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ACCEPTANCE

This dissertation, LANGUAGE, CULTURE, AND IDENTITY: A CASE STUDY OF KOREAN AMERICAN TRANSNATIONAL ADOLESCENTS, by MYOUNG EUN PANG, was prepared under the direction of the candidate's Dissertation Advisory Committee. It is accepted by the committee members in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree, Doctor of Philosophy, in the College of Education & Human Development, Georgia State University.

The Dissertation Advisory Committee and the student's Department Chairperson, as representatives of the faculty, certify that this dissertation has met all standards of excellence and scholarship as determined by the faculty.

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LANGUAGE, CULTURE, AND IDENTITY: A CASE STUDY OF KOREAN AMERICAN TRANSNATIONAL ADOLESCENTS

by

MYOUNG EUN PANG

Under the Direction of Dr. Peggy Albers

ABSTRACT

Despite the increase of diversity in transnational youth in the United States, little research has studied this unique population of transnational youth and their transnational contexts. In particular, little research has been conducted to investigate the identity of transnational youth in adolescence with their own voices in terms of language and culture. Thus, this study aimed to explore the linguistic and cultural experiences of 1.5 generation and 2nd generation Korean American transnational adolescents as well as their sense of identity in transnational contexts. Drawing on Norton's (1995) identity theory and Vertovec's (2007, 2017) transnationalism, research questions that guided this study were as follows: 1) How do 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American transnational adolescents self-identify? 2) What resources do participants say that they draw upon and that have shaped their identity across transnational spaces? 3) What conflicts do they experience in transnational spaces? 4) To what extent does investment interconnect with their identities? Using qualitative case study methodology, this study provides a rich and in-depth description of 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American transnational youth's language, culture, and identity. Participants were five Korean American transnational youth aged from 13 to 16. Primary data for this study were semi-structured interviews collected over a five-

month period. Data were analyzed following the steps of coding, adopted from Saldaña (2016), and looking across participant interviews to generate themes. From the cross-analysis of data, several key findings emerged. First, transnational youth self-identified as Korean Americans with both a sense of belonging and a sense of distance. Second, transnational youth moved fluidly across transnational contexts. Third, transnational youth experienced tensions within their sociocultural contexts without articulating them as tensions. And, fourth, transnational youth leveraged language and culture within varied contexts. This study extends current literature and explains how transnational adolescents constructed their identities informed by the role of language and culture. Thus, this study significantly informs educators, practitioners, parents, and researchers who interact with transnational youth, and broadens the perspectives on transnational youth in light of the value they place on their language and culture in transnational contexts.

INDEX WORDS: Korean American, transnational, identity, investment, langauge, culture, adolescence

LANGUAGE, CULTURE, AND IDENTITY: A CASE STUDY OF KOREAN AMERICAN TRANSNATIONAL ADOLESCENTS

by

MYOUNG EUN PANG

A Dissertation

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of Requirements for the

Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

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in

the Department of Middle and Secondary Education

in

the College of Education & Human Development

Georgia State University

Atlanta, GA
2021

DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my husband and my children, my mother, my parents-in-law, and the loving memory of my father.

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1 INTRODUCTION

This case study investigated the agency and identity of Korean American transnational adolescents who have grown up in Korean immigrant families since they were born in the United States or migrated to the United States as children before their school age. The primary purpose of this study was to investigate the transnational linguistic and cultural experience of 1.5 generation and 2nd generation transnational adolescents. In the context of globalization in the 21st century, 'transnational' has been used to describe migrants who live within a "transnational social space" (Pries, 2001) in that they experience both "physical and socio-cultural transformations" while engaging in transnational practices with ties to two or more societies across national boundaries (Levitt, 2004; Pries, 2001; Sánchez, 2007).

To describe the specific group of transnational individuals in this study, I also added the term, 1.5 generation and 2nd generation in terms of immigrant generations. The term "1.5 generation" was first coined by Ruben Rumbaut to describe their "stuck in-between" status (Rumbaut & Ima, 1988). In general, any foreign-born immigrant is called a first-generation immigrant while any U.S. born immigrant with at least one immigrant parent is called 2nd generation. To be more specific, the term, 1.5 generation has been used to describe the population who immigrate in their childhood or adolescence: they have more commonalities with 2nd generation than 1st generation in terms of the "sociocultural characteristics and psychological experiences" (Park, 1999) although they were foreign-born immigrants. The 1.5 generation immigrants more closely identify with 1st generation immigrants in their connection to their home country, whereas their sociocultural and psychological experiences are more closely aligned with 2nd generation immigrants, specifically with their school experiences in their host country (Asher & Case, 2008; Benesch, 2008; Rumbaut & Ima, 1988). In many ways, 1.5 and 2nd

generation have traits in common. No matter what country they were born in, their home is their first and critical source of learning culture and language. Thus, their linguistic and cultural contexts are very complex in-between two or more societies. For example, they face two different cultures in their daily lives, one while they are at school and another while they are at home, thus they are exposed to complex or incongruent linguistic and cultural resources and experiences.

Both 1.5 and 2nd generation immigrants have ties with their parents who have strong connections with their home country as first generation immigrants. In addition, they experience similar linguistic and cultural shifts as they begin their formal schooling experience; before their school age, they are mainly exposed to their heritage language and culture at home or within their heritage community. After they go to school in the United States, their fluency in English and related culture increases rapidly because of their exposure to American society and the education system. Therefore, they might be considered as being bicultural and bilingual although they have varying degrees of competency in both languages and cultures. On the one hand, their in-between status affords them a wide range of resources and values from both societies, but on the other, they are exposed to the status of struggling in mismatched or conflicted cultural and linguistic contexts (Davidson, 2011; Kasinitz et al., 2004; Rumbaut & Ima, 1988).

My interest in the identity of 1.5 generation and 2nd generation Korean American transnational adolescents is rooted in my personal experience as an immigrant as well as professional interest in language and identity. I became interested in this specific population as my two children, one male and one female, had struggled to identify themselves in their middle school periods.

Since I came to the United States, I have struggled to adjust to America in terms of

language and culture. Although I learned and taught English in Korea, the switch between language and culture from Korea to mainstream U.S. society was not simple as I already had a firm linguistic and cultural background in Korea. Unlike me, for my children, who migrated at the ages of two and five respectively, their acquisition of English and U.S. culture seemed to be quite fast and smooth. They began their formal schooling in the U.S., starting in ELL (English Language Learner) classes, and I did not expect that they would experience any struggle since they seemed comfortable in the language and culture of the U.S. As they transitioned from the ELL class to mainstream classes within two years, at the same time, they started to forget their heritage language, Korean, at a similar rate. While I had a stronger feeling and sense of belonging as a Korean about my children and myself, they appeared to feel that they were Americans as they got used to their life in the U.S. Even toward their friends, my children tended not to identify their ethnic or national origin; my children felt that everyone in the U.S., including themselves, were Americans. When I inquired where their friends and teachers were from, my children could not understand the intent behind my question. They did not see the origin of birth as significant to their identity. As they grew older, however, I found that they increasingly noticed and became more concerned about the ways in which they were different from their friends, teachers, and others. When my daughter went to a middle school, I felt that her identity struggle reached its peak. On entering her teen years, she began feeling distant from the mainstream American population and, yet, she did not consider herself as a Korean. For example, my daughter said that she felt like an outsider in both societies; she was called an Asian at school while she was considered an American in a Korean community. She often expressed her discomfort about aspects of Korean culture and lifestyle when compared to American ways. At times, she would ask me about herself as an Asian and Korean. She expressed that she

suffered from perceived stereotypes about the Asians at school. She acknowledged that she was physically different from other mainstream Americans; she has small eyes and a flat nose. She also saw how the academic expectations from Asians were different; she felt pressured that she was expected to have a high level of academic achievement. While I agonized about her struggles, as a researcher, I wondered why she felt distant from both societies. From her perspective she was neither 'American' nor 'Korean'. I was frustrated about how to support her and her struggles with the sense of belonging in both societies. Although my son expressed his struggles to a lesser extent, he also shared his struggle with a sense of belonging in his middle-school age, the age in which he began to withdraw from his American peers and to be excluded by American peers. As he began to marginalize himself and to be marginalized in mainstream American settings (e.g., school), as an immigrant mother, I was deeply concerned about my children's sense of cultural and linguistic belonging and their identities. As a researcher, I knew my children's experiences were not unique. Thus, I delved into the literature on the identity construction of transnational adolescents. As my children marginalized themselves in both communities, I struggled with how to support their shifting identities. They were clearly affected by the language and culture in their American schools and society; however, I was not sure to what extent they were comfortable with the Korean language and culture. Did they value their Korean culture and language as I wanted them to value, or did they release this part of who they were to identify more with American culture and language? This tension affected my relationship with them, and not always in a good way. My children's struggle with identity construction had negatively affected the relationship between my children and me as well as their social engagement at schools. It was a critical issue for me to know how to help them go through their struggles.

Given that adolescence is a critical period in which adolescents develop and construct their identities (Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1983), it is not unusual for adolescents to struggle in their identity construction throughout their transition from childhood to adulthood. However, I felt that this did little to explain their struggles. Although my children, 1.5 generation children, and I lived together physically, from my observations of them and noting their cultural identity confusion in and out of school, I saw that their perceived and experienced contexts were different from mine, a 1st generation immigrant Korean mother. Thus, I felt the need to explore the experiences and perceptions in the process of identity construction of 1.5 and 2.0 generation Korean adolescents, and how their linguistic and cultural experiences, in particular, affect their identity construction.

Some scholars reported that many immigrant youth in adolescence seemed to struggle and suffer from their identity crisis (Berry, 1997; Phinney, 1989). I realized that I was not alone with the kind of challenges that my children and I faced when moving to the United States. Friends of mine with children in middle school, high school or college who came to the United States in their childhood or were born in the United States also have struggled as immigrants and as parents of immigrants. Some parents have shared with me that their children even complained, to varying degrees, why they were not white or why they were different from mainstream U.S. students.

My professional interest in 1.5 and 2nd generation transnational adolescents also developed during my work at Korean language schools in the United States where students learned Korean once a week as their heritage language or a foreign language. Most of the students had a Korean background and a few were English speakers who wished to learn Korean. As 1.5 and 2nd generation immigrants, a group of students who learned Korean as their heritage

language had much in common with each other; they shared transnational bonds of nationalities, cultures, and languages. As their teacher, I observed very interesting tendencies. This group of students as young childhood enjoyed attending their Korean language school; however, most of the adolescent students did not want to attend and often quit attending the Korean language school. Further, when they did attend, they did not participate actively to learn Korean; they communicated in English with their classmates in the Korean classroom or became silent. Moreover, I observed intergenerational conflicts between parents and their children: parents wanted their children to learn Korean while adolescents resisted attending a Korean language school. Many parents were confused or engrossed by society's recent recognition that it is very beneficial to be bilingual or multilingual; it is important for their children to maintain their heritage languages and cultures to be bilingual/multilingual. Their struggles mirrored those experienced by my children and me.

In recent studies, many scholars supported the idea that students' heritage language is useful as a valuable resource to improve the students' academic achievement (Dolson, 1985; Taylor et al., 2008; Kharkhurin, 2012), and to represent the students' identities, relations, and cultures (Lee & Suarez, 2009). However, it is not easy for immigrant adolescents to maintain their heritage language and culture without internal motivation and external institutional support in school settings. Most immigrant families use their heritage language at home and parents manage children's language use up to a certain age. However, children bring the mainstream language home (Spolsky & Shohamy, 2000) as their schooling begins and they might resist their heritage language use (Caldas & Caron-Caldas, 2002; Fogle, 2013; Kayam & Hirsch, 2012; Kopeliovich, 2010, 2013; Luykx, 2005; Palviainen & Boyd, 2013). As they spend more time with their peers and people in the mainstream society, 1.5 and 2nd generation transnational

adolescents may be influenced by language and culture reflecting the mainstream ideology while keeping themselves aloof from the home culture and language. In terms of language, in particular, they might value English more because they experience or recognize the importance of English for a successful life in the United States. Or they might tend to reject their heritage language and culture intentionally as they are eager to connect with their American mainstream peer group.

While 1.5 and 2nd generation transnational adolescents have experiences with the cultures and languages across both host country and heritage country, they might not perceive that they have full ownership of cultures and languages from either host and heritage countries because their competency level might not be the same with peers in heritage country or host country. As a result, it might affect their unstable sense of belonging by hindering or delaying their identity construction since the sense of belonging is in relationship to others of similar experience (Pollock & van Reken, 2001). Therefore, there is a need to more fully examine the linguistic and cultural experiences of transnational adolescents from specific racial groups to understand their identity construction rather than forcing them to be bilingual/bicultural without their agency. With this in mind, one of the first steps is to identify the linguistic and cultural experiences that shape their understanding of themselves as Korean and/or Americans. In addition, also needed is an understanding of their perceived identities and agencies as constructed through peer and family interactions during their adolescence and within their transnational contexts. By exploring their experience and perceptions, this study hopefully extends current research around transnational adolescents' identities, and the role of culture and language in their identity construction. Further, this study intends to add insights into how their identities may or may not increase their agency and investment of culture and language learning. Lastly, this study hopes to

identify the in-between spaces that transnational adolescents inhabit, and to understand their sense of belonging and identity construction in their transnational social spaces.

