialization process for minority groups in America (Hitlin et al., 2006). Children have a tendency to adopt the ethnic/racial identification of "the parent to whom they felt emotionally closest or whom they viewed as most dominant in the household" (Miville et al., 2005, p. 512). In addition, ethnic/racial identification emerges from socialization experience that children have with their parents and other significant others in their daily discourse (Anglin et al., 2006; Hecht and Ribeau, 1991; Lyles et al., 1985). When the parents of the biracial adolescents in the study gave their children negative messages about their identities and told them that they did not belong to the Korean ethnic group, the children gained a negative sense of self because they assumed that they were not authentic enough to belong to that group. Connie recalled when her self-identification as Korean American was shot down by her parents.

Well I, like, experimented with different words, and, obviously, my parents shot that down... "Okay, well, you're not Korean American", and I

thought that made sense because I am, like half Korean, half American, but they shot that down, saying “No, that’s not what you are.” So, I get the impression that I’m not supposed to side with Korean, because there is always that part of me that’s not, like you said, pure Korean. So, I guess I could never be Korean, but, like, at the same time you’re American but with a different heritage. (Connie, First Individual Interview, July 2005)

Misoon said her mother identifies her as American rather than Korean. “[When I said to my mom] “Oh, yeah, I’m Korean”. my mom is like, “No, you’re not. You’re American”.

(Misoon, Dyad Interview, July 2007)

In contrast to my assumption that Korean parents want to instill Korean identity in their children and socialize their children into Korean cultural and linguistic knowledge, the participants said how much their parents discourage their self-identification as Korean. Therefore, I want to examine how parents’ socialization practices influence their children’s self-identification.

Biracial adolescents’ experiences of parental socialization practices. As discussed above, parents play a great role in socializing how their biracial children self-identify themselves. Therefore, I will elaborate in more detail how parents’ ideology about identity, language, and attitude toward languages influence their children’s socialization practices.

The findings of this study showed that parents’ ideology regarding who is Korean and who is not was based on two factors: (1) their own primary socialization in Korea and (2) the assimilation ideology that they acquired resulting from their secondary socialization process in the United States. Their ideology influenced their socialization practices of their children because they viewed their children as being biracial and not

Korean. In addition, they desired to instill an American identity in their children. This in turn made their children tend to affiliate more with the American mainstream.

Drawing on Cichello's study, Rosenthal (1987) discussed that the degree of parents' involvement in the ethnic community has a positive relationship to children's ethnic identity. However, my findings show that even though parents are actively involved in the ethnic community, they think that their own ethnic identity is not related to their children's ethnic identity. Therefore, it is necessary to examine how parents' ideologies, which play an important role in their socialization practices of their children, influence their children's sense of self. The socialization practices of the parents in the study de-emphasized the Korean language, culture, and identity.

At the beginning of my study, I assumed that the Korean parents would have emphasized the importance of having a Korean identity and speaking the Korean language to their children. However, the findings of the present study showed that parental influence on children's identity formation had adverse effects on their identification as Korean. Connie expresses her parents' influence on her identification as follows, "*when I said something about being Korean-American, both of my parents were like 'No, no you are not Korean-American, you are American'. So I don't know*" (Connie, *First Individual Interview, July 2005*). Most of the participants echo Connie's experience with her parents in terms of their sense of identity and self-identification. The following section gives more insights into how parents influence their biracial children's ethnic socialization through their daily practices. The findings indicate that their parents' lack of awareness about their biracial children's dual heritages and parents' ideology about identity and language play a big part in their socialization practices.

Parents' unawareness of their biracial children's multiple identities. The findings of this study suggest that parents of biracial children do not understand the complexity of their children's biracial identity formation. Allen stated that he did not designate himself as either White or Korean because his experience of being biracial was not clear cut like his parents'.

They [my parents] don't understand what it's like, you know, to be half one heritage and half another. They're both pretty clear cut growing up, so they don't really understand that. So I mean I wouldn't identify myself as my dad or my mom. You know, I'm mixed, so I am in the middle, maybe. Hopefully, you know, a little of the best qualities. So I wouldn't, like, specifically designate myself as either one. (Allen, Second Individual Interview, April 2007)

Allen's sister, Connie expresses the following viewpoint:

We never talk about being biracial [with my parents], so, like, when somebody else asks you, you get caught off guard...like "You are an American?" Like, why are you saying this in the first place? (Connie, First Individual Interview, July 2005)

As Allen and Connie said, parents' unawareness of their children's experience of being biracial often leaves their children unprepared for others' questioning and challenges. Connie's father said of his daughter's experience of being biracial,

She didn't talk about it before that much, but she must have had some bothers or something...She went through all the procedure...she doesn't belong here and doesn't belong there either. Because [she is] in the middle. [She is] united. (Connie's father, Second Individual Interview, November 2007)

Connie's and Allen's father said that Connie's struggle of understanding her sense of self is a part of growing up. Since the parents of biracial children do not go through the experience of being biracial, they may not understand what their biracial children go through outside of their home unless their parents and their children discuss the experience of being biracial openly. One facet of ethnic socialization by ethnic

minorities is to socialize children to be able to deal with racial barriers and discrimination (Boykin and Toms, 1985; Li, 2008; Phinney and Chavira, 1995). However, since parents do not often recognize their biracial children's social experience as an ethnic minority, they rarely discuss discrimination and prejudice toward minorities with their biracial adolescents. In the present study, Allen also contends that his mother stereotypes Koreans with whom he does not agree. Having a Korean heritage may sensitize him to comments from others about his heritage, which his parents may not understand.

I felt like she [my mother] has some misconception, like some negative stereotypes that I don't [think it is] really fair. Maybe that's what I was coming from on that. But I have a more open view than she does.... She likes to think that Koreans are very conceited, so I just didn't think that was really fair. It's like, you know, stereotype, overgeneralization. (Allen, Second Individual Interview, April 2007)

The daily socialization practices of parents of biracial children, which do not take their children's dual heritage into consideration, also influence how their children identify themselves. Khanna (2004) discussed the impact that the primary caregiver has on biracial individuals' identity formation. Compared to the other participants in this study whose mothers are Koreans, Connie and Allen said that there is not much difference in their socialization as compared to socialization of children in non-interracial American families. This showed the decision that her father made about how their children should be socialized; he let his American spouse be the primary influence on his children in terms of their socialization:

Having an American mom, as opposed to a Korean mom, it is different because your mom is basically the one who's giving you...like, teaches you your manners and such things. So, like, I never felt weird going over to a, you know, friend's house, because I felt pretty at home in there...um...home as well. And I think my dad raised our family, like, following kind of my mom's model so... (Connie, Second Individual Interview, April 2007)

Misoon stated that neither of her parents socialized her into their Korean or Hispanic ethnic groups.

My dad doesn't really, like, show me Hispanic culture that much, or anything like that....My mom does her culture, and my dad does his culture. And then, when they're with me, they don't really, like, try to impose on me but it's not like important, so my mom doesn't. I think with my mom, like, made sure that I spoke Korean. When they're with me...I guess [just] American and then, like, we don't really act, like, we don't speak Korean to each other and we don't just do, I guess, certain things. (Misoon, Second Individual Interview, February 2007)

Whereas the mothers of most participants in the study were Korean and their linguistic and cultural practices were based on Korean social practices, Connie's and Allen's mother, an Anglo- American, socialized her children in the linguistic and cultural practices of the mainstream. In a study by Knight and his colleagues (1993) on family socialization, these researchers found that the mothers of Mexican origin in the study taught their children about ethnic pride and discrimination, and encouraged them to engage in more ethnic behaviors. Therefore, their children had a stronger tendency to use more ethnic labels and expressed ethnic preference. In the present study, on the other hand, the Korean mothers in this study did not emphasize to their children that they should participate in the Korean community or master Korean values, beliefs, and behaviors.

In general, Korean parents focus on teaching appropriate sociolinguistic levels of honorific speech in given situations. If their children do not use these appropriate honorific linguistic forms or if they violate sensitive rules of social interactions, the parents are blamed by other Koreans for poor home education (Hwang, 2003). However, the Korean parents in this study focused on socializing their children into the social

norms, values, and beliefs of mainstream society. Therefore, their parental socialization practices are not heavily focused on socializing their children ethnically. Even though the parents speak English, they convey their cultural values implicitly and/or explicitly to their children when participating in the social and cultural practices of their ethnic community. The parents think that neither their involvement in Korean community nor their identity has anything to do with their children's ethnic socialization. In the following section, I will discuss parents' ideologies about how their biracial children should identify themselves.

Parents' ideologies and ethnic socialization practices. Ethnic socialization entails ethnic identification which promotes a sense of ethnic pride and membership of an ethnic group (Phinney and Rotheram, 1987). Parents' socialization practices are influenced by parents' ideology that contains perceptions of the importance of identity. Aside from their parents' lack of awareness of their children's experiences of being biracial, the participants in the present study note that their parents often discourage their children to identify as Korean or Korean American. Connie said that her father's comment "...you are not Korean American. You are American" made her think that she should distance herself from her Korean heritage. Because children have a tendency to identify themselves with their primary social agent, their parents' comments may promote a negative sense of self in them. Ying, Han and Wong (2007) indicated that early adolescents identify with their parents; therefore, their parents' comments that contradict their self-identification may lead them to develop a negative self-evaluation. Since early adolescents are extremely sensitive to others' recognition, approval, and evaluations that affirm their competence, their parents' opinions play a great role in how

they evaluate their own social competence (Brinthaupt & Lipka, 2002; Finkenauer et al., 2002). Because others' evaluation and recognition of their social competence play a large role in early adolescents' sense of self and identity, adolescents may develop a negative sense of themselves when they perceive a gap between who they think they are and others' expectations of them. Adolescents explore and develop identities that make them feel valuable, and are also sensitive to others' feedback about their identities (Goosseng & Phinney, 1996).

The participants' parents' identification of their children as American as well as their ways of responding to their children's questions about their self-identification as Korean conveyed subtle but powerful messages to their children. Pao et al.'s (1997) study indicated that parental socialization practices that socialize children to be bilingual or monolingual are influenced by the parents' ideologies. Particularly, findings show that "the monolingual's participants' minority parents instilled a sense of American identity in them and did not want them to identify with their minority language or speak the minority language" (p. 627), which in turn restrained their children from participating in the cultures and communities of one of their parents.

The study by Saenz et al. (1995) indicated that Asian-white biracial children were more likely to identify themselves as Asian when they could speak a non-English language, which in turn gave them the ability to participate in their Asian heritage group. Xie and Goyette (1997) suggested that there was a positive relationship between parents identifying their children as being Asian or non-Asian and the way in which they socialize their children linguistically. Xie and Goyette indicated that Asian parents'

assimilation ideology determines identification of their children with non-Asian mainstream culture and with having a non-Asian identity.

Whereas in the initial stage of this study I did not even consider the possibility of parental influence in biracial adolescents' ethnic socialization, I found during interviews that participants often discussed their parents' perceptions of their identity and how this impacted their self-identification. For example, parents in the study often imposed an American identity on their children rather than responding affirmatively when their children asked them if they are Korean or Korean American. Unlike my earlier assumption that parents have a positive influence on their children's ethnic identity as Korean, I found that the parents' comments and responses to their children often discouraged their biracial adolescents' sense of having multiple and fluid identities. There are two possible reasons for which Korean parents emphasize having American identity to their children: (1) parents have a patriarchal and homogeneous concept of Koreans, and (2) parents have adopted the American assimilation ideology. Korean parents who immigrated to the United States much earlier than 1998, a time in which Korean citizenship was endowed to a child only if the child had a Korean father, may still believe in the patriarchal concept of Korean citizenship and use this concept in their rationale for identifying their children as American. In addition, Korean immigrant parents might want their children to identify with the group membership having higher social status than with being a foreigner, outsider, and minority, a social status that they have been assigned by a new society, in which they want to take part (Xie and Goyette, 1997; Young, 2009).

The findings of this study showed that Korean parents had their own reasons for identifying their children as American. However, they did not discuss their rationale with

their biracial children. Therefore, when their biracial children were told by their parents that they were American rather than Korean, they may have thought that their parents did not want them to recognize their Korean heritage. Whereas the biracial adolescents in this study seemed to feel obligated to claim dual identities because of their parents' two different racial/ethnic backgrounds, their parents imposed an American identity on them.

The findings of this study showed that the biracial adolescents' parents identified their children as American because of: (1) the parents' patriarchal and monoracial concept of Koreans; (2) children's place of birth and where they were raised, an American citizenship; and (3) children's social networks with American peers rather than Korean peers.

The present study showed that Korean immigrants often thought that having an American identity is more beneficial for their children than having a minority identity. In addition, they also seemed to have a hierarchical attitude towards different minority groups in terms of race/ethnicity.

For example, the ways in which Misoon's mother identified her children in her first individual interview indicated her hierarchical attitude, which in turn constrained her children's identification as Hispanic.

I want her to have a Korean identity over a Hispanic identity. It is my personal experience, living with a Hispanic, that I do not like their way of living... Living in America, there are Hispanic people who work hard, but there are Hispanic people who are lazy, and who do not have motivation to make a living. They are poor. They are a few people who are rich, but most of them do trivial jobs. Before I got married, I didn't realize this. So I tell my children about it. (Misoon's mother, First Individual Interview, January 2004)

Misoon's mother's racial attitude toward Hispanics definitely influenced how she socialized Misoon's self-identification. Misoon felt more comfortable identifying herself

as Korean than as Hispanic. Suyemoto and Tawa (2009) indicated that the notion of racial hierarchy that Asian American communities adopted contributed to these parents' preference for the racial/ethnic identification of their biracial children. These parents' racial identification of their mixed-race children illuminated the parents' understanding of the racial hierarchy in the United States (Brunsma, 2005). Familial, communal, societal, and national pressure on parents to pursue linguistic and cultural capital may constrain their decision to identify their children as members of a group that receives the least discrimination (Xie & Goyette, 1997).