Research Questions

That 1.5 and 2nd generation transnational adolescents' struggle with their identities in and out of school had me wondering how this group of adolescents understand themselves and the tension in their identities they experience between their heritage country and host country. Thus, this study led me to want to explore an overarching question: What experiences do 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American transnational adolescents articulate as those most important in understanding who they are? More specifically, the following questions guided the study: 1) How do 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American transnational adolescents self-identify? 2) What resources do participants say that they draw upon and that have shaped their identity across transnational spaces? 3) What conflicts do they experience in transnational spaces? 4) To what extent do their linguistic and cultural investment (Norton, 1995, 2000) intersect with their identities? This study examined the stated experiences of 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American transnational adolescents between the ages of 13 and 16.

Contextualizaing the Study and Problem

In 2016, the U.S. immigrant population was more than 43.7 million or approximately 14 percent of the total U.S. population of 321.4 million (MPI, para. 1). Notably, the population of children in immigrant families, who have at least one immigrant parent, is 17.9 million or 26 percent of the overall U.S. population of children under 18. Whether they are foreign-born or U.S.-born, transnational adolescents have attended schools in the United States for a number of years after coming to the United States. They have received a large part of their formal education in the United States in English, but their primary home/heritage language, which might be different from English, often predominates at home and in their local neighborhoods or

communities. These children, while thoroughly Americans in many ways, share linguistic and cultural characteristics of both host and heritage countries (Davidson, 2011; Kasinitz et al., 2004; Oh & Min, 2011; Rumbaut & Ima, 1988; Ryan, 2014; Yi, 2013). In addition, transnational children and youth's nationality, culture, and languages are very complex in that their perceptions might be in discord with their reality or their experience. Further, their U.S.-based experiences or perceptions of who they are might not match with their immigrant family or parents. It is not simple for transnational youth and others, whoever know them or not, to describe their primary language in that they might be considered as not having full competency or ownership of both languages and cultures while they live in-between transnational spaces. Transnational youth/adolescents have experienced U.S. culture and everyday English in a setting of mainstream society including school, but their competency might not be the same with native speakers in the host country in specific settings. Transnational youth are often considered a subgroup of ELLs at the beginning of their formal schooling because they use their heritage language at home with their immigrant family in early childhood from their birth. Transnational youth' English has not been fluent before their schooling in comparison to native-born Americans; whereas, they are quite familiar with their heritage country's cultures and languages that are used at home. However, transnational youth might not be considered being fluent in their heritage language and culture in comparison to the native-born population of the heritage countries.

Moreover, children from immigrant families are often required to play a role of broker/bridge as the most competent English language user among his/her family (Bauer, 2016; Shen et al., 2014). In most cases, the parents of children from immigrant families do not have a comparable cultural and linguistic competence of the host country as first generation immigrants.

As such, children often play the role of parents and parents rely on their children for communicative purposes, depending on the situation. What is more, children of immigrant families might observe or experience the process of acculturation stress with their parents. Acculturative stress refers to the stressful experiences and reactions involved in the process of adjustment and acculturation (De Las Fuentes, 2003; Berry, 2006). Several studies revealed the relationship between acculturative stress of immigrant parents and the outcomes of children. Researchers found that children had high anxiety levels, that parents developed poor parenting styles, and that children poorly adjusted in schools because of immigrant parents' acculturative stress (Leon, 2014; Leidy et al., 2009; Dumka et al., 1997; Rhee et al., 2003; Schwartz et al., 2007).

While immigrant children struggle with their identity construction in a family context, they often confront prejudice and established race-specific stereotypes as they live in a predominantly White society, which also affects their identity construction. Most 1.5 and 2nd generation children seem to identify themselves as Americans and think of English as their first language (Davidson, 2011; Kasinitz et al., 2004; Rumbaut & Ima, 1988; Yi, 2013). However, Asian immigrants are often treated as outsiders or strangers by Americans and foreigners in the United States. To illustrate this, Lippi-Greene (2012) suggested that Asians suffer from 'foreigner syndrome.' As they spend most of their lifetime in the United States or spend more time in the United States than in their heritage country, most Asian immigrants think that they are Americans. Yet, they are still considered as foreigners by others, including Americans, other races, or even within the same races or ethnic groups. Transnational youth, to a lesser degree, have a sense of belonging in the United States as Asians compared to their parents. This may be because transnational youth resist the oversimplified stereotypical image of Asians or struggle to

conform to the stereotyped roles or images (Awokoya, 2012; Lippi-Green, 2012; Pollock & van Reken, 2001). In addition, "Asian" as a classification term too broadly covers a range of ethnic groups, even though many groups within the classification have few similarities. Therefore, the identity struggling experiences of transnational youth within a racial stereotype might be detrimental for them to explore and develop their identities without realizing their full potential as an individual. Even a supposed positive stereotype of Asians such as 'model minority' can have negative implications for children. In school settings, in particular, a student who is affected by the stereotype may become reluctant to accept their status if they do not perform well and to seek the help they need from teachers or other students. Instead of classifying them as Asians or Americans, transnational youth need a space to develop a strong structure of identity in order to create and develop an integrated identity. Therefore, it is critical to explore the challenges facing bicultural or multicultural identity development and ways to support identity development in their culture for children and adolescents in immigrant families (Morrison & Bordere, 2001). Most of all, a number of scholars found that transnational children struggle to 'fit into' an integrated whole identity (Eidse & Sichel, 2004; Huff, 2001; Pollock & van Reken, 2001; Schuler, 2003). The identity development issue of transnational adolescents is a significant issue to be considered in the United States. The understanding of identity construction for transnational adolescents will also be a great resource to better support immigrant population for teachers and parents in the educational environments.

Based upon the discussion above, this study examined the identity of 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American transnational adolescents for three reasons. First, adolescence is the critical period for identity exploration in the life cycle of human beings, and transnational adolescents face the most significant challenges of identity construction in-between complex

transnational contexts. Second, the identity of children in immigrant families might be distinct from the first generation and children from the host country (the United States in this study), and much can be learned by examining their identity construction in adolescence to understand and support the transnational population. Third, transnational adolescents' linguistic and cultural resources are more than merely the sum of resources from two or more societies, including their heritage and host communities. This study attempted to explain and understand their experiences and perceptions and how to maximize transnational adolescents' full potential competence in-between social spaces.

Purpose of the Study

This study aimed to investigate the complex processes in which transnational adolescents articulated how they constructed and adjusted their identities in terms of cultures and languages, and how their agency in language and culture supported their identity exploration and construction. As Erikson found in the 1960s, male adolescents go through a developmental process of identity formation, and it reaches its peak during adolescence (Erikson, 1968). In addition, Gilligan (1982), who brought up relationship as the difference of identity development between men and women, expounded, "adolescence is a time of disconnection, sometimes of dissociation or repression in women's lives" (Brown & Gilligan, 1992) as girls struggle in relation to connect with themselves and others as well as to voice their feelings and thoughts in a society with a male-centered perspective. Thus, transnational adolescents, whether they are girls or boys, often struggle with identity construction. In particular, as they engage in more than two different cultures and languages in transnational social spaces that includes both heritage and host communities (Berry, 1997; Phinney, 1989; Pollock & van Reken, 2001), transnational adolescents often confuse which country they "belong to" or to which country they wish to belong. While the process of identity exploration is an individual seeking process, transnational

adolescents appear to share similar experiences and feelings (Bowman, 2001; de Courtivron, 2000; Eidse & Sichel, 2004).

In this study, I took a qualitative approach using methods such as interviewing Korean American participants and collecting their written anecdotes and artifacts. Since Tomlinson and Dat (2004) found several sociocultural factors that inhibit learning in a classroom in which a majority of students are native speakers, I took advantage of providing participants with opportunities to promote the understanding of their heritage culture and languages as well as the mainstream culture and language in a less threatening, more "homey" environment. As a bilingual researcher in Korean and English, I conducted interviews with them in the language that they selected and used a video clip to facilitate their thoughts during interviews. This study addressed both the theory of why identity should become a conscious component of understanding transnational adolescents and how teachers and parents can effectively address the development of transnational adolescents' identity throughout their life as teenagers.

Significance of the Study

This study extends current research in the study of the 1.5 and 2nd generation in several ways. First, this study is an effort to contribute to our understanding and knowledge in those areas of 1.5 and 2nd generation transnational youth language and culture, focusing on identity construction and negotiation during adolescence. While diversity is valued in the United States, oftentimes people struggle with their differences in identity and safety issues associated with it. For transnational adolescents, in particular, growing up among different cultures and languages during the awkward years of adolescence is made even more awkward when they do not have a feeling of "fitting in" and experience "identity struggling" (Bowman, 2001; de Courtivron, 2000; Eidse & Sichel, 2004; Iyer, 2004; Pollock & van Reken, 2001). According to Morrison and Bordere (2001), children's behavioral and psychological development suffers if they do not

achieve a firm sense of identity, and this is in turn connected to psychological problems in adulthood. However, little is known about the subjective aspect of the transnational youth experience, as they have constructed their identity in complex transnational contexts. Second, moreover, in this globalized world, the population of transnationals has been increased, but few in-depth studies have been conducted so far on the transnational experience of adolescents and of their language and culture in transnational social spaces. Therefore, this study about transnational adolescents' identity development contributes to understanding what experiences shape transnational adolescents' identity, a growing population in the United States. Third, this study significantly informs parents, educators, practitioners, and researchers who meet with transnational youth and broaden the perspectives on transnational youth to value their language and culture in transnational contexts as well as to understand and support their identity construction. In essence, this study contributes to the literature on identity exploration of transnational adolescents by linking it to the role of language, culture, and ideology in identity development. The findings of this study contribute to the field's understanding of how to understand the complexities of how transnational adolescents construct and negotiate their identities through their linguistic and cultural experiences.

Theoretical Framework

It is essential to select appropriate theories to conduct a study and to explore the questions clearly. To theoretically frame this study, two theories are apt: transnationalism (Vertovec, 2007, 2017), an emerging concept to understand migration in the era of globalization, and Norton's (1995) identity theory, critical when studying the area of language learning, investment, and identity in English learners. Basch et al. (1994) explained transnational as "the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement" (p. 7). According to Vertovec (1999),

transnationalism is defined as "multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation-states" (p. 447) and transnationalism broadened our perspective to understand transnational adolescents without confining their space within a national boundary. In brief, Norton's identity theory suggested that we understand the identity of people by examining their investment in language and culture. The theories of transnationalism also supported widening the social spaces of transnational adolescents by examining their multiple ties including home and heritage countries. Although these theories are not discreet and overlap with others, these two theories primarily drove the methodology, analysis, and conclusions drawn in this study.

Key Tenets of Transnationalism and Norton's Identity Theories

From the theories of transnationalism and Norton's identity theory, I have extracted four key tenets:

- Migrants in this globalized world live in transnational social spaces across borders, which is not bounded within any specific geographical space, as they also move within and beyond boundaries virtually in their everyday life.
- Migrants' ways of being and ways of belonging, relating to their identities, reveal transnational social spaces in which migrants are embedded.
- Identities are constructed within sociocultural contexts.
- Identities affect linguistic and cultural learning investment.

Migrants Live in Transnational Social Spaces across Borders

Migrants in this globalized world live in transnational social spaces across borders. While earlier studies about immigrants have focused on the extent of assimilation only toward host countries or concerned about the relationship with their country of origin, transnationalism

emerged from the growing concern about immigrants who have not broken the ties to their home countries and have the complex networks of their lives and experiences between the home and host countries (Basch et al., 1994; Levitt & Schiller, 2004; Subreenduth & Rhee, 2010; Vertovec, 1999, 2004, 2007). Transnational migrants have multiple ties with their country of origin and the country of arrival. Their lives are not bounded within any specific geographical space—Korea or the United States, for example--as they also move within, across, and beyond boundaries in their everyday lives, in and out of school, in their family and community contexts, and virtually through Internet resources.

1.5 and 2nd generation transnational youth, who are the subject of this study, live with their immigrant families who are rooted in different cultures or languages from the mainstream society. Although transnational youth live in the United States, they sustain their ties to the country of origin either directly or indirectly as their ties with their families connect them to their countries of origin by being present on a daily basis. Even those youth who have never visited or returned to their countries of origin are affected by cultures, language, values, and practices of their family. It means that they live in-between and their experience and perceptions have been built up across at least two social, linguistic, and cultural contexts. Thus, they have developed negotiated and reshaped practices reflecting their status of "in-betweenness" (Basch et al., 1994, p. 8). Basch et al. (1994) proposed:

> Our definition of transnationalism allows us to analyze the "lived" and fluid experiences of individuals who act in ways that challenge our previous conflation of geographic spaces and social identity. This definition also will enable us to see the ways transmigrants are transformed by their transnational practices and how these practices affect the nation- states of the transmigrants' origin and settlement. (p. 8)

In this sense, “transnationalism” provided “a way of seeing what was there that could not be seen” (Vertovec, 2009, p. 6) across a spectrum of migrants’ activities and practices within their transnational spaces, illuminating “the multiplicity of involvement that transmigrants’ sustain in both home and host societies” (Basch et al., 1994, p. 7).

A transnational lens broadened an understanding of migrants and their spaces, reflecting their home and host societies: migrants maintain their connection to their families and others in their home societies while struggling in assimilation to the host societies. In particular, there is a consensus among scholars that the development of technology made possible for transnational migrants to maintain their contact across the borders by communicating and connecting virtually (Basch et al., 1994; Vertovec, 2009). For example, Basch et al. (1994) illustrated that advances in technology would have enabled current immigrants “to maintain much more intimate and enduring relations with their home countries than did earlier generations” (p. 23). Advances in technology have facilitated not only maintaining their connection to the home societies, but also expanding their social spaces within and beyond home and host societies.

In the current globalized world, many scholars are concerned about the fluidity and interconnectedness of societies through flows of media and technology beyond and across geographical boundaries since “the nation-state container view of society does not capture, adequately or automatically, the complex interconnectedness of contemporary reality” (Levitt & Schiller, 2004, p. 1006). Transnational spaces of migrants reflect their activities and practices in virtual spaces as well as physical spaces and would be developed by each migrant as Levitt and Schiller (2004) argued, “the boundaries of a field are fluid and the field itself is created by the participants who are joined in struggle for social position” (p. 1008). Therefore, the lives and space of migrants are no longer understood by looking only at what goes on within national and

geographic boundaries as Vertovec (2009, p. 3) proposed:

> Transnationalism describes a condition in which, despite great distances and notwithstanding the presence of international borders (and all the laws, regulations and national narratives they represent), certain kinds of relationships have been globally intensified and now take place paradoxically in a planet-spanning yet common-however virtual-arena of activity. (p. 3)

A transnational lens helped to understand the complex transnational space of 1.5 and 2nd generation transnational youth as a whole, reflecting spaces within and beyond home and host societies in this study. Through the lens of transnationalism, the everyday lives of migrants reflect a fluid transaction between and across virtual, geographic, and linguistic borders. Their entire linguistic, cultural, and social repertoire and practices are recognized as being unique and valuable as their own without being lost or silenced (Vertovec, 2004).

Migrants' Ways of Being and Ways of Belonging, Relating to Their Identities, Reveal Transnational Social Spaces in which Migrants are Embedded

Migrants' ways of being and ways of belonging, relating to their identities, reveal transnational social spaces in which migrants are embedded. Migrants are embedded in multi-layered and multi-sited transnational social spaces. Schiller et al. (1995), for example, defined transmigrants as "immigrants whose daily lives depend on multiple and constant interconnections across international borders and whose public identities are configured in relationship to more than one nation-state" (p. 48). Vertovec (2009) also demonstrated that transnational migrants maintain several identities simultaneously while they have the transnational links to more than one nation and society. Instead of being exclusive or binary, Vertovec (2009) claimed that migrants are identified with their concurrent transnational

connections although the extent of connections might be various by individuals. Drawing on the concept of identity, Levitt and Schiller (2004) differentiated *ways of being* from *ways of belonging* in the study of migration. These scholars define ways of being as "the actual social relations and practices that individuals engage in rather than to the identities associated with their actions" (p. 1010). Ways of belonging are "practices that signal or enact an identity which demonstrates a conscious connection to a particular group" (p. 1010). In other words, as individuals become conscious of their identities, or ways of being in the different contexts in which they find themselves, they tend to intentionally select and exhibit their ways of belonging to one group (e.g., Korean) in one context or to another (e.g., American) in a different context. As ways of being and ways of belonging were exhibited differently by a person and a context, examining their ways of being and ways of belonging revealed the transnational space in which migrants were embedded.

Some scholars proposed that transnational individuals engage in periodic, selective transnational activities at different stages of their lives (Levitt, 2002; Schiller & Fouron, 2002; Smith, 2002; Vertovec, 2009). For example, Vertovec (2009) explained that transnational links "may be selective, ebb and flow depending on a range of conditions, or develop differently through life cycles or settlement process" (p. 13). Levitt and Schiller (2004) also illustrated that "the desire and ability to engage in transnational practices will ebb and flow at different phases of the lifecycle and in different contexts" (p. 1018). In other words, it is meaningful to examine transnational links of adolescents in order to reveal their identities, which might be different from their childhood or adulthood. From the perspectives of adults who have a different extent of transnational ties, adolescents would not be understood. In considering developmental stages, thus, it was significant to look into the

transnational link of adolescence, which is a critical period of identity construction, relating to their identities as Vertovec (2009) stated:

> The production of hybrid cultural phenomena manifesting new ethnicities is especially to be found among transnational youth whose primary socialization has taken place within the cross-current of differing cultural fields. Among such young people, facets of culture and identity are often self-consciously selected, syncretized and elaborated from more than one heritage. (p. 7)

As transnational youth moved across linguistic, social, and cultural boundaries in their everyday life as complex social beings, including diverse perspectives from host and home countries (Schiller et al., 1992), they negotiated their cultural, social, and linguistic identities, which were revealed by their ways of belonging.

Identities are Constructed within Sociocultural Contexts

Identities are constructed within sociocultural contexts. The mainstream transnational studies have continued to separate the economic, political, and sociocultural areas of the immigrant connections with their home countries (Faist, Fause, & Reisenauer, 2013). For transnational adolescents, above all, the sociocultural experience is critical since they are not much engaged in economic and political areas and have been exposed to at least two languages and cultures as their social spaces have been expanded from home to school in their school ages. To examine their identity reflecting their sociocultural contexts, this study employed the concept of “figured world” (Holland et al., 1998) and “imagined community” (Anderson, 1991; Norton, 1995). Figured worlds are places where people consider themselves as being “formed and reformed in relation to everyday activities” (Holland et al., 1998). That is, the figured world was their understanding of a society in which they have engaged. For transnational adolescents who

crossed borders between two distinct societies in their everyday life, their figured world was different from the general understanding and description of both societies. In this sense, Holland et al. (1998) defined a figured world as “a socially and culturally constructed realm of interpretation in which particular characters and actors are recognized, the significance is assigned to certain acts and particular outcomes are valued over others” (p. 52). Within the concept of “figured world,” it is understandable how they identified themselves within their sociocultural contexts. In the similar context, the concept of the figured world further explained an ‘imagined community,’ where people wish to be engaged in their imagination based on their figured world “through the power of imagination” (Kanno & Norton, 2003). Anderson (1991) first coined the term “imagined communities” to explain nationalism, nation-ness, or nations as cultural artifacts, which are socially constructed. According to Anderson, the nation is “imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (p. 6). Norton applies this concept of ‘imagined communities’ from nation to any communities, which individuals feel a sense of belonging through their imagination. Transnational youth identified with the societies in which they were engaged. With the effort to embrace or reject their identities within the “figured world” and “imagined communities,” they invested their identities. By understanding their figured world and imagined communities, therefore, this study examined why they rejected to do specific culture and language learning or why they were eager to invest specific culture and language. Employing the concept of ‘figured world’ and ‘imagined community,’ thus, an understanding could be gleaned of how transnational adolescents try to position themselves, negotiate their identities and invest in learning culture and language in situated social contexts. As this group attempted to make sense of who they were

within their situated contexts, identity construction was examined by analyzing how they identified and understood their cultural and social contexts.

Identities affect Linguistic and Cultural Learning Investment

Identity affects linguistic and cultural investment. This study aimed to investigate how the participant's linguistic and cultural engagement in transnational contexts changed their identity in significant and interesting ways or vice versa. For this, I applied Norton's theorization of "investment", which enriches the role of motivation in linguistic, cultural, and social development and identity construction. "Investment" is closely related to construct of "figured world" and "imagined communities" of the previous tenet in that learners invest in the target language at particular times and contexts by the "socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language, and their often ambivalent desire to learn and practice it" (Norton, 2000, p. 10). In other words, the construct of the investment and identity presented the process in which learners were involved in figured worlds or imagined communities. According to Norton (1995), "If learners invest in a second language, they do so with the understanding that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital" (p. 17). In this sense, an investment in the language and culture is also an investment in a learner's social identity (Norton, 1995) and the concept of language learning, investment and identity guided this study to understand the language and culture learning (or acquisition) and practices of transnational youth in adolescence. While most immigrants undergo significant changes in their lives by maintaining transnational ties as well as assimilating to new societies, the present study focused on how the participants' linguistic and cultural investment have been changed as they identified and engaged in both home and host communities within their transnational contexts.

Limitation of the Study

This study may be limited as it focused only on 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American transnational adolescents in an area of a major Southern urban area. However, this study is not meant to generalize, as there are a host of social, intellectual, emotional, and physical factors that influence transnational adolescent identities. This study attempted to understand more deeply what experiences transnational adolescents described as important to their identities. Thus, there was no intention to generalize to a population even with similar experience and backgrounds, as investment is a critical factor in the everyday experiences as ethnic, linguistic, and cultural beings and their intention behind their participation in their experiences. However, other transnational populations may also gain some insight from the rich and thick description of the participants and contexts of this study. It is also limited in generalizability in that the study was conducted for six months. A longitudinal ethnographic study would suggest more understanding of this population throughout their adolescence.

Summary

This study explored the linguistic and cultural experience of 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American transnational adolescents and the descriptions of their sense of identity in transnational contexts. Thus, it aimed to contribute to the literature on the identity of transnational adolescents by linking it to the role of language and culture in identity development.

This chapter provided an overview of the study including the rationale of the study, the purpose of the study, and theoretical framework. The following chapter reviewed the literature on identity theory including identity development in adolescence, identity relating to language and investment, and the language and identity of transnational adolescents with a specific focus on Korean American transnational immigrant population.

Definition of Key Terms

- 1.5 generation: immigrants who migrate with their family in their childhood and they share characteristics from both the first and second generation (Rumbaut & Ima, 1988). In this study, generation 1.5 will be used to refer to the immigrants who immigrated to the United States as children before reaching their school age.
- Second-generation: U.S.-born population with at least one foreign-born parent.
- First-generation immigrant: any foreign-born immigrant who migrated to the host country. This study differentiates 1.5 generation from 1st generation according to their age of immigration.
- Language: Paige (1993) defined language as "the major mechanism by which culture-group members communicate and share meaning, and enter into the culture" (p. 83). In terms of transnational population, it might not be able to clearly decide which language is their primary language or second language. In this study, Korean was termed as L1 (first language) because it was their heritage/home language and English was be termed as L2 (second language) and target language because they must be exposed to English after Korean within their familial context and use English mostly in their school settings.
- Identity: the understanding and expression of who one is as an individual and the sense of belonging as a part of society that individuals consciously and unconsciously use to define themselves (Erikson, 1968; Schwartz, 2001)
- Transnationalism: the theoretical lens to understand migrants and their various acts that are connected transnationally to their country of origin and country of arrival across the borders of national-states (Ghosh & Wang, 2003; Vertovec, 2009). Both assimilation

toward the host country and transnational ties with their heritage country will be understood as a whole within the framework of transnationalism.

- Figured world: Holland et al. (1998) defined a figured world as a socially and culturally constructed realm of interpretation in which particular characters and actors are recognized. Thus, it would be the subjectively perceived and figured space of the world by the interpreter.
- Imagined community: a community constructed on the basis of an individual's past experiences or figured world and future aspirations. It is not a real space to engage in daily lives, but it is an imagined space to wish to belong to. Thus, individuals' imagined community affect their linguistic and cultural practices and investment (Anderson, 1991; Norton, 2000; Yim, 2016).
- Investment: similar to instrument motivation, but different in that it relates to learners' desire and identities within their situated context. Norton (2010) delineated investment as "to make a meaningful connection between a learner's desire and commitment to learn a language and [his or her] changing identity" (p. 354).

2 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The purpose of this study was to explore the complex processes in which transnational adolescents articulate how they constructed and adjusted their identities in terms of cultures and languages and how their agency in language and culture can support their identity exploration and construction.

The following research questions guided the design of the study and data analysis: 1) How do 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American transnational adolescents self-identify? 2) What resources do participants say that they draw upon and that have shaped their identity across transnational spaces? 3) What conflicts do they experience in transnational social spaces? 4) To what extent do their linguistic and cultural investments interconnect with their identities?

This study intended to expand the understanding of the transnational identities of 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American transnational adolescents within the context living in the United States. A study involving transnational adolescents' identity construction is multi-faceted, for this reason I have limited my review of literature to four key areas, which became the focus of data analysis and address the exploratory questions: identity theories focusing on identity construction in adolescence, linguistic and cultural learning investment connecting with identity, language and identity of transnational populations as bilinguals/multilinguals, and 1st and 2nd generation Korean transnational adolescents. Examining the literature in these areas contextualize this study and was the basis for the significance of the study in contributing to the existing body of theory and research.

In the first section, I discuss identity theories, beginning with a definition used in this study and continuing with descriptions of major theorists in the field. Every human being lives through the experience of identity construction because the question, "who am I" is fundamental

for every human being. Whether they are immigrants or not, human beings are continuously concerned about their existence, ways of being, and a sense of belonging. So in the first section, I discuss psychological aspects of identity theories, focusing on the construction of identity in adolescence. In presenting the review of the literature concerning identity theory at the onset of the chapter, I indicate the connections that identity theories have with other aspects of the study.

The second section of this chapter presents literature on identity relating to language and culture focusing on users' investment. This section includes the concept of investment in the area of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) and works of literature about linguistic and cultural learning experiences relating to identity construction are discussed.

In the third section of the chapter, I shift to expand the specific concept of language and identity theories relating to the immigrant population, focusing on their cultural and linguistic experience within their social and familial contexts. For the immigrant population, they have complex linguistic, cultural, and social experiences. In particular, transnational adolescents who are the subject of this study have complex experiences in language learning in-between at least two communities in their everyday life. So this section includes a brief summary of trends and limitations of research related to transnational youth' language, culture, and their identities, considering their developing stages. In childhood, parents and family are the primary sources of children's linguistic and cultural input. However, in adolescence, peer relationships hold a dominant position over family relations. This comparison to childhood suggests why and how researchers are concerned about adolescence.

In the final section of this literature review, I explore the literature about Korean transnational populations-emphasizing their struggles and the issues that Korean immigrants, who are the subject of this study, confront. A thorough discussion of this population, as well as

the related topic of literature in the lives of Korean American adolescents, is essential in understanding the context in which the exploratory questions of this study occupy.