Angela's mother's response to others' inquiry about her ethnicity indicated her racial/ethnic attitudes toward other ethnic/racial groups.

In this area, whenever they see Asian people, they assumed that I am Vietnamese. They asked, "Are you [from] Vietnam?". I answered them, "I am not that ugly". They always asked me. Then they laughed so hard at my response...If they escalated their questions, they asked, "Are you Chinese?". If I said back to them, "I am not that ugly," and then, they escalated a little bit more, "Are you Japanese?" (Angela's mom, First interview, January, 2004)

Misoon's mother's ways of identifying her children were dependent on her ideology regarding how to define Koreans and Americans. She came to America before 1998 when the citizenship law was changed to endow Korean citizenship only to children of Korean father. Therefore, she might have identified Misoon as American because Misoon's father was American and Misoon was born in the United States. She stated in her interview that having full Korean lineage was a prerequisite to being Korean, a belief that may have been influenced by the monoracial/monoethnic ideology that she brought with her from Korea. The fact that Misoon did not have rudimentary Korean fluency was also one of the reasons that Misoon's mother did not identify her daughter as Korean.

Misoon's mother seemed to equate Korean fluency with Koreanness. Misoon's mother stated in her second individual interview:

Only their mom is Korean. Half and half. But I don't know. Misoon insisted that she is Korean. She told me, "I'm Korean." When she says this, I agreed with her. But how can she be Korean when her blood is half and half? How can she be Korean when she was not born in Korea, and she only has half Korean blood? How can she be Korean? She was born in America, and she can't speak Korean.

They are completely American... they were born in America. Only their mom is Korean and blood-wise [they are half Korean], but they are completely American. (Misoon's Mother, Second Individual Interview, February 2008)

Interestingly, during the same interview with Misoon's mother mentioned above she stated that when both of a child's parents were Korean, she thought that their identity was Korean American whereas her own children who had a Korean mother and a Hispanic father were American. As she stated, *"They [the children of parents who are both Korean] and their parents immigrated and live here [in America]. Some of the children were also born here. All of the children are Korean American"* (Misoon's Mother, Second Individual Interview, February 2008).

Misoon's mother's concept of the necessity of having full Korean heritage to be Korean supported the findings of Hwang's (2003) study. Jane, a Korean mother in Hwang's study, showed her ideological stance toward the identities of her full heritage child and mixed heritage children and how her ideology influenced her expectations of Korean fluency for her full heritage child from her previous marriage as compared to her expectation for her mixed heritage children in her current marriage.

Most of all, Nora is not a mixed child. She is an original Korean. She is a Korean to anybody. Oriental, 100% Korean. Her way of thinking is that of

American children, because she came to America when she was young, and she has been educated in American schools. But to me, she is a Korean. However, Sandy and Andy are in a different situation! They are mixed children. They were born and raised here, and they are American citizens... Every single child is the same to me, but my situation to my children is different. I make it very clear to the children, “half Korean” or “full Korean”. (Hwang, 2003, p. 140)

During my interview with the parents in the study, I asked how they identified themselves in terms of their identities. Their views gave more insights into how they identified their children. They recognized themselves as being both Korean and American based on (1) the number of years they had resided in America, (2) their place of birth, and (3) their identity as being an immigrant. As Misoon’s mother said in her second individual interview:

Because they [my children] grew up here in America, they are not Korean I am Korean. I was born in Korea, so I can’t change my identity. Because I was born in Korea. I just came here after my marriage and just have lived here. I am completely Korean. (Misoon’s Mother, Second Individual Interview, February 2008)

Whereas Misoon’s mother initially identified herself as Korean, she changed her identification when she compared herself with Koreans who live in Korea.

I have already lived here for half of my life. I came here when I was 26, and it has been 25 years. So I have lived half of my life in America and half in Korea. I will live in America longer, so [I am] Korean American. From now on, I have decided I am “Korean American”. (Misoon’s Mother, Second Individual Interview, February 2008)

Likewise, Angela’s mother stressed the length of her residency in America as her rationale for identifying herself as Korean.

I am Korean. Labeling myself Korean American doesn't fit me. Calling me American is not even close. I spent my teens in Korea and came to America when I was an adult. If I had come to America when I was a teenager, Korean American might fit better. But I came here when I was an adult so I want to call myself Korean. If I live in America longer than I lived in Korea, I might say that I am Korean American. But I haven't lived here for as long as I lived in Korea. So I am Korean. (Angela, Second Individual Interview, April 2007)

According to the study, the parents held a different mindset toward their own identity than they did toward their children's based on (1) their children's place of birth, (2) the place where their children were socialized, and (3) the length of their children's residency in America. As Connie and Allen's father stated in his first individual interview:

Even though the children of Korean parents have options to have a Korean nationality or an American nationality at 22 years old, the [immigrant] parents do not see this as an option for their children. They are Americans first of all. They will probably serve in the United States military if they have a chance. Identity-wise, just Americans. Period. But they can understand that many cultures are different. (Connie's father, First Individual Interview, January 2004)

Connie's and Allen's father's own identification as an immigrant seemed to influence his way of identifying his children.

We immigrated here and have raised our children here. We should raise them as Americans. That is the priority. That's why their identity should be American, too. (Connie's father, First Individual Interview, January 2004)

Immigrant parents' strong desire to assimilate into the mainstream in their adopted country without standing out as outsiders (Ang, 1994) may influence their decision to socialize their children to be members of the mainstream culture. This argument is supported by a study done by Young (2009), a biracial Korean American. Young's mother who was Korean put a great importance on "fitting into white suburbia" and socialized her biracial daughter to be white (p. 149).

In his first interview, Connie's father emphasized having American identity for

his children. Moreover, Connie told me that her father used to discourage his children from identifying as Korean American when they were younger. However, in his second interview Connie's father discussed another layer of their identity, Korean American.

I think that the reason that we didn't go that far into [their layers of identities], Amerasian...and at that time, yeah, you were born in America. You're American first. But if you classify the next level, yeah, it's Korean American. But you know, in the big picture, you're Amerasian. It's kind of an interesting way of describing in detail. Yeah, we told them "You guys are American". Actually, I'm American. You, too. Probably. (Connie's father, Second Individual Interview, November 2007)

Although Connie's and Allen's father said that his children were American first and the next layer of their identity was Korean American, he had never discussed this with his children. Generally speaking, it seems that parents' simple answer, without parents' elaboration to their children's question about their identity as Korean can be interpreted as disapproval of their Korean heritage. Whereas Korean parents who are bilingual and bicultural may be secure about their dual identities, their children who have only emergent Korean fluency and basic cultural knowledge along with their biracial appearance may struggle to identify themselves as Korean.

Angela's mother identified her children as American because of their birth place and growth place. *"As long as children are born in the United States, they should grow up as American citizens"* (Angela's mother, First Individual Interview, December, 2003). Angela's mother said that others' perceptions and their ways of thinking are more like American. *"The way they think in their head is American, and Americans look at them as American"* (Angela's Mother, First Individual Interview, December, 2003).

Even though a child was born to Korean parents, and the child looks like a Korean, but once they go to school, even though they look like a Korean, their mind is not Korean. In my opinion, even though parents think of them

as Korean, there is no Korean in his or her mind, because they go to school and they act like an American with Americans. (Angela, Second Individual Interview, February 2008)

However, children may not agree with their parents' identification for themselves.

"My oldest daughter goes to high school, and I marked 'American' on all documents for her before, and she changed to 'Korean' since she has a choice in high school"
(Angela's mother, First Individual Interview, December, 2003).

Findings of this study show that parents' ideology influences their socialization practices including their language attitude. Even though parents do not intend to discourage their children's self-identification as Korean, their daily discourse and their socialization practices led them to instill a certain identity in their children's identity. For biracial adolescents' positive identity formation, parents need to help their children have a positive sense of self by letting them explore their choices of identities rather than pushing them to have a certain identity.

Perezhivanie: different experience across time, people, and social Contexts.

Vygotsky's concept of perezhivanie speaks to the ways in which individuals make different meanings of experiences related to their sense of self based on the individual state of self in situated contexts. It explains fluidity, complexity and idiosyncrasy of identity development. Many scholars discuss hybrid identity as a way to negotiate one's multiple positionalities according to time, place, and people. Hall (1994) and Young (2009) contended that understanding ourselves requires us to examine how we position ourselves in relation to others in diverse contexts. Milligan (2005) also discusses that identities are constructed, negotiated, and developed "by how we feel about places and how we feel in places" (Milligan, 2005, p. 2105). Findings show that with age,

participants increase perspective-taking skills and understand identity with abstract and multidimensional perspectives which allow them to identify themselves based on their situational contexts.

Early adolescents become more aware of social meanings ascribed to certain ethnic groups as characterized by attributes such as skin tone, physical appearance, surname and language. Because social acceptance is important to early adolescents, they may identify with a group with higher social status which denies identifying with the racial/ethnic group of a parent of color. According to Gay (1978),

Early adolescents are also more perceptive about how their families and ethnic group members rank in the broader societal context in terms of material possessions, social acceptability, and other standards of success and desirability...Early adolescents become more egocentric and preoccupied with self, they begin to associate physical appearance with race and ethnicity. (p. 652)

Findings of this study indicate that early adolescents showed negative sense of self due to a discrepancy between societal norms and standards and their thoughts on peoples' perceptions of their appearance. However, as they understand the multiplicity and fluidity of identities, participants are able to play with people's dichotomous perspective of defining their identities based on situational contexts.

The following sections will address (1) how the participants in this study saw their identity differently as they got older due to an interplay of personal and situational characteristics, and (2) how the participants maneuvered their multiple identities

strategically and situationally based on others' perceptions and expectations of their ethnic attributes.

Social situations of development. Drawing on Vygotsky's concept of situations of development, Mahn (2003) explained that people make meanings from events and social contexts differently based on the dialectic interplay between individual development and sociocultural environment. Because there were three years between my initial pilot study and my present study, I have been able to gain insights into how age influenced my participants' ways of viewing their identity within diverse social contexts. When I asked my participants about any changes that occurred within three years, most of them responded that they had changed the ways they looked at their identity in this time period.

The following sections explain how one's developmental stage influences his/her way of identifying himself/herself through the interplay between a wide range of social and cultural milieu and the development of a sense of ego identity. To develop a better understanding of the participants' identity change, I will describe how they experienced the events related to their identity differently based on their age: the first section will address early adolescence; the second section will address late adolescence and emerging adulthood.

Early adolescence. The participants in this study discussed their experiences in early adolescence and how their social experiences influenced the formation of their negative sense of self. The following excerpts from my interviews with the participants showed how others' perceptions of their image influenced their negative sense of self. It is probable that this is due to the fact that early adolescents are conscious of their body

and physical appearance, and they are extremely sensitive to others' recognition and approval (Brinthaupt and Lipka, 2002). Early adolescents' sense of self can be negatively impacted if they feel like they do not fit into culturally and socially accepted standards and norms according to the context that they are in (Brinthaupt and Lipka, 2002). For example, Connie recalled her feeling of self-dislike when she recognized that her appearance made another person assume that her background did not fit into the culturally and socially accepted standards and norms for the context of the horse show and beyond.

I remember back one time, I was, like, in pretty early high school. There was a horse show...it was a very cowboy environment, and so that one guy was talking to me, and he was saying this weird thing. So then, he asked me a question. So then I was taking a moment to think about it. And he is looking and says, "You don't understand a word I am saying, do you? You don't speak English." And so that was, like, "How could he say such a thing? I am an American." So I think that those kinds of experiences really, like, perpetuated my dislike when I was younger. (Connie, First Individual Interview, July, 2005)

Phinney (2005) emphasized "experiences of being treated stereotypically or discriminated against, or being asked to label oneself ethnically can be strong motivators of exploration" (p.130). However, for early adolescents who want to fit into culturally and socially accepted norms, the kind of experience that Connie had can promote a negative sense of self.

Similarly, Angela described experiences of feeling otherized in different contexts. In the context of a Korean church, she felt that she did not fit into Korean cultural and social norms due to her appearance. She perceived her appearance as the cause of her social othering by Koreans. She also stated that her experience being racialized by her peers at school perpetuated her shameful feelings about her Koreanness. For Angela, who

was in early adolescence where seeking social acceptance is important, racialized experiences in these different contexts may have influenced her negative sense of self.

*I don't like to go to church, just because I am not Korean. Well, I am, but I don't look [like a Korean]. ..**They** never say hi, so it kinda seems like **they** [Koreans] don't want to talk to you because [they think], "You're American, you don't look Korean".. (Angela, First Individual Interview, December, 2003)*

In the pilot study, I did not realize that Angela's negative attitude toward having Korean identity resulted from her racialized experiences at school as well as her experiences in the Korean church. However, in the focus interview, Angela revealed her racialized experiences at school to me, which help me better understand her feelings toward her Korean heritage.

I think when you interviewed me, I was in middle school, and I'm, like, as a matter of fact, I was kind of ashamed of being Korean, 'cause you will like be called names and bad words. I was embarrassed as Korean than I was as American. Then, when I was in high school, I was, people were more accepting, so I've changed. (Angela, Focus Group Interview, June 21, 2007)

Angela's othering experiences from her middle school peers and from the Korean community definitely led her to distance herself from identifying herself as Korean.

Since studies show that early adolescents "express more insecurity about their social position and acceptance among peers" and seek for peer group conformity (Finkenauer, Engels, Meeus, and Oosterwegel, 2002, p.41), Angela may feel that she should deny her racial/ethnic difference from her peers.

Likewise, Connie expressed thoughts similar to Angela's:

Your peers play a very important role, I sometimes think an underestimated role, like, you are taught you should be your own person,

but there is always peer pressure to conform to the group, not stand out or whatever the group is. So, if you can find other people out there like them, I think that's pretty important, to at least find peers. (Connie, Second Individual Interview, April 2007)

Since New Mexico is an area with a high concentration of Hispanic culture, having Korean or Asian heritage made them stand out from the mainstream.