Identity Theories

In this section of the literature review, I provide an overview of identity theory, including the central theorists in the psychological social field. I expand the discussion by describing the positioning of identity in the stages of human development and gender difference of identity construction in adolescence.

Scholars across fields have defined identity in a range of ways. Commonly, the descriptions with regards to identity focus on "the characteristics, preferences, goals, and behavior patterns we associate with ourselves" (Howard, 2000, p. 368) and "people's sense of who they are" (Djite, 2006, p. 6). Many studies distinguish or combine theories and concepts of identity to provide understanding about identity and identity development (Djite, 2006; Erikson, 1968; Howard, 2000; Joseph, 2006; Stets & Burke, 2000; Stryker & Burke, 2000; Tajfel, 1974). On the individual level from the perspective of cognitive psychologists, identity has been considered as relatively stable and independent of language (Erikson, 1968), but most scholars share the perspective that identities are continually being negotiated and challenged at an inter-subjective level (Crossley, 1996). In particular, social constructionists have focused on the discursive formation of identities as constructed and validated (Hall, 1991) and poststructuralists have added the emphasis on the role of power relations in the process of identity categorization (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). In considering the characteristics of adolescence, this study highlights the understanding of identity by participants as viewed by themselves and parents to understand their social location in the broader social interaction in the spaces in which they see themselves most often (e.g., family, school, friends, malls, etc.).

Many scholars are interested in identity development in emphasizing the individuals'

sense of belonging in a society (Erikson, 1968; Hall, 1991; Stets & Burke, 2000; Stryker & Burke, 2000; Tajfel, 1974). Erikson (1968) defined that identity is the understanding of individuals based on their social contexts that allow the individual to know his or her place in the world. In a similar vein, Stryker and Burke (2000) presented identity theory with having two different strands. One focuses on the social structures that link to identity, emphasizing group-based identity that relates to "how people come to see themselves as members of one group/category in comparison with another" (p. 226). The other focuses on the internal cognitive identity process of self-verification. Based on these two strands of theories, identity is understood as the close relationships between self and society. It has been constructed within social structures and impacts the internal identity process of self-verification, while the internal identity process of self-verification affects social structures. In other words, individuals find meanings from a structure of society, and identity is formed through the reflective activity of categorization or classification vis-à-vis other social categories.

In consideration of individuals in a social context, Tajfel (1974) also developed social identity theory to focus on an "individual's self-definition in a social context" (p. 76). According to Tajfel (1974), individuals realize their identities within the society to which they belong. An individual's involvement and membership in various social groups can affect his/her self-concept either positively or negatively. As they can provide a sense of belonging, social groups play a major part in the processes of identification. A sense of belonging can also be an important source of pride and self-esteem that affects individual identity directly. Tajfel (1974) defined the social identity of an individual as "knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of his membership" (p. 72) and emphasized how social groups affect identity, making it meaningful to consider the influence of social groups

for understanding identity. Based on the understanding of meaningful similarities and uniqueness, Tajfel's social identity theory proposed that people are grouped, and these social groupings facilitate positive identity development. Overall, individuals understand their uniqueness and similarity to others, as well as their strengths and weaknesses through identity construction. As Hall (1991) said, "the notion that identity has to do with people that look the same, feel the same, call themselves the same, is nonsense. As a process, as a narrative, as a discourse, it is always from the position of Other" (p. 49). In this sense, identity is constructed by others' view. Bell (2014) explained identity as both structured and agentive in that it can be given to some extent while it is constructed by an individual's choice. Where we are born and where or how we are brought up cannot be chosen. On the other hand, identity is part of a process, which is formed over time based on an individual's choice. In understanding the identity of transnational adolescents, we can consider both the given and agentive character of identity. In other words, although transnational adolescents cannot choose their racial and ethnic identity, they are agentive to seek a sense of identity in their social contexts.

Based on a theoretical foundational view of central theorists in the field of identity development/exploration/formation, this study focused on the construction of identity in adolescence. According to Erikson (1968), there are some critical periods of identity development and construction during an individual's life, and adolescence is one of those critical periods for identity construction as many scholars agree (Eckert, 1989; Erikson, 1968; Kroger, 2004; SoKol, 2009). Erikson (1968) explained that the lack of identity construction in adolescence might cause role confusion that might hinder further development given that the formation of identity is the critical psychosocial task of adolescence. Marcia (1983) also explained the lack of identity development as individuals being confused about their uniqueness

and relying more on external sources to evaluate themselves when identity is less developed. Although both Erikson and Marcia agreed with the continuous development of identity throughout adulthood, they emphasized adolescence as a critical period of identity development and construction. Based on Erikson's (1968) concept, the identity struggles of transnational adolescents might be harmful to their continuous identity development and self-esteem by confusing their roles or relying on only others' thought. 1.5 and 2nd generation population might struggle for identity formation in their adolescence within the diverse communities as they are concerned about how they "fit in" the various and complex social contexts. Even the first generation migrants who already experienced identity formation within the quite homogeneous heritage communities might have a more stable identity compared to 1.5 and 2nd generation although they lack linguistic and cultural knowledge of a host community.

Although Erikson examined and presented an overall understanding of identity and identity development, his study has been criticized for only focusing on boys' perspectives. In considering gender difference, I expand the discussion of adolescent identity development alongside the study of Carol Gilligan, which is inclusive of voices and perspectives of females (1982, 1995). As Gilligan was concerned about connection and responsive relationships of women in understanding psychological development and ways of knowing of young women (Brown & Gilligan, 1992), she suggested hearing girls' voices in order to understand women's relational crisis in adolescence. Gilligan (Gilligan, 1982, 1995; Gilligan & Attanucci, 1988) brought up the concept of 'connection' in female adolescent identity in contrast to the 'separation' of male-centered theories. From Gilligan's perspectives on relationships to understand identity construction, individuals tend to struggle more to construct their identity when they are afraid of being set apart from the majority of the social groups that they are

engaged in; while being silenced, the unstable sense of belonging lowers their agentive power to construct their identities independently.

Based on these theories of psychosocial and psychological development in adolescence, many empirical studies showed that adolescents' identity achievement status is related to their emotional, psychological, or psychosocial well-being (Crocetti et al., 2009) as well as relationships with their parents and peers (Dumas et al., 2012). In addition, some studies revealed that identity construction in adolescence predicted more smooth transitions into their adulthood (Klimstra et al., 2010). For example, Crocetti et al. (2009) examined how adolescent anxiety-level predicted identity development. For the five-wave longitudinal study, 13 adolescents who attended various junior high and high schools participated by completing the same questionnaire five times over five years. In the study, Crocetti et al. (2009) found that a high level of anxiety was a risk factor identity development by increasing uncertainty in identity formation compared to adolescents with low anxiety levels.

Dumas et al. (2012) also examined how identity development affected adolescent engagement in risk behaviors within the context of peer group pressure and control. In the quantitative study, Dumas et al. (2012) employed Marcia's (1966) two identity processes: exploration and commitment. According to Marcia (1966), exploration refers to how actively adolescents navigate their identity possibilities in their domains before making decisions. Commitment refers to their actual engaged activities about an identity domain by a relatively firm choice. For the study, the 14 to 17 years old participants completed a self-report measure of identity exploration and identity commitment as well as their frequency of risk behaviors and perceived peer group pressure and control. While identity commitment significantly related to less risk behavior, Dumas et al. (2012) found that identity development including both

exploration and commitment reduced adolescent risk behaviors by deterring negative effects of peer pressure.

As examined above, many studies have emphasized the importance of identity construction in adolescence. This study focused on *transnational* youth in adolescence who are in the stage of identity construction (Erikson, 1968) and who are most psychologically at risk by struggling in disconnection and dissociation of relationships (Gilligan, 1982, 1995). Individuals continuously engage in presenting, representing, and enacting who they are in relation to others and in revising their sense of self, while interacting and observing how others position themselves in the process of identity exploration. Thus, to understand identity, it is important to consider their individual characterizations and situated contexts, including their origin. In this current study, 1.5 and 2nd generation transnational adolescents are characterized by those who have a family history of immigration. Thus, they were assumed to struggle to group or to be grouped because of their complexity of cultures and languages in their daily life as well as voicing as minority within a mainstreamed host society. If transnational youth feel rejected or do not feel accepted as a group member or 'insider' of both contexts, this feeling and experience can impact negatively upon their identity construction as well as affect their linguistic and cultural learning in both contexts.

Language, Identity, and Investment

Language is not only about psycholinguistic processing skills, but is also constructed socially and culturally within the contexts of a speaker and a listener through dialogue. In this sense, the meaning-making process of language use closely relates to the identity of a speaker and a listener (Bakhtin, 1981; Eidse & Sichel, 2004; Evans, 2015; Gee, 2013; Halliday, 2013). Gee (2013) termed this socially constructed meaning of language as “Discourse,” which was stored in people’s minds. Gee (1989) explained that language use existed as one component

within the larger construct of a Discourse, which reflected a social grouping that shared patterns of thinking, feeling, and behavior that was tied directly to their identity as a group. Gee (2013) further claimed that there were hidden messages in language and discourse. The meaning and context may vary depending on who interprets the language or put values on it. The meaning of language is constructed from intersubjective dialogue and interaction. According to Gee (2013), the experience is dynamic images tied to perception, that is, value-laden perspective-taking movies in mind. Our store of images through experience allows us to create and construe that context in a certain way. Therefore, comprehension of language is closely connected to people's experience and action, situated in the material world including ideology and values. As Gee (2013) refused to limit the function of language as simply a way to convey neutral information, he suggested that language has two primary functions: "to scaffold the performance of action in the world, including social activities and interactions" and "to scaffold human affiliation in cultures and social groups and institutions through creating and enticing others to take certain perspectives on experience" (p. 136). From this, Gee (1989) developed the cultural models to explain what counts as normal and natural and what counts as inappropriate and deviates from the Discourse of a specific group of people.

Halliday (2013) also argued, "Meaning is a social and cultural phenomenon, and all construction of meaning is a social process" (p. 152). People understand a language in contexts based on their experience and prior knowledge. In this sense, people's diverse schemata could lead to understanding the context and meanings differently even with the same language. In the same context, Evans (2015) proposed that language is a tool to create and express meaning that reflects ways of being in the world, which is identity. In addition, Bakhtin (1981) stated that identities conceptualized in the nature of dialogue have been constructed through literate

practices like reading, writing, talking, listening, and other forms of interaction. Bakhtin (1981) further claimed that there is no unchangeable truth in the discourse, but there is room for resisting or constructing individual meaning through social interaction. While language plays a central part in meaning construction, interaction, which is termed as a dialogic relationship, also affects the construction of meaning. Bakhtin (1981) emphasized that the dialogic relationship contributes to developing the meaning of language through discourse and social interaction. Therefore, language takes a particular point of view on the world, and people can experience becoming ideological through discourse. In this sense, a language in communication is not the word of the self, but the word in language belongs to the self as well as with someone else to interact. As language involves diverse perspectives that are constructed from the social world, individuals make meaning based on the social and cultural context through the process of interaction between self and others. Accordingly, multiple voices coexist within a language. In this sense, language is an essential tool to understand the self and others through meaning construction. Therefore, many scholars support the idea that language reflects a person's self-identity (Fishman, 1985; Caldas & Caron-Caldas, 1999) while identity affects their language learning and investment (Norton, 1995, 2000, 2006; Talmy, 2004, 2008). Moreover, a language in social contexts also reflects politics and power relations. Thus, language and identity might also be understood as issues of access and equity in social contexts.

In the area of Second Language Acquisition (SLA), in particular, identity has been studied relating to the language learning experience of second language learners including how their identity relates to their investment of language learning. SLA is usually involved with cultural or national transitions such as immigration or relocation. The process of these transitions affects the formation or transformation of identity through conflicts between at least two social

groups or communities. In this context, identity as a sense of belonging can be the main concern in the area of SLA. Based on the social constructionist perspectives, language learners' experiences have been examined as the processes of meaning construction in a society, and it affects their identity. Many scholars emphasize the influence of socio-cultural factors such as language, history, culture or belief systems on the formation of identity (Bell, 2014; Gee, 2000; Marcia, 1983; Norton, 2000; Norton & McKinney, 2011; Szabo & Ward, 2015). In addition, poststructuralist added that the identity of language learners involves the concept of power relations within the social contexts (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004).

To illustrate this, Gee (2000) defined identity as "being recognized as a certain 'kind of person' in a given context" (p. 99). With the description of 'a given context,' he suggests that multiple identities could be explained depending on the contexts relative to an individual's performance in society. Besides, Marcia (1983) claimed, "Identity refers to an existential position to an inner organization of needs abilities, and self-perceptions as well as to a sociopolitical stance" (p. 159). Norton (2000) also defined identity as "how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future" (p. 5). By emphasizing social relations, these definitions of identity include both the concept of assimilating and differentiating one's self from others. Overall, the scholars supported that the process of cultural, social, and linguistic transitions affects identity construction and development, and the concerns about the multiple identities of language learners have been increased in the field of SLA (Norton, 2006). Indeed, research has indicated that for some children their experiences of two languages and cultures have elements of complexity and inner struggle. Therefore, the identity of transnational youth could draw upon the literature about the process of language socialization and identity of

language learners in the area of SLA.