When I was younger, all the Hispanic kids were always grouped together and so, like, if you don't have anyone to group with anyone, you are different. Then you have automatically ostracized yourself. (Connie, First Individual Interview, July 2005)

The importance of social acceptance and peer groups dramatically increase during adolescence. Due to this reason, adolescents organize their friendship networks into cliques which reflect adolescents' need to establish a sense of identity (Eccles et al., 2003). Connie who couldn't belong to rigid cliques that differed in social status within the school and community must have had a hard time establishing her sense of self.

Well, like, in New Mexico, it was always very apparent to me that I was different. So, like, when I was younger, I hated that. I tried to, like, block it out, like, uh, I don't want to even think about it. Then, as I got older, like, ok, I am different. So I need to reconcile, I need to understand. Like physically, like, of course, I look a little bit different than other people I am growing up with. So, I need to understand the culture behind it, so that I can explain it. So, that is my main motivation, like, to reconcile, like, especially in New Mexico, more how you look, you have to have something to back it up. So that. (Connie, First Individual Interview, July 2005)

Like Misoon, others' evaluation and recognition constitutes important influence on early adolescents' identity. Misoon may find her value in being unique compared to others, but she may confirm others' appraisal of herself since early adolescents construct an image of their identity based on others' expectation of who and what they should be (Finkenauer, Engels, Meeus, and Oosterwegel, 2002).

Well, they always refer to me as a Korean, because my first name is Misoon and they always think of me, because the way I look doesn't look Hispanic. So they always refer to me as a Korean. How about you? You just don't want to be, "I am Korean," and there is the other part I should. (Misoon, First Individual Interview, January 2004)

Finkenauer et al. (2002) describe the importance of others' appraisal of adolescents' image.

Others' appraisal of the self, which transpires through their behavior toward us, is reflected in adolescents' appraisal of their self identity.

Through others' feedback toward self, adolescents not only construct an image of their self and identity, they also create an image of what they should be like, of who and what (they think) others expect them to be.

(Finkenauer, Engels, Meeus, and Oosterwegel, 2002, p. 40)

Studies have also shown that adolescents may strive for "preventing deviation for what they believe is the social norm" and for fitting into the social norms of their peer groups (Finkenauer, Engles, Meeus, and Ossterwegel, 2002). Other studies showed that children's identity preference and identification are influenced not only by their desire to conform with their peers but also by their desire not to be identified with a minority group that has less power and legitimacy according to the ethnic/racial hierarchy established by the mainstream (Aboud and Doyle, 1993). As Connie stated in referring to her past experience as an early adolescent,

I think it's very true, if you would have interviewed me when I was 14. I would have been especially, "I am American. Don't even talk to me about being Korean, 'cause I don't even want to think about it," kind of, but, um, so, and then I understand what they are going through. (Connie, First Individual Interview, July 2005)

Angela reiterated Connie's explanation for her negative feelings toward her

Korean heritage when she was an early adolescent:

*South Korea is poor. **We** are a big country, and it is not like one main place. But since South Korea is very small, you can see poverty a lot ...Most Korean people are very gossipy. **They** cannot close their mouths... That's not culture. That's poorness. Not to be able to have a toilet... My grandparents' house, **they** really live in a nice condominium, swimming pool, everything. But the door is sliding door, it is like a closet...**They** don't have big TV... It is not like here. It gives me a headache. (Angela, First Individual Interview, December 2003)*

As indicated in the above passage, Angela clearly distinguished herself as American, using the word “we” to separate herself from Koreans to whom she referred to as “they”. It is possible that Angela’s sense of distance from Korean culture was perpetuated by her exposure to Korea only through the biased lenses of American media. As Aboud and Doyle (1993) argued, the American media are very influential in conveying and reinforcing minority group stereotypes and mainstream ideas about the hierarchical and asymmetrical status of minority groups.

The limited and biased information as well as the image of Koreans and Korea projected by the media are more than enough to give mixed heritage students feelings of inferiority and shame about their ethnic minority background, which in turn leads them to distance themselves from this background.

The above discussion addressed how age (the period of early adolescence) influenced Connie’s and Angela’s interpretations and ways of coping with their racial/ethnic differences and people’s perceptions of them. Their negative sense of self was also influenced by the biased perceptions of the mainstream toward their heritage group. They both had developed a negative sense of self due to their age (early adolescence) as well as the discrepancy between others’ perceptions, and their own perceptions, of their appearance and of their lack of familiarity with Korean cultural and

linguistic knowledge. Their identity was also influenced by the biased, asymmetrical way in which the media portray their heritage group as being a powerless and illegitimate group of the mainstream.

However, it is possible that other factors also influenced Connie's, Angela's and other participants' interpretations of, and ways of coping with, events in their lives in relation to their identity formation, including gender and personality. For example, the ways that Connie and Angela felt about themselves may have been influenced not only by their age but also by the way in which girls are socialized to be agreeable with others. Their individual personalities may also have been influential factors. On the hand, Connie's brother, Allen, seemed to deal with people's perceptions of him more aggressively. As Allen said about his sister's ways of dealing with the question 'what are you?' and other challenges about her identity from both mainstream Americans and other Asian minority members:

I think she [my sister, Connie] dealt with it a little differently, like, she would, I don't know, look at herself, try and, like, look for faults. I felt like she had trouble finding herself in middle school, like, trying to identify herself. She, um, I don't know. I guess I would say she got sad and looked in, and I was getting angry, like "screw you". Obviously, you don't know crap, and I don't know, I think I just, I guess instead of trying to, you know, look inside of myself, it's just that that is how it is. I mean, you guys can deal with it, or you cannot, I don't care. (Allen, Second Individual Interview, April 2007)

It is possible that Allen's way of thinking may have been due to his gender. As Brinthaupt and Lipka (2002) have written, boys have a tendency to take greater risk in relationships with others than girls do; girls are more compliant and harmonious.

Interestingly, Allen's sister, Connie, also talked about the differences between how she and her brother dealt with people's challenges about their identities as being based on her brother's and her personalities.

I don't think that there is anything wrong with interracial marriage, but I do wish that my parents had, like, approached the issue when I was younger, 'cause, like, I don't think my brother has so much of a problem with it. I know I did when I was younger. And it is probably just personality. (Connie, Second Individual Interview, April 2007)

Similarly, Angela also mentioned that she and her sister have different experiences with Koreans due to their personalities. Angela also felt that her sister was more accepted by Koreans because she looked more Korean than Angela did. She believed that her sister's fluency in Korean also helped her to blend into the Korean community more easily than Angela herself.

It's a big difference, but she's more confident in everything she does, and I think that because she looks more Korean. She feels, like, more, like, comfortable around Korean people, because she can understand them. She can talk Korean, she can read it, write it, ...I kind of am just really shy, and she's, like, able to be more, like, open to Korean people, just because she speaks it, and she's, like, basically she's, like, fluent in Korean, everything. (Angela, Second Individual Interview, April 2007)

As discussed above, participants' early adolescent social experiences were influenced by their personal characteristics such as age, gender and personality. The findings showed that these factors interwove with one another to influence the participants' identity formation. As participants grew into late adolescence and emerging adulthood, their cognitive and psychological maturity, along with the expansion of their social contexts and social interactions, helped them to see the multiplicity, fluidity and idiosyncrasy of their identities. For example, Connie, who was already nineteen in her first individual interview, was able to reflect and articulate at that time, how as she grew

older and was exposed to different cultural and social milieu, her interpretations of her social and racial/ethnic experiences evolved, which in turn shaped her identity formation. The following section describes how participants reflected on the reasons for the evolution of their sense of identity from early adolescence to late adolescence and emerging adulthood.

Late adolescence and emerging adulthood. At the time of the second interview when Angela was a junior in high school, she said that she no longer thought of her Korean heritage as a deficit or defect. It is possible that this was due to her developing cognitive and psychological maturity. As Sue et al. (1998) and Phinney (1990) have written, adolescents increase their capacity for self-reflection and are better able to understand the multiplicity of identities that people have. Angela stated:

More mature, growing up. Seeing things differently. Learning new...like...I think when people grow up they forget the whole racism issue, the whole teasing, and are exposed to... that positive impact changes the way you see people and how you see yourself. (Angela, Triad Interview, July 2007)

Like Angela, the other participants in the present study seemed to change the way that they view identities. This is probably due to the fact that with age, adolescents are more likely to explore their identities as their social and cultural milieu change and expand and as their social relationships evolve. Misoon emphasized this idea, saying that her relationships with her peers and her environments influenced the way in which she looked at her identities:

I think it's more, like, as we are getting older and more mature, we see things, like, differently. I know I probably changed a lot from the first interview, just like people you hang out with, and like your surroundings, you start to see, like, either get too caught up in there, or you, like, don't worry about it. You know what I mean? (Misoon, Dyad Interview, July 2007)

Interestingly, participants' understanding of the concept of being different change from early adolescence to late adolescence. It seemed that when they were early adolescents, they did not like standing out as being different from their peers, whereas when they were late adolescents, they seemed to view and appreciate their difference as unique. Arnett (2006) stated,

Depending on the messages that children receive, differences may be seen as reflecting something bad or inferior; conversely, they may be seen as something to be valued and emulated. The task of ethnic identity formation involves sorting out and resolving positive and negative feelings and attitudes about one's own group and about other groups and identifying one's place in relation to both. (p. 119)

Misoon helped me to clarify the meaning of "difference". *"Like different as not fitting in, and then different as unusual, you wanna be like (unique?) unique. There you go."* (Misoon, Dyad Interview, July 2007) .

The reasons for this change in understanding are likely due to the interplay among adolescents' personal characteristics such as age, personality, and gender, as well as the environments and social contexts in which they interact. As Miville et al (2005) found, "certain time periods, in terms of experiencing being somehow 'different' also played an important role in the participants' racial identity development" (p. 513). Moreover, the experience of "being different" can also be interpreted as resulting from the dialectical relationship between personal characteristics and the environment (Holbrook, 2003).

The findings of the present study showed that, when Angela was an early adolescent, she had a stronger desire to fit into her mainstream peer group than to be autonomous from her peers. In her triad interview, Angela explained how she evolved from middle school to high school in terms of how she thought about her racial/ethnic background and her identity.

Yeah, I got called, like, Chink, and Gook, and stuff like that. So middle school was really hard for me. So, I would say I was white. And then I went to high school and met diverse and different cultures. I became more comfortable, and then I started saying I was Asian. (Angela, Triad Interview, July 2007)

Thus, as a result of her racial experiences in middle school, Angela distanced herself from her Korean heritage. However, in her high school environment, she pursued her own uniqueness which in turn influenced her positive sense of self.

Like Angela, Connie stated that she felt marginalized and distanced from the Korean side of her family and her father's Korean friends from her elementary school through her middle school years. However, her negative feelings toward her heritage changed when she was exposed to and learned about Korean culture. As Connie said:

I guess I had a negative impression through elementary school to middle school, just because I didn't feel comfortable when I was with my family or with my dad's Korean friends. So I had a negative impression of it. But, um, I guess right before I came [Korea], I was very, very excited to come. Especially in college, I have been learning more and more about Korean culture, so I think my negative impression was dispelled in high school. (Connie, First Individual interview, July 2005)

Connie also said that her exposure to a different social and cultural milieu at her university where she met more Koreans and took Korean language classes helped her appreciate her racial/ethnic background and gain a more positive sense of self.

Since my father is a Korean, and when I came to college...so I am a sophomore now. I came to college two years ago. I certainly became immersed in the environment with a lot more Koreans than I grew up with so...so I found the culture that I really haven't been exposed to. Just a single parent who was a Korean, so that's why I began to pick up my interest, and in my second year, I took a Korean class. So I've been, I guess, acquiring more motivation as I go. (Connie, First Individual Interview, July 2005)

Since social recognition and approval by others are a main concern for early adolescents, participants seemed to perceive a discrepancy between their identity and others' expectations, they may have negative self-related emotions related to others' perception (Finkenauer, Engles, Meeus, and Ossterwegel, 2002). However, their negative sense of self seems to dispel as they are familiar with their culture and have positive experiences with their heritage.

Whereas Angela had a negative impression about Korea through middle school, she changed her impression about Korea when she went to high school based on two factors. First, she found that her high school peers appreciated her racial/ethnic background in high school and through this, in combination with her growing maturity, she found her unique sense of self. Second, she took a trip to Korea with her family which seemed to help her to have a more positive sense of self. She began to identify more with her Korean heritage. Her cumulative experiences along with her age, concomitantly with her growing knowledge of Korean culture and her more mature relationship with her Korean mother seemed to help her appreciate her Korean background more. As Angela stated:

I think that I went there when I was seven. It was my first time, and it was really dirty and smelled bad,...kind of poor. I think, I only think, "They are really up to date, like we were. So I thought it would be like here...cars everywhere you know. And then, when I went two years ago, I didn't even recognize it. It's different, like there are lights everywhere,

cleaner cars everywhere. And toilets, toilet...I still don't understand Korean bathrooms though. (Angela, Second Individual Interview, April 2007)

Angela also discussed how the change in social and cultural milieu from middle school to high school helped her accept her racial/ethnic difference which in turn helped her develop a more positive sense of self:

Ah, I know how they feel. Like, sometimes they don't know if they're Asian or if they're American. In middle school, a lot of people teased me and, like, called me really racist names. But I think, now, like last year, when I went to high school, it's a totally different environment. But now, people ask me, "What's your race?" I always say, "I'm Korean". Like, um, my American culture, is obviously really more dominant than my Korean culture. But my mom, like, I'm not going to say, "I'm American". Because I'm an American citizen. But I am more Korean than American (sounds like kind of emotional voice). So I always say that I am Korean. (Angela, Second Individual Interview, April 2007)

Interestingly, in her first interview, Angela expressed negative feelings and thoughts toward her Korean heritage, mentioning that Korean people judged her appearance as not being Korean. However, in her second interview, she seemed to try to find things to support her self-identification as Korean, such as the fact that she ate Korean foods, had a positive relationship with her Korean mother, and recognized the Korean aspects of her house. Angela seemed to identify herself as Korean due to her exposure to Korean culture through her mother, her increasingly positive feelings about having a Korean identity, and having a better understanding about her Korean background.