Many empirical studies examine how the identity of language learners relates to language socialization and their investment in language learning from the perspective that the identity is not fixed, but continuously developing over a period of time through multiple experiences and contexts within power relations. Norton and Mckinney (2011) argued that language learners were constantly “organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world” (p. 74) through the discourse and interactions with the interlocutors whether the interlocutors are native speakers of the target language or not. In terms of language and identity, the concept of investment has recently emerged and connected to the concept of motivation in language learning. In a series of studies, Norton (1995, 2000) criticized traditional social psychological notions of motivation for its disregard of unequal power relations between language learners and native speakers and emphasized how power in the social world affects learners’ access to the target language community. Norton suggested that the failure of language learning is not necessarily related to low motivation but also to an investment in the target language. In other words, highly motivated learners without investment in the target language are not necessarily successful language learners. Learners invest in the target language at particular times and settings although they have a strong motivation to learn the target language. Norton (2000) suggested the term of investment to indicate the “socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language, and their often ambivalent desire to learn and practice it” (p. 10). The notion of investment assumes learners’ diverse desires to engage in the range of social interaction and community practices in which they are situated. According to Norton (1995), “If learners invest in a second language, they do so with the understanding that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will, in turn, increase

the value of their cultural capital" (p. 17). To illustrate this, many scholars examine that language learners' complex identities, which are socially and culturally constructed through interactions relate to investment in the target language, which is also an investment in the learner's own identity (Lee, 2014; Morita, 2004; Ortactepe, 2013; Talmy, 2004, 2008).

In her studies, Talmy (2004, 2008) presented descriptive evidence that identity affected the language investment of transnational immigrants who are already familiar with the target culture. For example, drawn from a two-and-a-half-year critical ethnography at a public high school in Hawaii, Talmy (2008) investigated unsuccessful and unexpected socialization of high school students in Hawaii, who were considered as 'oldtimer' and 'Local ESL'. Talmy divided newcomer of ESL with lower English fluency from 'oldtimer' or 'Local ESL' who still lacked English competency but had ample cultural and social experiences in Local contexts including school settings. Framed within a language socialization theoretical perspective, the study defined the process of language socialization as being contingency and multidirectional. Specifically, this study addressed: (a) interaction between Local ESL students and their first-year teachers; (b) declined academic achievement of Local ESL comparing to "Non-Local ESL"; (c) how their identity as "Local ESL" affect their attitude in classroom; and (d) how the teachers adjust their instruction toward "Local ESL." Talmy (2008) found that the participants tried to reject their identity as an "ESL" when the 'old-timers' were institutionally classified as an "ESL," affecting their language learning. In her previous study, examining identity negotiations of newer immigrants, who are referred to as Fresh off the Boat (FOBs), Talmy (2004) also found that long-term generation 1.5 ESL students distinguished themselves as by non-Fresh off the Boat (FOB)s because ESL learners are usually considered as cultural and linguistic others. From this study, Talmy (2004) found that old ESL learners did not invest in the language practices of their

classroom by rejecting their identities and they challenged their teachers' positioning of them as ESLs. Talmy's studies (2004, 2008) implied how critical it is to consider the diverse status of ESL students and understand their identities in a school setting to support their language learning.

Lee (2014) also examined language learner's motivation, investment, and identity. Lee's study employed two theoretical frameworks, motivation as an investment (Norton, 2000) and language learning and identity changes (Norton, 1995), to examine how a Korean international graduate student's motivation affects her English language improvement, learning strategies, and social interaction. In the descriptive case study, Lee considered the L2 classroom as a site of social, cultural, and political struggle to influence L2 learners' identities, and collected data from interviews with the participant and the friends of the participant as well as written document. Utilizing a process of coding and developing themes, the findings showed an ESL learner's identity construction across time and place in relating to her investment. For example, the participant's investment (Norton, 2000) was helpful to gain legitimate peripheral participation in academic and non-academic settings and construct social interactions and make meaning of her identity changes. Lee suggested further investigation in considering learner's ethnicities and proficiency levels in various target language discourse communities.

In the process of language learning, learners also gain the other forms of knowledge that are learned in and through language, such as culture, social knowledge, ideologies, epistemologies, identities and subjectivities, and affect (Duff & Talmy, 2011, p. 95-96). Many studies have been examined language and identity within the framework of language socialization that takes notice of the relation between language acquisition and socialization. To participate in a society, we need socially and culturally requisite skills, as well as linguistic

competence. While language learners engage in the new social and linguistic practices by expert members in the target-language community, they develop their social identity. In other words, language learning includes "socialization which encompasses socialization through language and socialization into language by interaction with others" (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008, p. 5). Language socialization of L2 learners in the field of SLA is similar to L1 language socialization, but L2 socialization is more complicated because most L2 learners already have their knowledge based on L1. So L1 socialization and experiences gained from their L1 can sometimes assist language learners' L2 socialization including language learning, yet it can also sometimes act as a hindrance. In this sense, the current study involving transnational youth is more complex in that they experience language socialization in their language acquisition of both L1 and L2. Although all human beings experience language learning and socialization, transnational youth have experienced their language learning/acquisition of more than two languages including heritage language and host language in-between communities whether or not they acknowledge it. Within the L1 socialization, parents/family must be the expert and the children will be the novice/learner while teachers and peers are the experts in the L2 socialization. One of the studies to examine language socialization relating to learners' identity construction is Duff's study about ESL students in Canada. Duff (2002) examined newcomers' socialization from the experiences of Asian ESL (English as a Second Language) students in Canada. In this study, Duff (2002) presented how newcomers or language learners struggle developing their identities in the process of socialization.

In a multiple case study, Morita (2004) explored how L2 learners negotiate their identities from their academic discourse socialization experiences. Framed within language socialization perspective, the study defines the 'community of practices' as the place to struggle

and negotiate their identity and agency through their participation in language activities. Language learning, therefore, is "a fundamentally social, cultural, and temporal activity." Specifically, the research questions addressed in the study: (a) How L2 students negotiate competence and identities in their new L2 classroom communities; (b) the thoughts, perspectives, and feelings of L2 students being silent in the classroom; (c) the relationship between L2 students' agency, positionality, classroom participation, and personal transformation. Data were collected from six female graduate international students from Japan and ten of their course instructors. Primary data sources included self-reports, interviews, and classroom observations. The findings suggested that participants who were international students in a Canadian university were challenged to be recognized as a competent member of a given classroom community and negotiated discourses, competence, identities, and power relations to participate actively in classroom discussions. Importantly, the author found that students were engaged in active ongoing negotiation even when they were in silence and appeared too passive.

Ortactepe (2013) examined how a Turkish doctoral student in the United States negotiated identity by employing a language socialization approach. The findings illustrated that the participant's language socialization and investment to have a better life was challenged by the struggle to gain social networks and to be recognized within the target language community. The participants of the studies both by Morita (2004) and Ortactepe (2013) were graduate students, who were already competent in their L1 and lacked competence in L2. There are few studies to examine identity negotiation of transnational youth, who are in developing their competency in their L1 and L2 since they are young and unvoiced. Thus, this study suggests that it is also vital to examine how transnational youth have negotiated their identities as they become bilingual and bicultural.

The identity and language of transnational youth, moreover, might reflect the politics and power relations in social contexts as many scholars from poststructuralists emphasize the role of power relations in language and identity (Pavlenko & Bourdieu, 1991; Blackledge, 2004; Lippi-Green, 2012). Lippi-Green's (2012) Standard Language Ideology (SLI) presented the process of identity categorization relating to language learning within the framework of power relations. In addition, Bourdieu's (1991) symbolic model suggested an invisible "symbolic power" that official language speakers can be considered. Conversely, people who are not speakers of the official language are subject to "symbolic domination" in which they do not recognize domination (p. 72). In other words, the use of standard language/official language without accent provides its speakers with linguistic, economic and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1991). Many scholars in the area of SLA deepen the discussion about the symbolic power relations for immigrants whose primary language is different from the target language as they encounter new cultural and discursive practices through interaction with experts as novices because of their low proficiency or accents of the target language (Duff & Talmy, 2011). Djite (2006) further asserted, "language is often seen as being essential to establishing an individual's or speech community's place in society" (p. 3). Their language fluency and competency might influence language learners' place in society. According to Ricento (2005), "Identity is theorized as a contingent process involving dialectic relations between learners and the various worlds and experiences they inhabit and which act on them" (p. 895). Low social status as a novice or being incompetent, thus, might negatively influence their social interaction and the identity of language learners negatively. Regarding both their L1 and L2, the status of transnational youth as a language learner might affect their identities. Aligned with the language shift experience of language learners, they cannot avoid struggling to construct their own identities. What is more,

for transnational youth who reside in an English-speaking host society, it is critical to consider the symbolic power relation in considering the power of English as an official and societal dominant language that needed for education, employment, and other basic purposes. In this sense transnational youth have experienced the "symbolic power" relations whether it is in their host communities (English speaking communities in this study) or their heritage communities (Korean speaking communities in this study). As long as they have grown up in families with at least one parent who migrated from non-English speaking countries, children have observed the power relations of language as well as they experience as language learners in both or either one of the communities. Furthermore, children's social context in schools encourages use of English as an official language for education. However, as a minority, they do not have enough opportunities to express their identity in mainstream society. Therefore, it is essential to make room for transnational youth to navigate and express their identity. Language must be a tool for their identity development and many scholars supported that language and literacy practices of transnational populations in both L1 and L2 contribute to identity development.

Many empirical studies have shown how linguistic and literacy practices are influenced by and are used to form and represent transnational population's identities (Choi, 2009; Crawshaw et al., 2001; Evans, 2015; Finders, 1997; Guzzetti & Gamboa, 2004; Norton & Mckinney, 2011; Szabo & Ward, 2015; Tetrault, 2009). Tertrault (2009) showed the cultural and linguistic resources are transformed and negotiated for their identity construction. The author examined how Muslim French adolescents living in a cité, clusters of low-income housing projects outside Paris, negotiate their performance of linguistic and cultural resources as a local expression of identity. From naturally-occurring interactional data among Muslim French adolescents, parental name calling was selected and analyzed regarding the cultural meaning of

'respect.' In a North Africa, which is their own immigrant background, parental name-calling was not an appropriate cultural practice. However, the adolescents tended to transform it into a new expressive form by using the first name of a peer's parent in a public setting within their peer groups while they tend to fulfill the expectation of cultural meaning of 'respect' in the presence of parents. Intentionally, they negotiate their performance of linguistic and cultural resources by distorting a little the cultural value of 'respect' within their peer groups to tease or exercise their social control. This study demonstrated how second and 3rd generation transnational adolescents reflect both French and Arab cultural origins in their linguistic and cultural performance for their identity construction within the context of peer interaction.

Furthermore, many studies presented multilingual students as likely to negotiate their identities, either positively or negatively, through literacy practices and experiences. For example, Choi (2009) examined how four Asian adolescent English language learners engaged in meaningful identity construction by participating in an after school literacy club based on Gee's (2000) cultural models as a tool to understand identity. The purpose of the qualitative case study was to examine the identities and identity construction of Asian ELL adolescents in an after school literacy club including reading, writing, and discussing activities. The study proposed that the read, talk, wiki (RTW) club as an after school literacy club created the spaces for identity negotiation with the aid of multicultural literature by encouraging the focal participants to respond to literature. Framed within a Gee (2003)'s cultural model, the study defines multicultural literature as literature related to the participant's experiences and cultures such as cultural conflicts and pressure. Multicultural literature, therefore, was the role of a facilitator to elicit participants' responses and identity. From four focal participants who were all high school boys and who came from Korea, Uzbekistan, and India, the data included interviews,

face-to-face RTW club meeting, and electronic written reflections in Wiki over five months. Throughout the study, the participants were encouraged to participate in the after school literacy club by discussing and posting their responses. The finding of the study was that the literacy club provided the participants with the opportunities to discuss and share where they positioned themselves academically, socially, ethnically, culturally, and linguistically. Explicitly, this study supported that the after school literacy club was a site of identity construction to provide a small and intimate group setting for the participants to talk and write freely without pressure and to encourage the participants to present various aspects of identity construction.

While these studies suggest the importance of understanding transnational youth's language and literacy activities to support their identity development, many transnational youth in the United States are not provided opportunity and resources in their educational settings. As the culture and language of transnational youth are different from the mainstream society, it is critical to examine how transnational youth negotiate their identities with their linguistic and cultural experience across their everyday contexts including both heritage and host communities.

Bilingualism/Multilingualism

In the third section of the chapter, I shift to expand the concept of language and identity theories relating to the immigrant population, focusing on their cultural and linguistic experiences within their social and familial contexts as they have complex linguistic, cultural, and social experiences. In particular, transnational adolescents who are the subject of this study have complex experiences with language learning and use in-between at least two communities in their everyday life. So this section includes a brief summary of trends and limitations of research related to transnational youth' language, culture, and their identities.

1.5 and 2nd Generation Transnational Adolescents

As the world has become more globalized, the diversity of the transnational population has been increased, and they cannot be described within a single profile. The transnational population is a highly heterogeneous, complex, and diverse group, not only culturally and linguistically, but also socioeconomically and politically. In this sense, it is essential to understand the characteristics and needs of the specific group of transnational population in order to provide them with appropriate guidance and support. The subject of this study is Korean 1.5 and 2nd generation transnational adolescents in the United States who live with their 1st generation parents. In considering the developmental stage of adolescence, in particular, it is critical to consider the developmental and educational issues surrounding the transnational youth in their adolescence as well as to understand their familial context which might be different from mainstream society. 1.5 and 2nd generation transnational youth are more familiar with the culture and language of the United States compared to their first-generation parents since they have received a large part of their formal education in the United States. At the same time, transnational youth' linguistic and cultural repertoire are not the same to their peers' in the mainstream society. As they have grown up in their immigrant family, they are driven to navigate between liminal spaces in their daily lives: in-between the mainstream host society and heritage communities. Although they do not physically border between the two communities, they live in-between at least two communities in their everyday lives. In this sense, Bhabha's construct of 'hybridity' and 'third space' is applied to understand this transnational population of 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American immigrant youth. Bhabha (1998) suggested the position of liminality, which is negotiated, not assimilated toward any one space, termed 'third space.' According to Bhabha's understanding of third space, identity is a process of negotiation reflecting their liminal spaces. While 1.5 and 2nd generation immigrant youth live in-between

societies in their everyday life, they construct their identity within their figured social contexts as well as their imagined communities, which they hope belong to. Their identity based on their figured worlds or imagined communities affects their motivation and agency to assimilate or reject their linguistic and cultural resources. On the other hand, they are rejected or accepted by the social groups, which lead them to investing in their cultural and linguistic learning. Their language and culture are very complicated or unclear both for themselves and others. Furthermore, there are some conflicts between parents and children depending on their perceptions and experiences both in the host society and the heritage community. All things considered, transnational youth are experiencing both challenges and opportunities in transnational contexts and their struggles with identity in-between communities must reach the apex in their adolescence. Thus, the complex experience of language and culture, as well as identity struggling of transnational adolescents, need to be examined.

Language of 1.5 and 2nd Generation Transnational Youth

In particular, transnational youth struggle to shape themselves concerning language. Whether they were born in the United States or came to the United States in their early childhood, transnational youth have complex linguistic, cultural, and social experiences in-between L1 and L2 communities. In considering their familial context, their first language (L1) experience must be based on their heritage society because they are exposed to their parents' language input in their early childhood. In terms of the second language (L2), some of them might learn L2 before their formal schooling (K or 1st) from preschool experiences while others did not learn L2 until they attended formal schooling. Although there is a difference of length in learning L1 and L2, they must have experienced second language learning or acquisition in their childhood. In other words, for both L1 and L2, they might have felt as a language learner or

continue to feel as a language learner. For example, whether they had been classified institutionally as ESL or not, they experienced the language shift in or before their formal schooling. Before formal schooling, children spend most of their time with their family who use their heritage language, and they experience language shift as they attend school where English is the official language. Bell (2014) defined a language shift as "a dynamic process where people who have traditionally spoken one language begin to speak another" (p. 71). Bell found that this shift affects identity change, construction, or development of language learners. When people stay in homogeneous societies, their identities might be to a greater extent assigned and similar to the identities of the mainstream population. However, transnational people who migrate to a new society, in which the official language is different from their home language adopt or select their identities depending on their process of language learning and surrounding social contexts, such as host societies and heritage communities. In this sense, 1.5 and 2nd generation transnational youth, who live with their 1st generation parents, experience the language shifts in their daily lives and it affects their struggles with identity and construction. In terms of the language shift in adolescence, Michel et al. (2012) showed how the sense of belonging related to the language shift of transnational adolescents. The purpose of this quantitative study was to examine the language shift of adolescent ethnic Germans with a Russian mother tongue in two western and two eastern federal states of Germany. In addition, the study aimed to reveal the variables predicting the differences of language shift between the participants. Framed within a second language acquisition and acculturation theory, the authors selected three variables to affect language shift: linguistic adaptability, contact, and motivation. Linguistic adaptability included variables "related to the efficiency to learn and speak a new language, perceived competence, and cultural/linguistic knowledge." Contact means the amount of contact with

native Germans and motivation addresses motivation to use a second language. In the study, Michael et al. (2012) defined German as a second language of the participants in that they were more familiar with mainstream Russian culture and language since they were born and had grown up in the FSU (former Soviet Union). Notwithstanding, they were classified as German in Germany by law based on their ethnicity and history. Participants in the study were adolescent ethnic Germans who migrated from FSU between the ages of 3 and 18 years. Although the authors defined the participants as 1st generation immigrants, they had already spent an average of six years in Germany, who in my study I would consider as 1.5 generation. As a part of a larger multidisciplinary research project, a self-report questionnaire was collected annually over four years (2002 to 2006) from 229 ethnic German adolescents. The questionnaires were presented in German with Russian subtitles and included measures such as German language use, language problems, parental education, neighborhood, native peers, education aspiration, Russian self-identification, and orientation towards natives to examine their language shift, linguistic adaptability, contact, and motivation. The data were analyzed using hierarchical linear modeling to analyze change and patterns in language use over time. The findings showed that their daily use in German language increased over time while the increasing rate of the German language decelerated as time went by. The study also revealed that language shift had been increased by the identity of second language learners in the context of using the second language as a primary language. Furthermore, peer contacts with the language and motivation of using the language were found to be more related to language shift compared to the influence of their linguistic competency on language shift. The study supported the importance of a sense of belonging for adolescent language learners in language shift of second language and the authors supported the results with the concept of integrative motivation by Gardner (2006). The study is

meaningful, in that language shift toward their ethnic language closely related to their increasing sense of belonging not their language adaptability such as linguistic competency in adolescence. However, the participants of the study were ethnically similar to native peers of the mainstream society. It may have been easier to engage with the native peers and reject their origin country even though their primary language was different from their native peers. For transnational youth who reside in the context that their origin country is considered as being ethnically and linguistically minority, their language shift affects their identity with greater complexity.

Studies have shown that transnational youth experience a more complex process in understanding their unbalanced language competency in both languages. Cummins (1999) purported that for transnational youth, their L2 experience before their formal schooling cannot but lack compared to peers who grow up in native English-speaking families. Most native English speakers have mastered basic conversational English by the time they enter formal school, allowing them to focus on mastering different types of academic English throughout their K-12 education. On the other hand, transnational youth might lack this language experience at home and have problems catching up academically with their native English-speaking peers. Although their speaking and listening level of fluency is higher than English as a Foreign Language (EFL) students, they might live in households or communities where other languages dominate and lack native-like intuitions and experiences of academic English. Also, they might have far stronger everyday oral communication skills than writing or reading skills. To illustrate this, Cummins (1999) made a distinction between basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS) and cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) to explain the difference between conversational language and academic language. With this distinction, Cummins (1999) argued that immigrant youth with conversational fluency might still need support for continued

academic language development because acquisition and developmental patterns between BICS and CALP are different and longer times are needed to catch up to peer-appropriate academic English. In this context, studies show that the lack of L2 literacy experiences prior to their academic experience in schools interrupts students' achievement of English proficiency because of the concurrent linguistic, cognitive and social demands.

In adolescence, it might be more complicated to understand transnational youth' language and culture. They are usually required to serve their heritage language communities as fluent English speakers (Hall & Sham 2007; Love & Briel, 2007; Tse, 1996), while they might experience as incompetent or developing in some areas of English, compared to native proficiency of English as the norm. In other words, they are fluent in U.S. culture and in everyday English, but their fluency in certain settings is not the same as native English speakers. In addition, 1.5 and 2nd generation transnational youth are quite fluent in their heritage language and culture as being used at home when compared to monolingual English speakers or people who do not know their heritage language. However, they might not be fluent speakers of their heritage language, referenced to native-speaker proficiency of their heritage country as the norm. Their heritage language competency might be fluent in their everyday language within familial context, but they feel incompetent in academic language or any social language with peers or social language in a formal setting (Cummins, 1986). Moreover, even their proficiency of heritage language might vary among similar linguistic populations due to various cognitive and personal variables or their length of stay in the non-native culture. According to Yi (2013), most 1.5 and 2nd generation immigrant youth might assume their primary language in different ways. First, their primary language is English because they live in the United States and spend most of their time in an English-speaking school. Second, some feel that Korean is still their first

language as it was their language used to learn soon after birth. Finally, some think that both languages are their primary languages even though their language competency in both languages is not fully achieved in fluency. In this sense, it is not simple for them and others to describe what their primary language or culture is. Depending on the perspective assumed, they might be considered as Americans whose primary language is English, foreigners whose primary language is their heritage language, or bilinguals who are competent in both languages. Regardless of their linguistic competency, their L1 and L2 might change in their early or later childhood depending on their perceptions, experiences, and identities as there is not a clear distinction between their L1 and L2 for transnational youth.

Instead of emphasizing second language learning or heritage language maintenance and development, many scholars have supported the importance of bilingual and multilingual children's use of two or more languages for their overall personal and educational development (Baker, 2002; Cenoz, 2013; Cummins, 1979, 2000, 2007; Cushen & Wiley, 2011; Garcia, 2009). According to Baker (2002), bilingualism brings many advantages such as a close relationship with parents by communication, feeling a sense of belonging, cultural advantages, cognitive advantages, and character advantages such as raised self-esteem, and security in identity. From a meta-analysis of 63 studies, Adesope et al. (2010) also confirmed that bilingualism was positively related to the number of cognitive outcomes such as metalinguistic and metacognitive awareness, and abstract and symbolic representation although there are some variables depending on the contexts of studies by comparing monolinguals. Also, Cushen and Wiley (2011) revealed that bilinguals (in particular, early bilinguals) showed advantages on insight problem solving tasks with more cognitive flexibility by observing the two types of problem solving used by monolinguals and bilinguals. Furthermore, some scholars examined that

bilinguals show the advantages of third language learning (Cenoz, 2013; Sanz, 2000). As examined above, many immigrant scholars, educators, and parents paid attention to the advantages of bilingualism/multilingualism and support maintaining the heritage language and culture for transnational youth. However, it is not simple to understand and support bilingualism/multilingualism of transnational youth who grow up in the context that the mainstream language has power and value without the official support for their heritage language. In considering their contexts, which they are accessible to both home and host societies, it is assumed that transnational youth take advantages of learning at least two languages: host language and heritage language. Thus, they are often criticized if they are not competent in their heritage language or host language. Little has concerned transnational adolescents' conflicting or integrating identities in between their primary discourse community and secondary discourse community in daily life. As language is related to identity, it is evident that transnational youth in a context that the mainstream language is valued with power over their heritage language would experience additional identity pressure to oscillate or engage in-between contexts.

To illustrate this, Kanno (2000) examined the relationship between bilingualism and identity of kikokushijo (Japanese returnees) who lived in North America for several years and then returned to Japan. Framed within a philosophical belief underlying narrative inquiry, this study examined multiple identities of participants from their life stories both the socially and personally constructed. Depending on their contexts, the identity and language role of the participants was changed, and the inquiry explored their multiple identities reflecting various contexts. Specifically, it examined the language and identity in the context of (1) English in the host countries; (2) Japanese in the host countries; (3) Japanese in the home country; and (4)

English in the home country. For the study, four participants were selected purposefully considering a diversity of data: gender, the age of transfer, and personal characters from a class that the author had taught at a Saturday Japanese school in Canada. Over three years, the author collected data from interviews in Canada before the participants left Canada, as well as interviews for two years after they returned to Japan. Also, e-mail, phone calls, and group journals were utilized to collect data. The findings showed that language plays different roles in different contexts depending on whether it is a majority language or minority language as well as to what extent the language is valued within a context. The author concluded that the participants as bilinguals have two conflicting desires: (1) to be integrated into the mainstream society through the mainstream language; (2) to "assert their uniqueness" from the minority language. Kanno's (2000) study is very critical in that it reveals the close relationship between language and identity from the life story of the participants. Interestingly, the author indicated that English in Japan is a symbolic language which earns respect rather than a language for communication. Although they were not exposed in a situation to use English, the participants enjoyed being recognized as English speakers, reflecting the power of English in society. Although some participants as ELLs were not fully fluent, they were considered as English speakers in Japan by other monolingual Japanese speakers, and it led Japanese returnees to have a desire of maintaining English. In the study, Kanno (2000) found the struggling or marginalizing experience of the participants depending on their different contexts. Furthermore, the study proposed that the recognition of language might affect language learners' language development and identity as the author explicitly mentioned, "Bilingual students can attain their maximum potential when they are appreciated for their bilingual and bicultural existence." Language learners put an investment when their language and culture are recognized and valued. In this

context, it is meaningful to examine the language and identity of transnational youth in the context that L2 has power while L1 is considered as a minority language in the L2 context. I expand Kanno (2000)'s study by investigating what made transnational youth invested on their bilingual and bicultural identities in the context that the language of a mainstream society is English, which has a social, cultural, and political power while the heritage language is in a minority status as an unrecognized language in a mainstream society including educational contexts.

For transnational youth, to be exposed to transnational contexts in their childhood might be a barrier of bilingual learning in that their L1 competency has not been fully achieved yet. According to Cummins (1979), first language (L1) proficiency is one of the essential predictors of the second language (L2) development. Cummins argued that more developed L1 skills contribute to acquiring L2 quickly. Cummins (2007) also explained that effective L1 development enhances academic development in L2 and emphasizes the "transfer of academic skills and knowledge across languages" (p. 109). In this way, Cummins (1999) put a value on additive bilingualism to keep both L1 (heritage language/first language) and L2 (target language/second language) in the process of L2 learning for the linguistic and academic benefits, while the selection between additive bilingualism and subtractive bilingualism rely on individual choice and one's identity. Given the importance of L1 language and literacy development for L2 language and literacy, it must be encouraged for transnational youth to continue engaging in various literacy practices in their L1 in and outside of school while developing their L2. However, Cummins' studies have usually been conducted in the bilingual contexts of Canada where both languages are common or official to use, and the context is different from the subject of this study whose L1 is totally different from the L2 of the host society and have less power in

the host society. Moreover, for 1.5 and 2nd generational transnational youth, their exposure to L1 is limited after coming to the United States (Hakuta et al., 2000; Rodby, 1999; Scarcella, 2002; Silva, 1997).