I mean, look at my house. There everything is...a lot of, like, Korean aspects, and we ate Korean food. My mom talks to me, and I don't really, like, have a good relationship with my American family. But that's just kind of, like, how I perceive it, like, "Yes, I'm American and Korean." But I take more pride in my Korean side than in my American side. (Angela, Second Individual Interview, April 2007)

In contrast to Angela who evolved from identifying herself as American when she was in middle school to identifying herself as Korean when she was in high school, Connie, the oldest participant in my study, evolved from identifying herself as Korean American when she was in her sophomore year at the university to identifying herself as American near the time of her graduation. When I first interviewed her during her sophomore year at the university, she was visiting Korea to learn the Korean language and about Korean culture at a Korean university to understand her Korean heritage. The contrast in the ways in which Connie and Angela identified themselves is likely due to their different ages and developmental stages along their situational contexts. As Grotevant (1987) suggested, “developmental contexts affect the process of identity formation, and in turn, the ways in which the individual’s evolving sense of identity shape his or her subsequent contexts of development” (p. 214). Thus, Angela identified herself as American in middle school when she experienced racial discrimination from her peers and also felt that members of the Korean community did not accept her due to her non-Korean appearance. In high school, she was in the developmental context where she pursued autonomy from her peers as well as individuation and uniqueness, which in turn led her to have more positive feelings toward her Korean identity.

Likewise, Connie identified herself as Korean American in her sophomore year of university when she visited Korea to learn more about her Korean heritage and had good experiences there. However, during the second interview when she completed her internship at a Los Angeles non-profit organization and was about to enter the job market, she changed her self-identification to American. It is likely that Connie felt disconnected and disaffiliated from working in Korean enclaves like Los Angeles because she did not

share the same knowledge, values, and beliefs as other Korean Americans and did not feel that she belonged to the community. It is also possible that her ethnicity as Korean did not matter to her career or to how she defined herself anymore.

Because Connie was the oldest participant in the study, she was able to articulate her experiences throughout her wider span of life than other participants who were in high school at the time of second interview, dyad/triad interview and focus group interview. Connie was an emerging adult who was more cognitively and psychologically mature than the other younger participants. She was able to reflect upon and synthesize her life experiences in relation to her sense of identity and identity development. She also had more freedom than the other participants did because, as an adult, she could explore her choices of identities by being situated in different social and cultural milieu. During the interviews, I was able to gain more insights from her than from the other participants about biracial adolescents' identity formation because she was able to reflect on her experiences from her childhood to emerging adulthood. Her description of her developmental contexts along with her interpretations of her experiences showed me how identity is shaped, molded, and reconstructed through an individual's developmental and environmental contexts. Connie's narratives showed how people's experiences at different development stages influence how they perceive, infer, and synthesize events in relation to their identity. For these reason, the following section will discuss in depth the evolution of Connie's identity formation from her childhood to emerging adulthood.

As discussed above, Connie said that in childhood she felt ostracized from her Hispanic peers who made up the majority of her class. At that young age, children have a tendency to identify themselves by the visual and tangible aspects of themselves such as

their appearance, and they try to fit into their peer group because they do not want to stand out. Connie said that due to her different appearance she was marginalized by her peers who in turn caused her to hate herself. She did not want to think about her differences from her peers. As she stated, *“In New Mexico, it was always very apparent to me that I was different. So, like, when I was younger, I hated that. I tried to like block it out. I don’t want to even think about it”*. Connie also felt different from other Korean children at her Korean language school in church and from her Korean relatives because she could not understand Korean, which made her feel “alienated” from Korean culture. As she stated:

I didn’t understand it at all. So I always felt very alienated in that environment. So, I think that was beginning of where I started feeling distanced from the culture, and I found I wanted to distance myself, because I was never comfortable in that environment....I saw my family in South California, and they all spoke Korean, and I didn’t. So I felt uncomfortable. And then, feeling uncomfortable, I disliked it. So I, especially in middle school, I really disliked the part Korean... just because I didn’t feel comfortable when I was with my family or with my dad’s Korean friends. So I had a negative impression of it....since I always felt so uncomfortable around other Korean people, because I didn’t understand the culture, ‘cause I’ve never been taught it. My impression was, like, “Uh-oh, they want to make me feel uncomfortable, because they speak a language that I don’t know. They are doing this on purpose. They wanna make me feel like this.” So that was mainly my impression. Just being young, that’s what I thought. (Connie, First individual interview, July 2005)

Connie said that this “My negative impression [lasted] through elementary to middle school, even to just before college” (Connie, Second Individual Interview, April 2007). Due to these negative experiences in childhood and middle school, Connie wanted to identify herself as American rather than Korean. However, when she encountered questions and comments from Americans such as “what are you?” or “You don’t

understand a word I am saying, do you? You don't speak English.", she experienced self-doubt regarding her Americanness as well as self-dislike.

It seemed that Connie's negative sense of self turned to a positive sense of self when she entered college where she had more opportunity to meet Koreans and learn about Korean culture and language. Whereas the question "what are you?" made her rethink what she was in middle school, she started to accept that others' question "what are you?" was due to their curiosity:

No, [the question "What are you?" doesn't bother me anymore], because, I mean, it did in high school, just 'cause I was so upset, 'cause if somebody asked it, then I had to, like, ask myself "Oh, then what am I?" I always just thought "I am Connie", you know. So, it did, like, early on in my teenage...early teenager years. But now it doesn't 'cause it's just curiosity. (Connie, First Individual Interview, July 2005)

As stated above, this change in Connie's sense of self was due to her cognitive and psychological maturity, which enabled her to think about her identities more abstractly, as well as the expansion of her social contexts and social relationships. These factors all enabled her to see the fluidity, multiplicity and idiosyncrasy of her identities.

Her positive sense of self which she built at the university continued with her journey to Korea to explore her interests in her Korean heritage which she had gained from meeting more Koreans and taking Korean language classes. As Connie stated, she seemed to be comfortable being both Korean and American:

When I was younger, I felt like I had to hide my head. Now I feel like I can go anywhere I want and feel comfortable with being American and Korean. I mean, I don't think I struggle with it anymore, like, I take pride in it now. (Connie, First Individual Interview, July 2005)

As an emerging adult, Connie attempted to find her life path through exploring her identity in different social and cultural milieu. As cited in Arnett,

Heinz (2002) discussed the characteristics of emerging adulthood: “(1) individuals construct their own life course by attempting to come to terms with opportunities and constraints concerning transition pathways and life stages. (2) Individuals select pathways, act, and appraise the consequences of their actions in terms of their self-identity in reference to social contexts which are embedded in institutions and markets” (p.58). After Connie returned to America, her journey to explore her heritage continued; she was motivated to work at a Korean enclave in Los Angeles. However, while working there, she felt disaffiliated from identifying herself as Korean American due to her disagreement with the values, beliefs and knowledge of other Korean Americans there:

*I think, I guess it was just working in that kind of ethnic community. I don't know if that's a good way to say it. But I guess I saw, like, a lot of indecisiveness. I think I saw some of, like, the old country values, some of, like, neo-Confucian values that carried over from Korea. I think I saw a lot of ways those older values can, like, I think, slow them down to some degree, and so, I think that maybe it kind of made me, like, I wanted to distance myself from it some more.... Maybe 1.5 generations, or Korean immigrants, I guess, I feel like **they** carry, like, some baggage-...which is fine, that a lot of values don't coincide with American ones. But, I mean, I'm trying to think of a good example at the moment...um, I guess, just like hierarchy, sometimes, I think, it would just be making things go through this hierarchy of, like, age and status and role. (Connie, Second Individual Interview, April 2007)*

During this same interview, Connie articulated her ways of viewing her ideas about Korean Americans. She did not think that she had full ownership of what it means to fit the label of 'Korean American' or possessed the same values and beliefs as other Korean Americans. Ethnic identity includes feelings and values that people have about their ethnic group membership and culture (Bernal and Knight, 1993, p.2). Connie's internship experience in Los Angeles made her realize that her values coincided more

with Americans than Koreans which in turn made her feel disaffiliated from other Korean Americans.

It is possible that Connie may have felt different once again from her Korean American coworkers because of her limited Korean fluency. She may have found herself more empowered, competent and secure in American society than in Korean society. As she said:

*Oh, I was working in a Korean town, like, once a week, and this internship, it was a nonprofit. So there were a lot of college students from, like, UCLA, who are Korean, and who are working there...Koreans whose parents are Korean, and **they**'re Korean American, I guess. And I was, and so the summer before, I was, like, in a Korean community in Korea, whereas here I was in a Korean American community. So, um, a lot of those interns, all the fellow interns with me were, um, **they** spoke fairly fluent Korean, and so I was the one **again**...one of a few...who didn't really speak any Korean...um...my overall thoughts on it were...(Connie, Second Individual Interview, April 2007)*

Connie explained why she changed her identification from Korean American to American. It seemed that having more opportunities to refine her positionalities in comparison to others in different social and cultural milieu helped her conclude that her identity was American. She stated:

... 'cause my first interview was [when I was] in Korea, I guess, I felt maybe more Korean at that time, 'cause I was immersed in Korean culture. My second interview was just a while ago, so I thought more white, more American.... Like, being in Korea that one summer, and being in Los Angeles...so I was, like, in a Korean environment and in a Korean American environment. I think because of those two experiences, I, kind of, was able to reconcile and...um...that's why I changed, kind of, my identification as just, like, being American after this past summer. This past summer in Los Angeles made me think about more (who I am). So I think that I found a middle point between, like, Korean and Korean American... Like, I am between. I don't feel completely strange and weird, like, in a room full of Koreans now but.. yeah, I don't feel weird anymore. So, like, it's kind of moving back to a medium point. (Connie, Second Individual Interview, April 2007)

As an emerging adult, Connie increased her awareness of the diversity within different Korean and Korean American communities and gained better understanding of the complexity of experiences related to ethnicity. As Phinney (2005) wrote, emerging adulthood is a period of “a great awareness of the diversity within their own group and other groups that can lead to an increased appreciation for the complexity of experiences related to ethnicity” (p. 121). In other words, young adults achieve their own conclusions about their identity, not necessarily based on others’ perceptions of their identities, but through finding a balance between others’ diverse perspectives and their own reflections on those. Connie also realized her difference from her Korean American coworkers in Los Angeles as well as her affiliation with American values and belief systems. According to Bernal et al. (1993), ethnic identity includes “the personal ownership of ethnic group membership and its correlated knowledge, understanding, values, behaviors, and feelings that are direct implication of that ownership” (p. 33). By being immersed in Korean American social and cultural milieu, Connie realized that she did not quite have personal ownership of Korean identity and its correlated knowledge, understanding, values, behaviors, and feelings. As Baker (2006) stated, people develop identities “through social comparison, labeling by others, dialogue within ourselves and with others, and through the experience of ever-varying contexts” (p.408). Connie’s experience in various contexts seemed to help her to find her sense of self in comparison to others. As she stated:

I am definitely not, like, Korean, but I am kind of Korean American, but kind of not, so I just kind of found my own space. And as, like, being 21 now, it’s more comfortable to say “Oh, here is my own space, and not needing to be, like, be a part of one specific group, like, it’s ok to take

traits from this group and this group. (Connie, Second Individual Interview, April 2007)

Thus, Connie's determination to hold her own space seemed to grow stronger. She did not seem to need to be a part of one group or another. As Connie said three months later in her dyad interview with her brother,

Now, I mean, it's not a big issue to me anymore, and when somebody says, really wants to know, like, if I am Korean, and what I know about Korean culture, I mean, it doesn't, I don't feel like that has any kind impact on my identity anymore. It's, like, "I'm Connie. I grew up in New Mexico. I lived in Louisiana. This is where I went to school." I mean, I don't really feel like it has that much of a bearing on you anymore. (Connie, Dyad Interview, July, 2007)

Moreover, as Connie came near to the time when she needed to make a decision about her life commitment in her career, her Korean identity did not have much of a bearing on her sense of identity anymore. As Phinney wrote (2005), young adults face the reality of deciding on a career, where to live, and what kind of social affiliations they want to make, which then leads them to think about the meanings and implications of their ethnicity. Therefore, it is possible that she thought that her Korean ethnicity did not matter to her career. As Connie said about her job interview process,

In fact, during one of my interviews this past week, I mean, he looked at my name like "Oh, you're Korean". Uh, I don't really know the answer to that. Like, "I guess so". I mean, he sees the name, so, I mean, it is Korean. So my last name, so I'm, like, "Yes", but I don't really feel like that. So, I mean, it is between, should I say, like, "Yes," or "No"? (Connie, Dyad Interview, July 2007)

Berry (1984) discussed that when labeling a person's racial/ethnic identity, one should consider subjective criteria of identity with and attachment to a group in addition to objective criteria of ethnic attributes such as name, appearance and genealogy. In the

above quote, Connie's comment indicated that she did not feel attachment to her Korean identity based on people's objective criteria of ethnic attributes for labeling others as Korean.