Unlike first generation adult immigrants, 1.5 and 2nd generation transnational youth tend to stop engaging in age- or grade-appropriate L1 academic experiences after coming to the U. S. Adult immigrants could be fully exposed to their academic experience in L1 before their immigration and remain involved in literacy development activities in L1. It suggests that the transfer of students' L1 writing skills, experiences, or behaviors to their L2 writing practices cannot apply to 1.5 and 2nd generation transnational multilingual readers and writers who are not "solidly literate in L1" (Blanton, 2005). Therefore, it is hard to expect for 1.5 and 2nd generation transnational youth to maintain or develop their L1 academic skills or literacy experiences to L2 since even this transfer occurs when both languages have been reached to the substantial levels of literacy skills. Moreover, L2 (English) competency of transnational youth is not fully developed at the beginning of their formal schooling. Notwithstanding, transnational youth are not appropriately supported for their language and literacy development in L2 (English) within their familial context. For example, Quiroz and Dixon (2011) revealed that English literacy support at home in multilingual families seemed to compensate only on the English word-level literacy test or with the least demanding task. From the study, Quiroz and Dixon (2011) found that ELLs' home language environment and skills might not coincide with school language and literacy resources, while monolingual children benefit from a common language of home and school as well as communication and maternal scaffolding.

As discussed above, transnational youth' bilingual and bicultural contexts can be considered as a lack of or as an abundance of linguistic and cultural resources and experiences.

Thus, it is critical to support their uniqueness so that transnational youth do not experience or feel denial in both contexts: host society in the United States and their heritage community. The multilingual skills and multicultural resources of transnational youth need to be valued at both a personal and social level. In this sense, it is critical to embrace a full range of transnational youth' language and culture in considering their varying degrees of competency and repertoires. Without relating to their competency in any language, their full range of linguistic repertoires including all languages consist of their linguistic competency. In this sense, they are not viewed as a person with a lack of linguistic competency in any language, but they are those who with more linguistic repertoires than the monolingual population. Although there are many studies that transnational youth are considered as second language learners, few studies examine their struggles in constructing bilingual and bicultural identity in-between social contexts in adolescence. Instead of only emphasizing the advantages of being bilingual/multilingual, more studies should be conducted about how to support them drawing upon their full range of linguistic and cultural abilities by constructing a strong and sound identity both in familial and social contexts including institutional support.

Family Language Policy

Many scholars have found that the role of parents is critical for transnational youth to build up their transnational linguistic and cultural experiences and repertoires by developing and maintaining their heritage language (Anderson et al., 2010; Curdt-Christiansen, 2013; Mui & Anderson, 2008). 1.5 and 2nd generational transnational youth came to the host country in their early age, and family connection to culture and language are essential for them to connect to their heritage language and culture. In this sense, numerous scholars found that parents' perceptions and practices play a significant role in language acquisition and maintenance either

actively or passively by deciding which language should be used at home and how to support their children to learn and maintain both host and heritage languages (Chao & Ma, 2019; Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; Guardado, 2014; King & Fogle 2006; Pillai et al., 2014; Ro & Cheatham, 2009; Shin & Viruru, 2021; Spolsky, 2012). Before formal schooling, children spend most of their time with their family, and the support from parents is essential for their development including language and culture. As Heath et al. (2014) stated, “Parents, as children’s first teachers play a crucially important role in building their offspring’s emergent literacy knowledge and skills” (p.2).

In the same vein with Heath et al. (2014), Guardado (2014) investigated the crucial roles of parents for heritage language development (HLD) and maintenance. As the part of a larger study, the purpose of the ethnographic study was to examine the role of parents in heritage language maintenance and development for immigrant children from Peru, who live in Vancouver, Canada. By examining the Ruedas-Blanco family with three children, the study addressed: (a) What strategies did the parents use in pursuing HLD?; and (b) how were these supported by the children’s affective ties to extended family members? Primary data sources included oral and written language samples in Spanish and English, participant observation and interviews in Spanish by collecting data over an 18 months period from the Ruedas-Blanco family. The author argued that parental support is a critical source of heritage language development and maintenance for immigrant children by describing how devoted parents promoted a Peruvian identity in their children in the Canadian context, which is their target community. To facilitate their heritage language and identity, the parents expected their children to use Spanish-only at home with families, and the children spoke Spanish with their parents. So they were quite advanced in Spanish language and culture. Also, the author argued that affective

ties to their extended family and friends in their heritage community and country supported immigrant children's motivation to develop and maintain heritage language. Almost every summer or Christmas, the family visited Peru spending time with their extended family, and they regularly met with other peers with similar linguistic and cultural backgrounds in El Centro de Cultura El Centro de Cultura. These activities and experiences promoted the agency of children to be engaged in learning and using their heritage language and culture. Furthermore, their advanced Spanish competency compared to their peers in El Centro de Cultura El Centro de Cultura compensated their ESL status at schools. However, the children tended to speak English with their siblings. As the author discussed, the parents realized that it would not be easy to keep the Spanish-only rules as the children have engaged in more English using settings. Although the study documented well the familial impact on heritage language development and maintenance, it is still limited in that this study examined the children who have not reached the period of adolescence yet.

King and Fogle (2006) also investigated how parents' beliefs and experiences affect parents' decisions about family language policy at home. The purpose of the qualitative study was to examine the ways that parents draw on and use the sources justifying their family language policies as a "good" parent. For this study, twenty-four families who lived in the Washington D.C. metropolitan area participated and the data collected from audio-recorded, ethnographic interviews with parents who want to raise their children bilingually in English and Spanish. The participating families consisted of nine families with both native English-speaking parents, 11 families with one native Spanish-speaking parent and one native English-speaking parent, and four families with both native Spanish-speaking parents. The interview included discourse to explain their family language policy and to justify their decision of what sources and

information they draw on for their language policy decisions at home. All parents considered bilingualism as an advantage for various reasons, and decided to give their children the opportunity to be bilingual. As the authors found three main sources justifying the decision of parents such as (1) the popular press and parenting advice literature, (2) other bilingual families, particularly those of their extended family and (3) their personal experiences with language learning, the study revealed that parents' personal beliefs and experience mostly affect their "good" parenting decision.

Chao and Ma (2019) examined two middle-class Chinese sojourner families' educational and literacy practices in the United States. The participants were visiting scholars from China to the United States, and the parents were actively involved in their children's bilingual literacy and cultural socialization. Data included 1) participant observation for the participants' educational and literacy practices from January 2016 to December 2016, 2) interviews including conversational interviews after each observation, two formal semi-structured interviews with the parents, and two formal semi-structured interview with children, and 3) artifacts such as children's homework and journal writings. Chao and Ma (2019) found that the participating families shaped children's biliteracy practices drawing home, school and community resources to support their children to overcome linguistic and cultural barriers. In this process, the parents supported maintaining their children's Chinese literacy and academic knowledge practices since they planned to return to China. However, in the monolingual English context of the United States, these families' Chinese practices were limited to ethnic identity construction and communication with parents.

While a number of studies have explored how parental language beliefs and experiences influence parental decisions on language policy and practice at home, most of the studies about

bilingualism and Family Language Policy examined immigrant youth in their early childhood. Parents can serve in the role to provide linguistic and cultural inputs as well as to make an environment for their children to be revealed in a specific language and culture. However, it is hard to maintain and develop the language and culture of transnational youth without their agency and motivation for transnational youth in a certain age. As they reach the age to go to school, the perceptions and agency of transnational youth are more important than parents' efforts and peer interaction/influence and broader social interactions are over family influence in adolescence. As children have more engagement in the mainstream society with their school age peers, they might resist the family language policy and practices of their parents and bring the mainstream language into the home. In addition, parents might also change their family language policy to take advantage of educational demands in a monolingual school system. More studies are needed concerning the struggles and dilemmas that transnational youth in adolescence confront as they become more familiar with their L2 culture and language, thus influencing their identity construction. Through social relationships and interactions with peers, adolescents develop a positive or negative social identity within and between both heritage and host community. The examination of identity should begin with the understanding of their discourse in-between communities, and more studies are needed for transnational youth about how an individual's language and language learning affect his/her formation of self-identity and self-esteem through interactions with peers and family both in L1 and L2 communities.

Many studies have examined how Korean migrants maintain their heritage language in a host country (Jee, 2018; Lee, 2002), what language ideology affects their heritage language maintenance and host language acquisition (Kang, 2015; Song, 2010), how home context nurtures young children's biliteracy development (Song, 2016), and how languages and literacy

practices are shaped within 2nd generation children's transnational context (Kwon, 2020). Most of all, the studies revealed Koreans in the United States as well as in Korea value the symbolic power of English. For Korean Americans, this affects their family language policy and communication with their children. At the same time, the Korean community has concerns about the heritage language maintenance of their children since the 1st generation parents' primary language is Korean. In addition, children's transnational connections to their parents' home country with extended family members facilitate their engagement in translanguaging and investment in heritage language and culture. Although many studies examined the Korean migrants' Family Language Policy relating it to language learning and maintenance, ideology, or identity, most studies examined transnationals in their early childhood, which their family and parents have significantly influenced their language and culture. On the other hand, few studies have been conducted about how to understand and support multilingual transnational youth in adolescence, which peer interactions are critical to understand their social and cultural spaces. Given that relatively little is known about transnational youth in adolescence, it is important to investigate their multicultural and multilingual experiences as well as identity development in adolescence.

As examined above, language, culture, and identity are closely related and transnational youth select and reject their language and culture intentionally by their identity within a figured world and imagined communities. Thus, the emphasis of linguistic and cultural development should be aligned with the support of identity exploration and development. Moreover, we should not overlook that transnational youth' linguistic and cultural repertoire and input might not be the same as their parents or people from their heritage country. Therefore, it is critical to understand how transnational adolescents perceive themselves, develop their identities and

agency in order to invest themselves in linguistic and cultural learning. At the same time, it is important to enhance their multiple identities while providing culturally and linguistically relevant teaching and learning in an educational setting to reflect diverse students' language and culture. Heath (1983) showed how important it is to value students' own language and culture even for students with monolingual but different backgrounds. Heath's (1983) nine-year (1969-1978) distinctive ethnographic study of minority and working-class students in three communities in the Piedmont Carolinas, Roadville, Trackton, and Maintown explored the cultural nature of language and literacy by recording and interpreting the language of young school children. Heath found significant differences in terms of language expectations in the home and school environments. Heath maintained, "(The) place of language in the cultural life of each social group is interdependent with the habits and values of behaving shared among members of that group" (p. 11). Sharing her findings with teachers involved in the study, Heath helped them discover ways they could bridge the home-school language dichotomy, not by lowering standards or expectations, but by acknowledging and respecting the students' home literacies as a foundation for further learning. While the language of three groups in this study was still English, though, there were significant differences of their language use and cultural values among the groups and this study suggested implications for understanding and embracing linguistic and cultural diversity in society. Thus, it is also essential to understand a specific transnational population in detail.

Korean American Youth and Identity

In the final section of this literature review, I include literature about the significance of ethnic identity for identity construction. In addition, the literature about Asian transnational populations focusing on Korean migrants-emphasizing their struggles and issues to confront is reviewed. A robust discussion of this population, as well as the related topic of literature about

the lives of Asian and Korean American adolescents, is critical in understanding the context in which the exploratory questions of this study occupy.

Ethnic Identity

As part of a larger interest in the identity and agency of transnational adolescents relating to their language and culture, a number of studies examined how transnational youth with a variety of national and ethnic backgrounds as well as multilingual and multicultural experiences are positioned within and by familial and school contexts and interactions as I reviewed in the previous section. While there is something in common among diverse transnational populations, all of them cannot be simply categorized as the same "transnational population." As the world has become more global and complex, the understanding of identity has been more complicated in considering the influence of diverse and complex social contexts.

As adolescence may be the first time that youth reflect on the implications of their group identification, some scholars have examined immigrant youth struggle in sense of belonging (Awokoya, 2009; Awokoya, 2012; Balogun, 2011; Bashi & McDaniel, 1997; Valenzuela, 1999). These studies reported that immigrant youth often suffer from their sense of belonging with a feeling of not being accepted in both home and host community in that the process of identity development includes learning about one's ethnicity and engaging in cultural practices. In this sense, identity exploration (Phinney, 1989) of transnational adolescents might be more complex as ethnic minorities in a societal context of the white majority. In terms of nationality, migrants can be labeled based on the country of origin, the country of settlement, or both combined, which can be changed after years spent in the host country. However, ethnicity is differentiated from nationality and represents an individual's ties to their host country including language and culture as Basch et al. (1994) indicated:

> The concept of "ethnic group" was a central aspect of the new construction of immigrant populations…the term 'ethnic' refers to a set of cultural practices, beliefs, and values that are imputed to have originated in the shared tradition of a nation, territory, or language grouping outside of the territorial United States. It is this use and conceptualization of ethnicity that pervaded the popular press and remains enshrined in today's descriptions of American social structure. (p. 43)

James (2006) claimed that ethnicity "gives individuals a sense of identity and belonging based, not only on their perception of being different but also on the knowledge that they are recognized by others as being different" (p.48). Whether they self-identify as a specific ethnic group or not, individuals might be considered as a specific ethnic group by others. For example, McKinney (2007) examined the recognition of language for the identity categorization of youth in South Africa. This study found that participants used racial and ethnic labeling to categorize the various dialects, suggesting that racial and ethnic identity is a very essential part of the understanding identity of others as well as for deciding their own identity. In a similar vein, Kasinitz et al. (2009) proposed that race and ethnicity are closely related to the experiences with others. Phinney and Rotheram (1987) defined ethnic identity as "one's sense of belonging to an ethnic group and the part of one's thinking, perceptions, feelings, and behaviour that is due to ethnic group membership" (p. 13) while some scholars advocate the development of a strong ethnic identity is essential to identity construction, contributing to high self-esteem (Carlson et al., 2000) as well as to the personal and social well-being of immigrant youth (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). However, a number of scholars reported that immigrant youth struggle to construct their ethnic identity within home and host countries. For instance, in the three-year ethnographic study, Valenzuela (1999) found that Mexican immigrant youth often struggled to

construct and assert their ethnic identities with members of their own group. From the study, the author argued schooling was organized in ways that subtract resources from Mexican youth, Valenzuela (1999) found that academic achievement of U.S. born 2nd and 3rd + generation Mexican American youth were significantly lower than 1st generation immigrant youth. Although 2nd and 3rd + generation Mexican American youth are English monolingual, they are perceived as requiring ever more cultural assimilation and resocialization in the U.S. mainstream as they are considered Mexican American. While 2nd and 3rd + generation Mexican immigrant youth experience denial from their own ethnic and racial group, they are also considered not able to competently function in America's mainstream.