Connie also indicated that, as she grew older, she understood why her Korean father identified her as American. She understood that her father had not been denying her Korean heritage because she was not pure Korean but because of his Korean American immigrant identity and ideology. As an emerging adult, Connie saw parents as individuals and empathized and agreed with her father and came to understand her father's identification of himself and his children. Arnett (2006) discussed that "in emerging adulthood they come to see their parents as persons, not merely parents, and they empathize with them more than they did as adolescents" (p. 10). As Connie said:

As I got older, I asked my dad more about, like, his life, and tried to understand what his motivations in life were, so, ...um...I guess, just knowing that he came to America, and he set up his life here, and kind of made this commitment to becoming an American. (Connie, Second Individual Interview, April 2007)

Interestingly, Connie's evolving sense of identity coincided with her attitudes toward language learning. Connie, who had tried to achieve fluency in Korean by taking the intensive Korean class in Korea in her sophomore year of college, began to see that she would gain more in terms of her career after her internship in Los Angeles by learning Spanish. As discussed above, Norton wrote that symbolic investment in language learning is based on "the desire and need learners had for friends, education and religion, while material investment references the desire for capital goods, real estate and money" (p. 166). Connie initially stated that she wanted to learn Korean to understand her Korean heritage

that had been a mystery to her growing up. In the following quotation from her second interview, Connie mentioned that she also wanted to learn Korean to communicate with her Korean grandmother:

Yeah (with hesitation), ...um, ... Oh, also another thing, too, is my grandmother who spoke...didn't speak any English. She passed away this past year, so I think that's another reason why. That was always a large part of the reason why I wanted to speak Korean, so I could communicate with her. But maybe that is a part of reason...to her, like, now it is not as important to me anymore, 'cause the rest of the family also speaks English as well. (Connie, Second Individual Interview, April 2007)

Interestingly, Connie had mentioned during her first interview that when she was young, she thought that her Korean relatives spoke only Korean to isolate her. During her second interview, she reported that she did not need to speak Korean because the rest of her Korean family also spoke English. It is possible that her cousins who used to speak Korean when they were young may have felt more comfortable using English once they went to school.

After her internship in Los Angeles where she changed her self identification from Korean American to American, she seemed to feel a stronger affiliation with her Hispanic friends and Spanish culture than with Korean culture. Connie said,

Um, I think, now, I think Spanish is more important to me, because I am in more Spanish in New Mexico...Even in Chicago, I have a lot of Hispanic friends and Spanish culture is a lot more readily accessible than Korean culture. And I grew up understanding more about Spanish culture than Korean culture, so while, like, I think learning Korean was important for my own kind of identity, I think Spanish is more important to me now, because I think that I filled that gap with the little bit of Korean I learned. And now I would prefer to pursue becoming more fluent in Spanish, I think....um...I don't really see myself having to use it much in the future. (Connie, Second Individual Interview, April 2007)

Interestingly, whereas Connie mentioned in her first interview that she had felt ostracized by her Hispanic peers in elementary school, she reported during the above quotation that Spanish was more important to her now because she had a lot of Hispanic friends. It sounded like once she learned basic Korean language and about Korean culture to understand her own identity, her social relationships with her Hispanic friends and more exposure to Hispanic culture due to growing up in New Mexico became more important to her. Thus, Connie seemed to have a symbolic investment in learning Korean to understand her heritage and communicate with her Korean grandmother whereas she seemed to have a symbolic investment in pursuing more fluency in Spanish due to her previous exposure to Spanish culture and social relationships with Hispanic friends.

It is possible that Connie's relationship with Koreans and Hispanics in college caused her to lose interest in her symbolic investment in learning Korean.

I guess, if I did [if I dated a Korean], that [learning Korean] would be important...I don't really have much contact with, like, the Korean community in my own school...um...I have a whole diversity of friends, and they, all...most of them speak Spanish, too. (Connie, Second Individual Interview, April 2007)

Connie's affiliation and relationship with her Hispanic friends and Spanish culture caused her to have a stronger desire to invest in pursuing the Spanish language as she came near to starting her career. Connie seemed to change from seeing language learning as a symbolic investment to seeing it as a material investment. She talked about needing to acquire a range of skills and values necessary for her successful transition into work (Eccles et al., 2005) As she said:

Well, it [the Korean Language] was important to me before, but, I mean, I

studied, and I think that, I mean, logically if I wanna learn a second language, I'm much closer to achieving fluency in Spanish. So I mean that just rates a little bit higher for me on my scale. But I think Korean, like, it's a neat language...just so much structure. So I mean I will be interested in learning more about it later on as a hobby, but, I mean, in terms of business and what could be immediately beneficial to me, I think it's Spanish. (Connie, Dyad Interview, July 2007)

Connie's self-identification as American and her need and desire to acquire skills for her career as an emerging adult also seemed to influence her investment in the language with cultural capital in the business world. As Norton (2001) indicated, the desire to learn a language is interrelated with the language learner's investment in the social identity that they want to achieve. As Connie stated:

I guess I don't see myself investing much more time in learning Korean, but if the opportunity is, like, really accessible, then I would. So it is not as important, I would say. Just 'cause I have enough. I learned, like, the basics and foundation. So, I guess that's about...I think I am satisfied with that. (Connie, Second Individual Interview, April 2007)

She did not see the need for learning Korean because she thought that her fluency in Korean was good enough to understand who she was. Instead, she thought that she needed to learn the language that would most help her career and was more accessible to her. Connie's internship experience in Los Angeles seemed to reinforce this idea for her:

Right. 'Cause I would think that only I would really need, like, Korean fluency, if I was to go back to Korea. Like, when I was in the Korean community in Los Angeles this past summer, like, all of the business people, of course, were speaking English. So I guess that's why Korean is not as important to me anymore. (Connie, Second Individual Interview, April 2007)

The above discussion addressed Connie's identity development through the interplay between the developmental and environmental contexts in which she was situated. Her narratives showed how her experiences throughout her different development stages

influenced how her sense of her identity evolved. The study findings show that Connie and the other participants viewed their identity differently according to the interplay between their personal and situational characteristics. Their ways of looking at their identities changed based on their age, personality, relationship with social agents, and thoughts about others' perceptions of their image. With age, cognitive and psychological development, and the expansion of their social and cultural milieu, they became increasingly compelled to identify themselves in comparison to others. However, because they often encountered people's questions about their identities, they began to strategically and situationally maneuver their multiple identities based on their self-positionality relative to social agents with whom they are interacting and the social contexts in which they are situated.

Situational identity. Adolescence is a critical period of transition to adulthood. Ethnic groups and larger society make greater demands on adolescents based on societal and ethnic group norms and expectations regarding social behaviors, activities, and responsibilities to group memberships. Increasing awareness of racial issues and pursuit of more individualization and autonomy from their parents make adolescents prone to negotiating their identity strategically against other people's expectations (Miville et al., 2005). The participants in the present study discussed how the dissonance between their own ideas about their identities and the ideas and expectations of their parents, peers and other social actors led them to feel alienated, marginalized and ambiguous about their identities. To cope with this dissonance, the participants shifted their identities according to the contexts they were in, with whom they were interacting, and how they were positioning themselves in relation to others (Root, 1996). Renn's (2000) study also

showed that biracial and multiracial college students “demonstrated their ability to define themselves situationally and to create new spaces to express multiracial identity” to deal with the ways in which people socially construct, define, and categorize race and ethnicity (p. 405).

As the study by Miville et al. found, development of racial identity occurs “in response to a variety of people, places, and time periods” (p. 512). Miville et al. said that the multiracial participants in their study adopted the racial/ethnic label of the parent to whom they felt emotionally closest or whom they viewed as most dominant in the household (p.512). Miville et al.’s study showed that “certain time periods, in terms of experiencing being somehow ‘different’, also played an important role in participants’ racial identity development” (p. 513).

People develop situational identities based on the situational contexts that they are in. Ryutov and Neuman (2007) defined situational context as “the aspects of an interaction within an environment that suggest appropriate and expected behavior, risks, goals and value of interactions”. People make inferences regarding a situation based on their life experiences and socialization and select ‘particular aspects of their self identity’ accordingly.” (p. 4). Ryutov and Neuman (2007) also wrote that people “judge a situation and decide what the desirable outcome is and what [they] want[] to disclose” in this situation (p.4). The present study showed that the participants disclosed particular aspects of their identity in a given situation based on their questioner’s perceptions and expectations of them. They did not want the authenticity of their identity to be challenged. For this reason, the biracial adolescents in the study chose their identities based on particular aspects of their identities and on their interlocutors’ inquiries. The fact that the

participants created situational and strategic identities did not necessarily suggest that they were duplicitous, but that they had a multiplicity of identities and demonstrated their strategy for how to deal with people's dichotomous perspectives of their identities.

Individuals' identities change over time and depend on other social actors and situational contexts. The findings showed that the participants located themselves in relation to the person to whom they were speaking and the situational contexts they were in, and then decided which identity was appropriate at that point in time (as cited in Stephen and Stephen, 1989). The importance of belonging and the importance of autonomy change with age due to the interplay between developmental and environmental factors. Adolescents' identity development is influenced by how they construct the meaning of their sense of self in various situated contexts. Adolescents are more compelled to explore their choices of identities rather than being ascribed identities based on their parents' ethnic backgrounds and/or by other people's social categorizations. In addition, with age, individuals see their choice of identities not as being based unidimensionally on concrete and visual factors such as appearance, language, and surname but on multidimensional and abstract concepts.

It is important to add at this point that, as discussed above, the biracial adolescents in the present study came to see the multiplicity and fluidity of their identities as they developed cognitively and psychologically, expanded their social contexts, increased their own perspective-taking skills and became aware of historical and cultural contexts. This allowed them to identify, assess, and appropriate aspects of their identities based on a given situational context.

In contrast to the early adolescents in this study, who coped with othering experiences by developing a negative sense of self, the late adolescents and one emerging adult coped with othering experiences by adopting situational identities in relation to their self-positionality, other social actors, and socioculturally situated contexts. As Rotheram and Phinney (1987) wrote, ethnic self-identification is an evolving process of self-understanding in order to define oneself “concomitantly with the knowledge of others, one’s relationship to others, and the ability to verbalize this” (pp. 18-19). With age and time, the way of defining oneself in accordance with others’ perceptions changes with increasing perspective-taking skills, social awareness, and relationships with social agents. The biracial adolescents in the present study negotiated the dissonance between other people’s perceptions and their own perceptions of their identities by utilizing their situational identities. For example, Allen, who felt doubly otherized by the mainstream and by Asian ethnic groups, created a term that he could manipulate in his response to his interlocutors. Biracial adolescents often make up a label or look for a term that represents them well, when people categorize them with dichotomous societal categories without considering the complexity and multiplicity of their identities which do not fit *societal categories*. Allen explains:

I don’t completely know what I am, because there’s two sides, kind of, deciding, pushing different views, and just, I do what I do, and that’s why I, kind of, made up the word, because then they can’t really decide. They can’t really figure out, maybe, what my thought process is on what I identify myself as. So I can turn it any way I want when I don’t know. Maybe they get angry that I identify myself as something that they think I am not....

I guess on a casual look, I’m maybe not full Korean, maybe, I’m trying to say. Like, students here will identify me as Asian right away, but, like, if I meet another Asian person who actually, maybe, just recently transferred from China or Korea, they would be, like, you know, I am just this white,

*like everyone else here. Um, you know, I made up the word, I think, my freshman or sophomore year, **Whasian**. White Asian. And I like to use that, because it doesn't really make sense, it's not a normal word. It doesn't tag me as anything, so people can, you know, go off on me about "Oh, you're nothing like this", or in order to decide how to judge, you know, exactly what my cultural background or racial background is. So, I mean, I can explain it in any way I want to for the particular situation. Um, yeah, I still think that might...that having a Korean dad does affect me a little bit differently than other people, but for **the most part, I am just an American**.. with, you know, maybe a little knowledge of Korea that an average person might not know or with a little cultural background, but just a little. (Allen, Second Individual Interview, April 2007)*

Allen indicated that he assessed his situational contexts to decide what to disclose to satisfy the condition that the interlocutor had in his/her mind.

You can identify yourself however you find...or whatever you find works best in a situation, where you have to, I guess, please or at least satisfy the conditions that the person has set for you in their mind. So, I mean, identity is a personal finding for you... like, what you're thinking about how you belong in the world or culture or wherever you function as a whole. (Allen, Second Individual Interview, April 2007)

While Lopez (2004) pointed out that adolescents confirm outsider's assumptions or perceptions, the present study showed that, even though the biracial adolescents did not agree with others' perceptions or expectations of their race/ethnicity, they often gave an answer that met the others' assumptions. The participants did not want to explain or defend how they thought about their own identities because they constantly straddled racial/ethnic borders in terms of social contexts, others, and their self-reflection. The findings of this study showed that the biracial adolescents were not necessarily denying one identity over the other but navigating their identities and practicing situational identities with which they felt more comfortable. As Allen said,

You answer that question differently for different people. You're just trying to answer what pretenses they've already decided in their mind, and you're trying to, kind of, clear that up, like, if when you're with your friends, they know who you are, and you know who they are, and, I mean,

they know, like, where you live culturally, generally, how you've been brought up, and differences between your parents. So, when they ask what you are, I mean, it feels like you know exactly what they mean. They wanna know what, I mean, what Asian heritage it is, or what the differences are that they see in your cosmetic appearance. So you can give them just exactly what they want, because they don't have anything else attached to it. They just wanna know what your heritage is, so you can just say, "Yeah, Korean".. You really have to figure out what they're trying to find out. (Allen, Second Individual Interview, April 2007)

Like Allen, Connie indicated that she was aware of other people's perceptions of her otherness and how she coped with this:

I would say I do situationally as well. Um... I guess most people, they ask me just to justify like...the way you look. So, I say "Oh, I am part Korean", or sometimes, just to be annoying, I will be, like, "Oh, I am". like [they ask], "Oh, what half are you?", or, you know, "You are mixed. What are you?". I am, like, "Oh, I am half white". just like, to make them annoyed, kind of. Situational Identities. (Connie, Second Individual Interview, April 2007)

Similarly, Misoon commented that she usually answered her interlocutors' questions but did not necessarily disclose further information about her background to them.

I will go Korean or Hispanic depending on whatever they ask...Just when they are, like, "Oh,... you're like... "what is your ethnicity?". Then I say Korean and Hispanic. But if they're, like, "What kind of Asian are you?", then I just say "Korean", like I don't bring up, "Oh, but I'm half Hispanic, too". I just leave it in. I'm Asian. (Misoon, Second Individual Interview, March 2007)

Generally, the biracial adolescents in this study were not duplicitous but negotiated their multiple identities strategically for their benefit and empowerment. As Misoon said:

When I filled out my paper, actually, I was asking my math teacher about it. I was, like, "Should I put Korean or Hispanic?" and she's, like, "Well, Asian people are known to have higher IQs and, like, to be smarter, so you probably won't get as many scholarships for that, because they see you as,

like, most Asian people go to college. but Hispanic people, you guys, are like less likely to go to college, so you should put that, so that you are more likely to get that scholarship sort of thing". So for that, I used Hispanic to my advantage to better get financial aid stuff. (Misoon, Second Individual Interview, February 2007)

Basu (2007) and Root (1999) found that biracial individuals chose social contexts based on their identities. In contrast, the participants in the present study seemed to construct their identities based on the way in which they experienced events and social and cultural practices in various situated contexts in which they happened to participate voluntarily or non-voluntarily. The participants perceived, interpreted, and chose their identities within situated contexts; they exercised their situational identities in relation to their self-positionality, other social actors, and the socioculturally situated context (Gecas and Burke, 1995).

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

The present qualitative study examined the identity formation of four biracial adolescents of Korean and other racial/ethnic backgrounds and sheds light on biracial adolescents' life experiences and how these adolescents make sense of their experiences in relation to their identities. To understand biracial adolescents' identity formation, I focused on the following central question: How do students of mixed heritage (Korean plus another racial/ethnic background) come to understand their sense of self? This overarching question involved answering two specific questions: (1) what role do languages play in this process? and (2) what other experiences come into play in terms of self-identification?

Summary of Findings

The biracial adolescents in the present study were trying to answer the question "who am I?". They were also trying to resolve the dissonance that they experienced between their own perceptions and others' perceptions, including those of their school peers, parents, members of the Korean community and members of the mainstream, of their identities. Due to this dissonance, they developed a negative sense of self as well as feelings of shame, particularly when they were early adolescents. However, in later adolescence, the participants in this study tried to empower themselves by adopting a situational identity in order to maneuver within the dissonance between their perceptions and others'. The section below will discuss how these biracial adolescents made meaning of their experiences in relation to the dissonance that they experienced as they tried to answer the question of who they were through addressing the following issues in relation

to their identity formation: (1) the role of language in making sense of their life experiences and (2) making sense of their experiences of being biracial.

The role of language in biracial adolescents' identity formation. The present study showed that multiple factors influenced the life experiences of the biracial adolescent participants in relation to their identity formation. These multiple factors included the participants' physical appearance, first and last names, and the degree of their cultural and linguistic knowledge, and their attitudes toward and fluency in Korean, English and Spanish (Sueymoto & Tawa, 2009). As I untangled this web of factors influencing the participants' biracial identity formation, I realized that it was important to draw particular attention to the complex role of language. I questioned what exact roles languages play in the process of identity formation. I initially considered the role of language as permitting or denying the participants access to social and cultural practices in general. However, as I continued to untangle this web, I realized that I now needed to explain why the participants could not participate in Korean social and cultural practices in the first place.

In order to find answers to this question, I then had to explain why their parents socialized them in the cultural and social practices of the mainstream rather than in Korean ethnic cultural and social practices or both. I found that their parents' socialization practices resulted from their own linguistic and racial attitudes. However, I then realized that I needed to explain the origin of the parents' linguistic and racial attitudes and found them to be based on the ideology that people are marked as having a higher social status based on the language that they speak. I also realized that the parents' own experiences in society with various linguistic and cultural echelons also influenced

their socialization practices. They felt that their own limited English fluency was a handicap when living in the United States. They also thought that their children were real Americans rather than Koreans, foreigners or outsiders like they felt about themselves; their children were born here and spoke English without an accent or any difficulty. When I finally untangled the complex role of language in identity formation, I understood that the level of fluency in languages marks the social status of speakers and can be a gatekeeper to understanding their heritage and who they are, and to group membership (Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991; Garcia, 2005; Heller, 1987).

According to the study findings, the biracial adolescents felt incompetent, uncomfortable and insecure in contexts with their Korean-speaking counterparts, and did not feel that they had enough Korean linguistic and cultural knowledge to self-identify as Korean. Moreover, they recognized people's concept of defining Korean as monoethnic/monoracial which contradicted their biracial background. They felt unprepared to deal with both Koreans and Americans who questioned the authenticity of their multiple identities. Americans questioned their authenticity as Americans due to their physical appearance. Koreans questioned their authenticity as Koreans due to their physical appearance and lack of linguistic and cultural knowledge. Since language is a major medium by which children or novices of society are socialized and learn how to identify, interpret, conceptualize, and respond to culturally and socially constructed meanings in cultural and social practices (Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008; Tough, 1977), language becomes a border that biracial adolescents must encounter to construct social relationships and participate in social and cultural

practices so that they can build a sense of belonging by sharing experience, knowledge, and values (Heller, 1987).

Due to the fact that the biracial adolescents in the study could not speak Korean, they could not participate in or learn about Korean culture and the culturally bounded meanings in the wider range of Korean social and cultural practices. This impacted their identity formation and, as a result, they felt like they were missing a vital part of themselves. According to Brinthaupt and Lipka (2002), self encompasses “self knowledge; beliefs and ideas that people hold about themselves that are (relatively) stable across different situations and contexts” (p. 27). Therefore, for the biracial adolescents in this study, knowing about their Korean heritage pertained to their self, and their knowledge and feelings about themselves as a whole. Therefore, their parents’ socialization practices, which did not focus on Korean cultural and linguistic knowledge, influenced not only their understanding of their sense of self but also their performance in Korean sociocultural contexts. They felt unfulfilled because they had not been given any opportunities to explore the Korean side of their heritage. As Ochs (1986) indicated, “children and other novices in society acquire tacit knowledge of principles of social order and systems of belief (ethnotheories) through exposure to and participation in language-mediated interaction” (pp. 2-3). Due to this reason, the biracial children in this study who were not ethnically socialized had a hard time understanding the system of meanings in culturally and socially- bounded contexts because they had not participated in language-mediated interactions with other Koreans, which in turn blocked them from learning how to appropriately perceive, interpret and respond to social and cultural practices with Koreans.

The participants also thought that their linguistic and cultural knowledge were not sufficient enough for them to be able to function and perform in social and cultural practices with Koreans. This, in turn, exacerbated their feelings of dissonance and incompetence in comparison to their Korean-speaking counterparts. As Schechter and Bayley (1997) contended, “identities are seen as symbolic performances generated by individual choices of practices in fluid societal and situational contexts” (p. 513). However, it is important to add that language is tied to performance in social and cultural practices where one negotiates their positionality in a particular social and cultural context. The biracial adolescents in this study may have felt incompetent and marginalized in Korean-speaking contexts because of their nonparticipation in social and cultural practices with other Koreans.

As early adolescents, the participants were very sensitive about others’ recognition and approval of who they were. Therefore, their feelings of incompetence and not fitting into a given social and cultural context may have caused them to have a negative sense of self. Moreover, as Brinthaup and Likpa (2002) and Gay (1978) wrote, early adolescents are especially concerned with physical appearance associated with race and ethnicity and are extremely sensitive to others’ recognition and approvals. Moreover, the dissonance between the adolescents’ own perceptions and others’ perceptions of their identities may have also caused them to have a negative sense of self. Finkenauer et al. (2002) wrote that adolescents do not like to deviate from social norms. Indeed, when the participants in the study were in early adolescence, they did not want to associate with the Korean ethnic group because it deviated from the social norms.

When the biracial adolescents in the study became late adolescents, and one emerging adult, their autonomy from parents' social networks increased as did their awareness of the fluidity and multiplicity of their identities. Fluency in Korean was no longer a reason for them not to identify themselves as Korean. However, language still contributed to "their personal ownership of ethnic group membership of its correlated knowledge, understanding, values, behaviors and feelings" (Bernal et al., 1993, p. 33). According to Brinthaupt and Lipka (2002), "identity refers to specific aspects of self that are salient and activated by the social and environmental context in which the person functions" (p.28). Holland et al. (1998) also stated that, "the person acquires the ability to take the standpoint of others as she learns to objectify herself by the qualities of her performance in and commitment to various social positions" (p.4). Because the biracial adolescents knew that they could not perform well in the Korean community and they realized that having a Korean identity was not salient or related to their future plan, they did not have personal ownership of Korean ethnic group membership. Thus, they invested in learning languages based on the social and cultural capital that they wanted to obtain for their career, social relations, and self-fulfillment, and not necessarily for their identification as Korean.

Finally, it is important to address the issues of language loss in children in interracially married families, which is an issue that has not been examined in previous studies. The findings of the present study show that the biracial adolescents' language loss may be attributed to the language ideology that their parents adopted from both Korean and mainstream American society. Biracial children will be socialization through daily discursive practices. Based on the findings, it seems that the biracial adolescents

would have benefited from investing in learning their heritage language for their identity capital, and that this would have served as a foundation for them to fulfill their sense of self and commit themselves to Korean group membership. Whereas their immigrant parents thought that their own limited English fluency was a handicap in their adopted country because they regarded English as cultural and social capital, the adolescents felt handicapped, distanced and isolated from the Korean community because they could not understand the culturally and socially bounded meanings in social and cultural practices that they could have learned through language-mediated interactions with other Koreans.

The unexpected consequences of the immigrant parents' socialization of their children in their second language, English, instead of raising their children bilingually, may have resulted in the following: (1) the Korean parent's role as a primary social agent was reversed to being a novice which ended up to endow authority and power to their children in terms of the ownership of cultural capital in society; (2) the Korean parents were not able to communicate in depth with their children; and (3) the biracial children struggle to fulfill their sense of self and to participate in Korean social and cultural practices, which led them to feel incompetent, otherized, dissonant, and marginalized in Korean-speaking contexts.

Making sense of experiences of being biracial. The following discussion will address how the biracial adolescents in the present study made meaning of their experiences of (1) being otherized by both members of the mainstream and their Korean parent's ethnic group, (2) their parents' socialization practices, and (3) the evolution in how they made sense of their life experiences from early to late adolescence and emerging adulthood, in relation to their identity formation.

Experiences of being otherized. The biracial adolescent participants in the present study experienced being doubly otherized by members of the mainstream and by members of their Korean parent's ethnic group. Each of these adolescents was socialized by their Korean and other parent and even other socializing agents such as school, the media, and their peers to be a competent member of the mainstream American society. Yet, each of them wanted to find the missing puzzle piece to complete their sense of self since they had not yet had the opportunity to explore and learn about their Korean heritage. As a consequence, they sought and struggled to explore their identities in their day-to-day interpersonal encounters with members of the American mainstream and of the Korean ethnic community who questioned the authenticity of their identity as American and or Korean/Asian (Kibria, 2002; Suyemoto & Tawa, 2009)

These biracial adolescents' experiences of being otherized may have resulted in part from their parents' socialization practices that did not emphasize transmitting Korean linguistic and cultural knowledge to their children. Since their parents were not aware of their children's experiences of being biracial and discouraged their children from identifying with their Korean heritage, these adolescents seemed to feel that they should not claim their Korean heritage as a part of their identification because they were not so-called "pure Korean". The biracial adolescents also felt ostracized and marginalized in Korean-speaking contexts because they did not have enough Korean linguistic and cultural knowledge to be able to perceive, infer, and respond to these situational contexts appropriately. This in turn led them to feel incompetent, insecure, and uncomfortable interacting with their Korean-speaking counterparts. This may also have led them to be disinterested in situating themselves in Korean social and cultural milieu. As a result,

they lost many opportunities to experience the ways in which Korean ethnic group members share knowledge, values, and beliefs which would have given them a sense of belonging.

As Jung and Lee (2004) discussed, “cultural identity is conceptualized as a socially and historically constructed outcome of locating the ‘self’ in relation to interactions with ‘others’” (147). Jung and Lee’s study on Korean American students shows the positive relationship between Korean ethnic identity and ethnically oriented cultural and social interactions within the Korean diasporic community. However, the present study suggests that biracial adolescents locate themselves as “others” due to their physical appearance and because they do not know how to perform in culturally and socially sensitive ways in their cultural and social interactions within the Korean community, as well as their appearance. This contributed to their feeling of being incompetent, uncomfortable, isolated and marginalized. Other people’s question, “what are you?”, often reminded them that their appearance does not quite fit to the norm of the mainstream as well as from the members of the Korean community including their own Korean parents, who shot down their self-identification as Korean (Williams, 1996).

As the case of Connie indicated, Korean American students who have continually been questioned about their identification as “American” by those in the dominant culture rethink and reconstitute their “self” and relocate their cultural identity in response to these cultural encounters. Their daily cultural encounters with Korean community members and the dominant group members lead them to reflect on and define their identity (Jung and Lee, 2004). For example, in her early adolescence, Connie was asked by members of the mainstream “what are you?”, which made her struggle with her

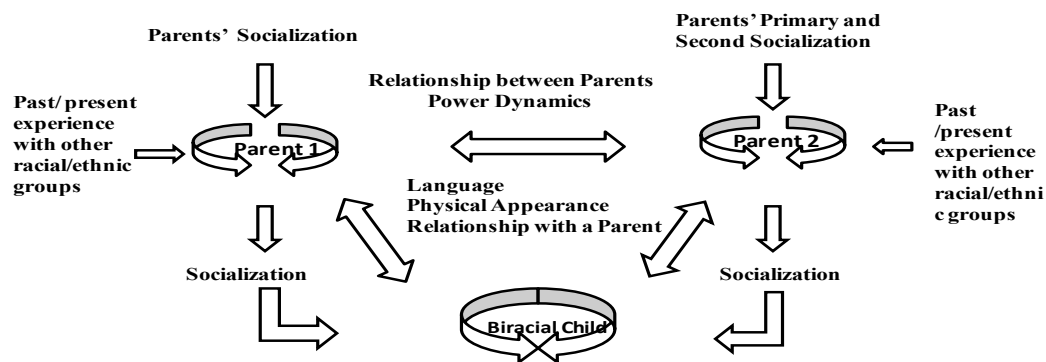
identity. She felt conflicted about her identity because, on the one hand, people challenged her identity as American which she thought she had been all along. On the other hand, she did not want to identify as Korean, which deviated from the social norm, and she did not have a sense of belonging or commitment to the Korean community due to her unfamiliarity with her own Korean heritage. Then, when Connie entered the university, she was motivated to learn about her Korean heritage, due to her cultural and social interactions with other Korean American students who seemed to share a common cultural bond based on their Korean ethnic socialization and, as a result, she reshaped her identity to be American.

Experiences of parents' socialization practices. In the present study, the biracial adolescents were deeply influenced by their parents' socialization practices that did not emphasize ethnic socialization. As stated above, their parents did not pass on Korean cultural values, Korean language, Korean ethnic pride, attributes of the Korean ethnic group, or awareness of racial barriers and discriminations, to their children. Critical theory contributes to understand how the ownership of cultural and social capital of white, middle class creates unequal relations of power in society which in turn impact minority parents' socialization practices to socialize their children to obtain symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1991; Popkewitz, 1999). This contributed to biracial adolescents' struggle to understand their sense of self and to their experiences of being otherized due to their inability to perform appropriately in Korean sociocultural contexts. However, their parents were not aware of their children's experiences of being biracial or of how their children came to understand their parents' socialization practices in relation to their identity.

Rockquemore and Laszloffy (2005) said that the way in which parents racially socialize their children are influenced by their prior racial experiences, socialization, and understanding of the world. Rockquemore's following model, figure 7, illustrates multiple and complex factors which influence biracial children's identity development. However, Rockquemore's model is based on black and white mixed-race people and their both parents are American born, the model did not indicate the influence of immigrant's primary and secondary socialization. Immigrant parents may adopt or internalize racial hierarchy and socially constructed meanings attached to racial/ethnic group in the host society in addition to their primary socialization. In addition, this model emphasizes high possibility of conflicting messages between parents who have different racial backgrounds and yet does not take into account of how power relations between parents due to the ownership of cultural and social capital influence children's socialization.

Rockquemore and Laszloffy (2005) stated that white parents' own ways in which they were socialized may influence their unawareness of racial inequalities or insensitivity to issues around people of color. Whereas, even though immigrant parents experienced racial inequalities, their ideology which views their children as Americans not as foreigners or outsiders may not raise to them a need to socialize their children with issues around race. In addition, the model did not take into account language socialization as a factor influencing children's identity development. Moreover, even though Rockquemore and Laszloff pay attention to the relationship between parents as an influencing factor of biracial children's identity formation, power dynamics between parents which are based on the degree of cultural and linguistic capital was not addressed. Therefore, adopting Rockquemore and Laszloff's framework, figure 7 provides more

specific information based on Korean/American interracial married families with the dynamics that parents' different socialization (primary and secondary socialization) and experiences play in biracial children's socialization processes.



Note. Parent 1 is an American-born parent and parent 2 is a foreign born parent.

Figure 8. Parental Factors on Biracial Children's Racial/Ethnic Identity Development. Based on The model: Parental Factors That Influence Racial Identity for Biracial Children, by Rockquemore and Laszloff, 2005, Oxford, UK: AltaMira Press.

Due to their parents' socialization practices, the biracial adolescents in this study did not have a good grasp of their Korean heritage which they thought was a part of them despite the fact that their parents thought that they were authentic Americans. As Connie, one of participants, said, "*The Korean language and culture are always kind of like a mystery*". Due to their parents' ideology which was closely linked to values and beliefs of the mainstream and did not include Korean cultural and social practices or guided

participation in Korean linguistic and cultural milieu, the biracial adolescents did not know much about their Korean heritage.

According to Quian (2004), ethnic Asians who come from traditionally homogenous and patriarchal societies may not consider their biracial children as part of their ethnic communities. In the present study, the parents' socialization practices were very closely related to their ideology which valued English and American identity. Because these immigrant parents viewed language as cultural and social capital, they invested in their new identity as immigrants and the authenticity of an American identity for their children by socializing themselves and their children in the language of power and of the values, beliefs, and social and cultural norms of the mainstream. The parents placed importance on their children being 'American', which inadvertently devalued the Korean culture and language in their daily discourse and socialization practices. As Diamond (1994) stated, language use in the interracial family represents the echelon of linguistic and cultural capital among languages because the language of power and privilege likely becomes the household language. Their parents' socialization practices put their children in a bind about understanding who they were.

Experiences from early to late adolescence and emerging adulthood. The discussion below will address two important issues in how the biracial adolescents in the present study evolved in the ways in which they made sense of life experiences and came to negotiate the multiplicity, fluidity, and idiosyncrasy of their identities in relation to their identity formation, including (1) the evolving nature of their identity formation from early to late adolescence and to emerging adulthood, and (2) their adoption of a situational identity in various sociocultural contexts.

The evolving nature of identity formation. This study contributes to the evolving nature of biracial adolescents' identity formation. As discussed above, when the participants were in early adolescence, they viewed their identities based on visual and concrete aspects of themselves. However, in later adolescence they gained maturity, understanding their identities more abstractly, as being multifaceted and fluid. This study showed how the dialectic interplay between the personal characteristics of the participants themselves and the characteristics of their environment influenced their identity formation as biracial individuals. As Lesko (2001) contended, adolescent growth and change are a result of an interaction between characteristics and traits and social influences and opportunities (p. 195).

When the participants were in early adolescence, they dealt with the dissonance between their own and others' perceptions of their identities differently than when they were in later adolescence. This was due to the different lenses through which they viewed their identities in divergent contexts as older adolescents in combination with the expansion of their social contexts and their growing cognitive and psychological maturity, which enabled them to think about their biracial backgrounds more positively.

As the biracial adolescents in the study grew into late adolescence, they sought more autonomy from their parents and built their own social networks and lives that were separate from their parents'. They evolved in their interpretations of identity-related events and their sense of self and identity based on the interplay between their own individual characteristics, including their developmental stage, and the characteristics of the situations that they were in. Their ways of looking at their identities changed based on factors such as their gender, increasing age, unique personality characteristics,

relationships with social agents other than their parents, and reflections about others' perceptions of their image.

Maneuvering dissonance through adopting situational identity. In late adolescence and emerging adulthood, all of the biracial adolescents in this study learned to negotiate their multiple identities by consciously shifting the ways in which they identified their racial and ethnic background in different cultural and social milieu. People with binary and unidimensional perspectives toward defining identity often regarded these biracial adolescents' multiple identities as duplicitous, impulsive, and unpredictable. However, the biracial adolescents in this study learned to strategically and situationally maneuver within the dissonance between people's perceptions and their own perceptions of their identities as a result of their cognitive and psychological maturity, and the expansion of their social contexts which compelled them to explore their identities. When they were challenged by people's binary perspectives on what they were (for example, others' questions and comments such as, "Are you really Korean?", "You don't look Korean", "You are not Asian", and "Why is your last name Hispanic?"), they learned to present their identities based on how they positioned themselves in relation to the social agents with whom they were interacting and the sociocultural milieu in which they were situated. As they became late adolescents, and an emerging adult, all of the participants found, in their ways, that their identities were multiple, complex and fluid.

In sum, the findings of this study suggest that biracial adolescents feel otherized due to their physical appearance, and lack of tacit knowledge of Korean cultural and social practices. Importantly, since parents do not ethnically socialize their children, their biracial adolescents are not prepared to deal with societal discrimination and stereotypes

toward minorities. Therefore, biracial adolescents struggle to find their sense of self and to define their identities in different cultural and social milieu.

To foster the positive identity development of biracial adolescents, I provide some suggestions for parents, schools and communities in the following section. I discuss why it is imperative for parents to socialize their children through their heritage language as well as other issues. I also provide recommendations for a positive identity formation for biracial adolescents and ways to foster minority languages.

Implications of the Study

In the following discussion, I will address the implications of the present study, including implications regarding the roles that families, ethnic communities, and educators, including heritage language educators, play in children's identity formation. I will also address the role that the racial and linguistic echelon plays in multicultural families in Korea, which also gives insights into the socialization practices of the Korean parents in this study.

The role of families in biracial youth's identity formation. The findings of the study showed that the parents played a critical role in their biracial children's identity formation due to the fact that they were not aware of their children's experience of being biracial and how their own daily discourse and socialization practices did not focus on recognizing the multiplicity of their biracial children's identities. This, in turn, influenced their children's personal, situational, and relational experience relative to their identity formation. The implication of these findings suggests that parents need to examine their daily discourse and socialization practices that might lead their children to have a negative sense of self. For example, parents should be aware of their biases and

stereotypes of different racial/ethnic groups and of the racial hierarchy which might lead their children to have a negative sense of their own heritages. Parents' attitudes toward different cultures may discourage their children from exploring their various choices of identities relative to their racial/ethnic heritages. As one of the participants, Connie, suggested, parents need to discuss racial discrimination and othering experiences that their children will encounter as minorities. Parents also need to recognize the complexity of their biracial children's identity formation and provide opportunities for their children to explore their choices of identities.

Jones's and Morris's (2005) study suggested that parents' negotiation of their power relations, roles, and responsibilities determines who the "language decision-maker" is at home. That is, parents' attitude toward their spouse's languages and cultures influences not only their socialization practices which determine their preference of language use at home but also their children's hierarchical attitudes toward which languages and cultures are better than others. In interracial families, it is easy for the parent who has the cultural and social capital of mainstream society to be portrayed as the most desirable and powerful parent since that parent can offer more guidance and linguistic and sociocultural knowledge to their children than the other minority parent.

This study also suggests that heritage language loss can easily happen in interracial families since many children are not ethnically socialized in an ethnic language, which, in turn, discourages their performance in the social and cultural practices of the ethnic group. Because they do not have opportunities to participate in those social and cultural practices, they do not have shared experiences which then give them a sense of belonging. For heritage language maintenance, Bayley et al. (1996)

suggested a 'household ban' on English for bilingualism at home. However, since the common language in interracial married couples is English, this study suggests that the language policy of not speaking English at home does not work.

Parents' daily discourse about each others' culture and language need to be respectful because biracial adolescents are a part of both parents' heritages. Parents need to show a positive attitude toward learning their spouse's language and culture so that their biracial adolescent children learn that both cultures are equal and that there is not a hierarchy between them. Both parents and their children should be bilingual because children learn from their parents' modeling and attitudes. The use of one particular language both inside and outside the home may convey to their children that that language is more important than the other because it has more visibility which conveys its legitimacy in society.

Blum-Martinez (2002) and Pao et al. (1997) discussed parents play an active role in promoting bilingualism in their children. These two studies showed that parents' positive attitudes toward bilingualism as well as their socialization practices conveyed the message to their children that being bilingual and bicultural brought social acceptance in both cultures. Particularly, Pao et al.'s study showed that parents of monolingual biracial children thought that membership in the minority group was a setback and never discussed being a minority with their children. However, the parents of bilingual biracial children in Pao et al.'s study valued the language, culture, and customs of the minority parent which in turn led their children to be proud of both of their heritages and to have a positive sense of self. Whereas the importance of immigrant parents' socialization of their children in their first language has been addressed in various studies (Lee & Shin,

2008; Schecter & Bayley, 1997; Shin, 2005; Wong Fillmore, 1991; Wong Fillmore, 2000; Zhang, 2008), these studies have not addressed the importance of parents' bilingualism in both English and in their heritage language. The present study, however, shows that it is important for parents to be able to communicate with their children in a wide range of contexts and thus they need to be bilingual and informed about schooling, media, and other institutions that their children participate in. They should not assign the parent from the mainstream background to deal with most of the affairs relevant to their children's socialization in the mainstream. Both parents need to establish a symmetrical relationship of power and authority in their children's socialization and respect and learn about their spouse's culture and language. Even though it is a challenge for parents to provide materials to their children in both languages, they need to expose their children to both languages and to social and cultural practices in both racial/ ethnic groups that the parents belong to. When children's exposure to the language of the minority parent is extremely limited, and when the minority parent's English is proficient, the minority parent may find that it is easier and more convenient to use English at home. However, it is imperative for the minority parent to consciously make the effort to use the first language.

One of the important findings from the study is that first- generation biracial adolescents struggle to find the answer to their question about who they are because their parents did not address the experience of being a minority or of being mixed heritage. Open conversations with parents and family members are needed to prepare biracial adolescents for other people's challenges to their multiple identities. Parents need to examine their own ideology that promotes a certain regime of cultural and linguistic

capital because their biracial adolescent children feel obligated to choose one identity over another.

Interestingly, the findings of this present study show that some of the Korean parents did not speak or teach Korean to their children because they did not see the point of communicating with their children in Korean and they themselves were proficient in English. Some of the Korean parents in the study reported that they had a hard time retrieving Korean words because they did not use Korean at home . Most of them said that their prolonged stay in their host society as an immigrant as well as the fact that they had very little or no contact with speakers of their first language made them feel more comfortable using English over Korean. Köpke and Schmid (2004) referred to this phenomenon as language attrition, or “the erosion of the L1 system that healthy emigrant[s] experience after a prolonged stay in a foreign language environment” (p. 1). Previous researchers have written about immigrant parents who discouraged or prohibited their children from using the minority language at home so that they could achieve fluency in the language of power and avoid discrimination, stigmatization or racism based on their accent in English or limited fluency in English (Ecke, 2004). However, the findings of this study showed that immigrant parents’ fluency in English also influenced negatively the need to use their first language at home.

The findings of the present study also showed that social relations with extended families also influence the biracial adolescent children’s motivation to learn their heritage language. Relatives’ attitudes toward a minority or a majority group contribute to biracial adolescents’ positive or negative sense of self. That is, biracial adolescents may perceive their heritage negatively if their relatives make comments based on stereotypes and biases

toward the minority groups that their parents come from. Therefore, experiences with extended families can contribute positively or negatively to biracial adolescents' identity formation.

The role of ethnic community in biracial youth's identity formation. The findings of the present study showed that biracial adolescents felt marginalized in Korean community settings because other Korean community members objected to their self-identification as Korean. Korean immigrants who have an ideology that defines Korean as monoracial/monoethnic may not regard biracial children as members of the Korean community. Also, their belief that an American identity is more valuable and has a higher status than a Korean identity for immigrants may influence their responses to biracial adolescents' self-identification as Korean. However, biracial adolescents who do not understand Korean adults' objection to their self-identification as Korean may think that their mixed heritage is not authentic enough for them to self-identify as Korean in comparison to their monoracial/monoethnic Korean counterparts.

Most participants in the study attended a Korean American church. Whereas studies have shown that Korean American churches have a positive influence on the Korean identity of Korean American students (Cha, 2001; Pak, 2003), the present study showed that Korean American churches reinforced the biracial adolescents' estrangement from the Korean community because they were not familiar with the Korean linguistic and cultural knowledge necessary for appropriate social interactions in Korean cultural and social milieu that are based on rules of hierarchies such as age, social status, and relationship. As Pak (2003) indicated, Korean monolingualism and Korean literacy are privileged in most Korean social and cultural events in Korean American settings which

in turn promotes feeling of estrangement in children of Korean immigrants who are not proficient in Korean. Thus, the study findings suggested that community events should be conducted bilingually so that biracial adolescents and other second- generation immigrants can have a better understanding of the social and cultural knowledge embedded in these events. The participants said that they often felt marginalized in Korean community activities and social gatherings with Koreans because they did not understand the Korean language. Thus, more social and cultural activities should be conducted in both languages so that children can learn the knowledge, values, and beliefs of both cultures through their participation.

Wong Fillmore (2000) suggested that ethnic cultures and languages can survive through community action. However, many immigrant communities have the ideology that English fluency signals higher status than their first language fluency because it gives access to cultural and social capital. Immigrant communities that have witnessed many instances where the lack of English fluency became a handicap, and they could not defend themselves or their security and their rights, or save face, may not encourage an environment for maintaining or transmitting the heritage language. Wong Fillmore (2000) also brought special attention to Asian immigrant communities that focus on strong achievement orientation through English proficiency rather than loyalty to their heritage language. Therefore, Asian immigrant communities need to make a great effort to retain their heritage languages and, at the same time, find a way to socialize the second generations of immigrants to understand the social and cultural knowledge necessary to be a part of the Korean American community.

The role of educators in biracial youth's identity formation. The findings of the present study suggest that educators' ideologies and practices legitimize the ways in which the mainstream reinforces institutional power and regards minority cultures as deviating from the norm. As Valdes et al. (2006) suggested, educators need to examine the role that educational institutions play in promoting how society values some languages over other languages in different social and cultural contexts: "[t]he educational system [therefore] plays an important role in both the legitimization of particular ways of speaking and the devaluing of popular or regional modes of expression" (p. 256). Celedon-Pattichis (2004) emphasized that educators need to critically examine how societal power relations between the dominant and dominated groups transfer in communities and schools.

As Apple (2004) suggested, educators need to build a sense of community grounded in an ethic of caring and connectedness rather than a hierarchy among different cultures and languages. Wright et al. (2000) listed points in favor of this position, stating that schools need to "reflect broader societal values of diversity and multiculturalism" through "the maintenance of minority languages and culture, improvement in school retention and academic success among minority children, inclusion of parents and the minority community in the educational process, and the need for multiculturalism" (p.63). When school becomes a place that values equality and sanctions the diversity of culture, it will be a foundation for the successful integration of America. Students' diverse cultures will need to be reflected in the curriculum, and minority communities will need to be actively involved and viewed as educational resources. Galindo (1997) wrote that ESL parents are often covertly classified as incompetent and unqualified because in

schools and a wider range of social contexts, languages other than English are not recognized as linguistic capital. Therefore, these parents lose their legitimate social position both at school and at home in terms of the education of their children. Therefore, educators should create environments that legitimize and value a diversity of languages and cultures through minority parental involvement and visibility in the school. When schools provide a safe, open, truthful, and sensitive environment in which to talk about conflict, stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination, children learn to appreciate their heritage as well as others’.

School curricula also need to represent diverse cultures and languages. It seems that minority adolescents may not want to identify with ethnic groups that are not included in the curriculum because they seem invisible and inferior. The invisibility of minority cultures and languages in the curriculum can convey a sense of illegitimacy and mismatch with the institutional power. Since adolescents evaluate their social competence based on their membership in hierarchical social groups, they may avoid membership in groups with lower status in relation to the echelon of society.

The role of heritage language educators in biracial youth’s identity formation. Heritage language educators often assume that students of Korean heritage already possess Korean fluency and Korean cultural knowledge. However, they should be aware of students’ various degrees of ethnic socialization and the diversity of heritage language learners (Wallace, 1998). Instead of embarrassing students by pinpointing what they do not know and what they should have known, teachers should bridge from their prior knowledge to the curriculum. As one of my former students once said, knowing Korean would have been beneficial to her so that she should better understand her mother

and her heritage. Thus, it is important for Korean language schools to serve as bridge for Korean American children to understand Korean parents' culture and language.

Moreover, minority parents are often portrayed as novices of society and do not have the cultural capital that their American parent and their American peers' parents possess.

Korean language schools should provide opportunities for Korean parents to teach at the schools as masters of Korean culture and language. Korean language educators also need to teach students about specific rules for interacting with other Koreans and about the cultural background of social and cultural activities with Koreans so that the students have a better understanding of their Korean parents and other Korean community members.

As a Korean language teacher myself, I realized that many of my students were not motivated to take a Korean language class because this would not give them foreign language credits. Heritage language and other educators as well as policy makers need to open the door to legitimize credits for learning diverse languages. The legitimacy of language is recognized when it can be used for the materialistic gain.

When teaching at a Korean language school, I also saw that many students there misunderstood their Korean parents' behaviors and regarded them as weird and inappropriate in terms of the rules of social interaction in mainstream America. Korean parents who are not exposed to a wide range of social and cultural contexts in the host society may not know how to appropriately behave in different contexts. Therefore, Korean language schools could provide workshops to inform and educate Korean parents about the American school system and about linguistic and cultural knowledge in which their children are being socialized. In most cases, parents who are socialized in the

mainstream are responsible for all matters related to their children's schooling. Both parents in an interracial marriage need to be actively involved in socializing their children to function in both communities. Immigrant parents need to be bilingual and bicultural so that their children do not regard them as an undesirable socialization agent which would put immigrant parents in a bind because they would not know about their children's lives.

The racial and linguistic echelons in biracial youth's identity formation in Korea. This study draws special attention to Korean parents' ideology, and attitudes toward discourse around racial hierarchies and Koreans as monoracial/monoethnic, which they brought to America from Korea. The biracial youths in the present study perceived that their parents and other Korean community members were conveying to them that being biracial meant that they might not be authentically Korean.

Korea's racial demographics have changed since non-Korean immigrant workers began coming to Korea in 1990, and foreign brides began coming to Korea to marry Korean farmers and fishermen in 1997 (Cho, 2006). Most Koreans have always thought of their country as a racially and ethnically homogeneous one, which has been a source of national pride. Thus, local and national educational departments have not been prepared to educate the children of immigrants who learn Korean as their second language. In addition, most Koreans regard children from multicultural family backgrounds as non-Koreans. Therefore, Korean society does not consider the social problems or educational failures of the children of multicultural families to be the responsibility of Korean society.

Kim's (2005) study of a multicultural family in Korea indicated that children of multicultural family suffer in many aspects: (1) they have difficulty in developing their social skills and in achieving academically because of their language barrier, (2) they

have low self-esteem due to their experiences of social prejudice and poor relationship with their teachers who might also be contaminated by societal prejudice and stereotypes about multicultural families, and (3) they have not received any support for constructing a positive sense of themselves either in school or at home. Moreover, the study by Lee et al. (2008) showed that these multicultural children's language development was affected negatively by the limited Korean fluency of their non-Korean mothers whose linguistic input into their interactions with their children was very limited.

Interestingly, many studies that have looked at the social problem of children of multicultural families in Korea have focused on the responsibility of multicultural mothers' limited Korean fluency for their biracial children's maladjustment and educational failure in society (Hwang & Jeong, 2008; Jo et al., 2008; Kim *et al.*, 2008; Kim & Shin, 2007; Lee & Chae, 2007). These studies have also shown that due to the limited Korean fluency of multicultural mothers, their children often ignore or mistrust their mothers' parenting.

The study by Hwang and Jeong (2008) reported that non-Korean mothers desired to improve their Korean to better communicate with their children and to be able to understand letters from their children's school. Due to their lack of linguistic and cultural knowledge, they felt devastated when their children got frustrated with them for not being able to communicate with them about what happened in school. This led their mothers to worry about their relationship with their children. Drawing on Wong Fillmore's study, Hwang and Jeong discussed that language barriers between parents and children can cause parents' inability to socialize their children as their primary socialization agent and have negative consequences in building close relationships between parents and children.

In addition, multicultural mothers who are pressured by their in-laws and Korean society to speak Korean to their children feel insecure about their children's Korean education due to their own lack of cultural and linguistic knowledge of Korea. Oh (2005) reported that non-Korean mothers have full responsibility for raising their children even though they themselves are not yet adjusted to their new cultural and linguistic context. In turn, this has a negative influence on the social development and academic achievement of their multicultural children. Multicultural children can experience double discrimination for having a mixed heritage and they can also experience hierarchical relations of race mixing which result in greater discrimination against race mixing with African American than with European American background (Root, 2001; Valverde, 1992).

Studies on multicultural families in Korea (Kim et al., 2008; Oh, 2006) usually pay attention to non-Korean parents' maladjustment to the society as a problem for children from multicultural families. However, these studies rarely discuss the importance of non-Korean parental contribution to multicultural education in Korea. I would argue that studies related to multicultural families should have focused instead on why these mothers had to decide to socialize their children in their second language and how Korean society can support bilingualism in socializing these multicultural children.

Wong-Fillmore (1991) discussed the negative impact of socialization in parents' second language. Studies on Korean multicultural families indicated that the limited Korean fluency of non-Korean mothers interfered with their children's language development and influenced their relationship with their non-Korean parents. However, these studies did not pay attention to the parents' decision about their language policy at

home. Socialization in second language use was important for both the Korean immigrant parents in the present study who decided to choose an American identity and English language for their children's socialization and the non-Korean mothers of multicultural families in Korea who chose the Korean language and Korean identity for their children. This shows the hierarchical relations of social and cultural capital between developed and underdeveloped countries and how it influences parents' and societal decision on the socialization of children (Jo et al., 2008). I argue that this, in turn, leads to the vicious cycle of promoting a certain regime of cultures and languages which deprive children of opportunities to understand their heritage and to build a positive sense of self.

Further Research Recommendations

During my research journey in the present study, I realized that Korean immigrants' ideology reinforces cultural and linguistic echelons of the mainstream toward minority groups in America. Koreans in America are losing their heritage language quickly. As I have witnessed and experienced several language minority's struggles, experiences of discriminations, and feelings of shame due to their limited English fluency, I have recognized the vicious cycle of discrimination that has repeated itself in the history of the United States. Minorities adopt the ideology of cultural and linguistic hierarchy to gain a more legitimate social status than other minority groups. Thus, it is necessary for minorities to build liaisons with other minority groups and stand together for social justice for all. Then, we can truly say "America is for all".

Through studying biracial children's identity formation in relation to languages, I became more aware of Korean immigrants' racial and linguistic attitudes. Korean

immigrants have adopted an assimilation ideology where they leave their heritage and language behind to be real Americans.

While I did not focus in the present study on identity formation based on gender, a comparison study based on gender would provide further insights into the ethnic identity formation of biracial adolescents. The present study draws special attention to parental ideology and discourse around racial hierarchy and the view of Korean identity as being monoracial/monoethnic. Therefore, it is important to conduct other studies that investigate this issue further. For example, it would be worthwhile to conduct research on beliefs and values embedded in discourses about multicultural families in the media, educational institutions, and other contexts. This would provide information that will help educators, policy-makers, and teachers better understand the feelings and needs of mixed heritage children.

I want to conclude with more questions that will be needed to address issues around language and identity. Given the extent of diverse backgrounds of interracially married couples, which racial/ethnic backgrounds are more likely to retain their languages? What are factors that influence identity formation of minority adolescents over time? Do parents' educational backgrounds and socioeconomic status influence their children's bilingualism? How do parents' attitudes and ideologies toward bilingualism impact minority adolescents' identity development and heritage language maintenance? What aspects do interracially married couples ethnically socialize their children? How do parents' attitudes toward bilingualism impact on their children's language development?

Limitations

It is important to address three limitations of the present study. First, the biracial adolescents who participated in the study all lived in the southwestern region of the United States. Thus, while these findings provide insights into the identity formation of these participants, they cannot be generalized beyond this sample. However, the findings may be transferable to other similar settings and participants. Second, the present study did not focus on variation in social class. Since the biracial adolescent participants were the first generation of their families to be biracial, it is possible that their parents' own social class may have influenced their socialization practices, which in turn may have influenced their children's ethnic identification. Some argue that the higher one's social class, the less likely that this individual will identify with a "lower-status" racial group and the more likely he or she will identify as being multiracial rather than as being monoracial. Third, two of the four participants in the present study came from non-traditional family structures. They lived with their Korean mothers and their step fathers (one step father was Korean American and the other was Anglo American) rather than their biological fathers. This may have influenced these participants' relationships with their biological fathers which in turn may have led them to put more or less importance on one identity over another due to their relationships with their parents.

In spite of these limitations, the present study sheds light on the ways in which biracial youth negotiate the multiplicity, fluidity, and idiosyncrasy of identities despite societal dichotomous racial/ethnic labeling. Furthermore, this study shows that heritage language serves as an important foundation for biracial youth as they explore their choices of identities and move toward fulfilling their sense of self.

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