Schwartz et al. (2007) also examined to what extent acculturation and ethnic identity relates to psychosocial outcomes such as academic performance, externalizing symptoms, and prosocial behavior as well as how acculturative stress and self-esteem mediate these relationships. Acculturation, ethnic identity, acculturative stress, self-esteem, externalizing behavior symptoms, and prosocial behavior of 347 Hispanic middle school students in western Michigan were measured with existing measures and scales such as the youth version of the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-II, the Multi-group Ethnic Identity Measure, the Rosenberg (1965) Self-Esteem Scale, the Oregon Adolescent Depression Project Conduct Disorder Screener (Lewinsohn, Rohde, & Farrington, 2000) and the Prosocial Tendencies Measure (Carlo & Randall, 2002). In addition, self-reported academic grades by the participants were assessed. Using descriptive statistics and bivariate correlations, the results of the study revealed that ethnic identity relates to academic grades and externalizing symptoms. In addition, participants' cultural orientation relates to their academic grades and prosocial behavior. In terms of acculturative stress, this study showed that acculturative stress and self-esteem work as a

mediator in the relationship of U.S. cultural orientation with academic grades and behavior problems.

Transnational youth also struggle in confronting stereotypes. Although their experiences are specific as immigrants in the target society, they are often viewed with stereotypes as a specific racial or ethnic group. Transnational youth who live with their migrant family have been exposed to their native language and culture and might maintain a strong ethnic identity. At the same time, they are exposed to the language and culture of the host country as they spend most of their time at school. While they come across home and host country in their daily life, they acquire the norms, attitudes, and behavior patterns of both their ethnic group and the mainstream of the host country. In other words, their identity can embrace both cultures and languages. However, it must be more than the addition of both as Basch et al. (1994) stated:

> As transmigrants operate in the national arena of both their country of origin and country (or countries) of settlement, they develop new spheres of experience and new fields of social relations: There is currently a gap between the daily practices of transmigrants and the ways both transmigrants and academics represent these practices. (p. 9)

In the U.S. system of racial categorization, the diversity of ethnicity and nationality are disregarded and often considered being homogenized within the categorization (Bashi & Mc Daniel, 1997; Lippi-Green, 2012). Bashi and McDaniel (1997) reported that African immigrants are considered as homogenized as Blackness in the United States. In the same context, Lippi-Green (2012) explained that Asians are classified as only one term, Asian without considering their internal and external diversity. As a result, many immigrants encounter stereotypes whether they are positive or negative. For transnational youth who have grown up in the United States for most of their lifetime, the encounter of stereotypes might affect their identity construction in

different ways from adult immigrants in that transnational youth are caught between the two worlds of their family and peer social contexts, as well as the home and host country.

A number of researchers investigated how immigrant populations suffer from stereotypes as they are classified as a specific racial or ethnic group (Awokoya, 2012; Bashi & Mc Daniel, 1997; Landale & Oropesa, 2002; Lippi-Green, 2012; McGee et al., 2017; Waters, 1999). In her study, Awokoya (2012) examined how three major contexts—family, school, and peer groups—affect the ways in which African immigrant youth construct and negotiate their racial and ethnic identities. The author argued that it is common for 1.5 and 2nd generation African immigrant youth in the United States to experience the challenge of feeling not accepted by their own ethnic and racial group. Framed within the multiple worlds framework by Phelan et al. (1993), the author paid attention to three interrelated contexts—family, school, and peers— as well as the power of media in order to understand social and educational experiences and challenges of 1.5 and 2nd generation Nigerian immigrant youth. Specifically, this study addressed: How do 1.5- and second-generation Nigerian immigrant youth describe and experience the interplay of their multiple identities within family, school, and peer contexts? The primary data included questionnaire, interviews, and one two-hour focus group with five participants. The data were coded and analyzed using deductive and inductive strategies based on the author's previous and current study. Similarities and differences across informants' data were identified to find patterns and themes from the codes. From the data analysis, the author found that their contexts-family, school, and peers significantly affected the identity negotiation and construction of the participants. In addition, the media affected their negative and stereotypical images across the contexts. While parents within the familial contexts affected constructing Nigerianness and rejecting Blackness, the participants struggle to be represented as Blackness and Africaness with

the stereotyped racial and ethnic images in a school context. In addition, within peer contexts, they fight against contradicted and distorted views of Africanness in three particular ways: being too African, not black enough, and not African enough. From the findings, the author purported that social context influences identity at the individual level: Nigerian Americans struggle to construct and negotiate their identities for and against the stereotypes as African American in-between home and school contexts. By presenting the challenges of 1.5 and 2nd generation African immigrant youth, the author revealed how both their African and American identities are questioned and undervalued as they interact with family, teachers, and peers: they struggle to fit into African, Nigerian, African American, and Black. While the participants come across three interrelated contexts in their everyday life, their self-perceived identity forces them to accept or reject their ethnic and racial group in the U. S.

As discussed above, transnational youth are often given a racial and ethnic identity not aligning with their self-identification or alienated from their situated context regardless of their sense of belonging. In this context, transnational youth struggle with their sense of belonging, fearing of being ousted, and try to exclude themselves from their ethnic or racial groups by losing their native language and culture while acquiring L2 and new cultures. On the other hand, they do not put an investment in language and culture to assimilate to the host country. In this sense, Phinney (2000) argued that ethnic language proficiency was a predictor of ethnic identity. As reviewed in the previous section, many scholars have been interested in the relationship between identity and investment in language (Lippi-Green, 2012; Norton, 1997; Phinney, 2000). Lippi-Green (2012) supported, “If an individual cannot find any social acceptance for her language outside her own speech communities, she may come to denigrate her own language, even while she continues to use it” (p. 68). Moreover, Norton (1997) argued that an individual,

as diverse, contradictory, and dynamic, tended to negotiate their sense of belonging by accepting or rejecting a particular aspect of their identity while experiencing dominant ideologies and discourses. In this sense, the entanglement of racial classification and stereotypes toward specific races within the U. S. must contextualize the construction of identity for transnational adolescents.

Race and Ethnicity of Asians and Koreans in the United States

In the U.S. government system, Asians include people from the Far East, Southeast Asia, and the Indian subcontinent (U.S. Census Bureau, 2018). For Asian immigrants, their ethnicity or race is a distinct feature in the United States since they are visibly different from a typical Caucasian who is considered as a mainstream and majority of United States. Rumbaut (1994) stated:

> Ethnic self-awareness is heightened or blurred, respectively, depending on the degree of dissonance or consonance of the social contexts which are basic to identity formation. For youths in a consonant context, ethnicity is not salient, but contextual dissonance heightens the salience of ethnicity and of ethnic groups boundaries, all the more when it is accompanied by disparagement and discrimination. (p. 754)

Even Asian Americans who were born and have lived in the United States for their whole life might suffer from struggling in their sense of belonging in the U.S as they are classified as being othered from the mainstream population in the United States, which is called ‘foreigner syndrome’ (Lippi-Green, 2012). For 1.5 and 2nd generation transnational youth, they also self-identify themselves as an American in that they are used to the culture and language of the United States, but their appearance makes them differentiate from the mainstream populations of the United States. They cannot position themselves solely American because of their distinctive

features such as race and ethnicity, and they often identify themselves with a combination of ethnic and national identity such as Asian American or Korean American. If individuals are classified as a specific ethnicity, whether they engage entirely in the ethnic group or not, they would confront many issues such as a sense of belonging, stereotypes, and prejudice. To illustrate this, Liu (2015) examined identity negotiation between first, second, and 1.5 generation Chinese immigrants in Australia. Data from interviews suggested that 1.5 and 2nd generation immigrants have more conflicting cultural and ethnic identities compared to first generation immigrants, even though 1.5 and 2nd generation have more linguistic and cultural competence of the host country than first generation. The result of this study suggested that first generation who already experienced identity formation in their adolescence within the quite homogeneous heritage communities might have constructed a more stable identity compared to 1.5 and 2nd generation as Erikson (1968) proposed adolescence as the critical period of identity formation.

There are huge variations among populations who are classified as Asian. Although the U.S. government uses the term 'Asian' to classify people from the Far East, Southeast Asia, and the Indian subcontinent, there are huge differences within the category including their nationalities, ethnicities, cultures and languages (Lippi-Green, 2012). Once being categorized an Asian, immigrant youth are represented as Asians and expected to have Asian identity without considering their specific characteristics and contexts. In this sense, Koreans might struggle from the perspectives within many stereotypes and prejudices towards Asian. Existing research on Asians have revealed that Asian Americans are represented as playing a passive or minor role that reflects personality and behavioral stereotypes (Mastro & Greengerg, 2000; Mastro &Stern, 2003; Deo et al., 2008) as well as having homogeneity in religious and ethnic orientations (Yee, 1992). In addition, Lippi-Green (2012) explained, "A prominent Asian stereotype is of an

intelligent, clever, but crafty and unreliable person" (p.287). Even a positive Asian stereotype implies a negative perspective.

From a positive perspective, Asians have been a 'model minority' group within the United States (Basch et al., 1994; McGee et al., 2017; Ogbu, 1987). Basch, Schiller, and Blanc (1994) explained, "Asian-Americans have been held up as exemplars of the upward mobility minorities could obtain in the United States if only they made the effort" (p. 44). However, Asian immigrants' high academic achievement as a 'model minority' confined Asian American youth to be neglected as well as to feel silenced for those who do not fit into the image of a 'model minority' (Lee, 1996; Lew, 2006; McGee et al., 2017; Park, 2011). Moreover, the positive stereotype about Asian Americans as a 'model minority' being hard-working and diligent implies negatively that Asians value money and work over people. As such, the lack and inaccurate representations of Asian people and culture in the United States reinforce the negative and stereotypical images of Asians and cultures. Thus, Asian immigrants face unique challenges in constructing and negotiating their racial and ethnic identities within the prejudice and stereotyped images.

For example, McGee et al. (2017) examined Asian and Asian American college students stereotyped as "model minorities." This qualitative study used a phenomenological approach to examine how racial bias impacted Asian college students in science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM). Although the stereotype of "model minority" suggested that Asian students were perceived as academically advanced or naturally smart in STEM, this seemingly positive stereotype can have negative psychological effects. By conducting interviews with 23 high-achieving Asian college students in STEM fields, McGee et al. (2017) found that most participants identified negative aspects of the model minority stereotype, connecting to

discrimination, which negatively influence their lives. Even in such instances when they sought careers, some participants expressed the experience of being pushed towards STEM from the stereotyped bias. The stereotype of high expectations toward STEM often caused systematic stress for some participants with unrealistic expectation. Additionally, this study found that the Asian American college students experienced being disregarded with regard to diversity and unique qualities as individuals when framed within the racial stereotypical categories. In other words, McGee et al. (2017) suggested that racial stereotyping is harmful for the participants, as others perceive them within the stereotypical categories. Asian Americans within even positive stereotypes cannot have a space to understand and express themselves naturally.

Many studies on Asian transnational youth highlighted the negative experiences with their parents and peers and how their relationship with their parents and peers affected their mental health which in turn relates to Asian transnational adolescents' struggle of identity construction. There are many reasons that cause this mental health such as acculturation stress, linguistic and cultural conflicts with their parents or peers, and a social misfit in-between more than two communities. Rumbaut (1994) argued, "For children of immigrants, that developmental process can be complicated by experiences of intense acculturative and intergenerational conflicts as they strive to adapt in social identity contexts that may be racially and culturally dissonant" (p. 753).

In a quantitative study, Leon (2004) revealed that 1st generation immigrant parents' acculturative stress related to their children's anxiety levels. Sixty-three immigrant parents with children between the ages of 11 months and 5 years had participated in the study. Data collected from the questionnaire included self-reported stress factors related acculturation and the parent-report of Brief Infant-Toddler Social and Emotional Assessment (B-ITSEA). In addition, Leidy

et al., (2009) found that parent acculturative stress played an important variable from the study that examined the links between positive marital quality of parents and child outcomes. The authors collected data by observing parent-child interaction and interviewing with self-reporting questions from 134 first generation Mexican American couples and their 5th grade children. To measure acculturative stress, an adapted version of the Societal, Attitudinal, Familial, and Environmental Acculturative Stress Scale was used and children's outcomes were reported by parents employing the Child Behavior Checklist. Using SPSS, the result of data was analyzed, and the study found that parent acculturative stress mediated the relationship between positive marital quality and children's internalizing behaviors 1 year later.

In another study, Rhee et al. (2003) examined Asian American adolescents' level of acculturation, openness in communication with parents, peer interaction, and self-esteem compared to Caucasian American adolescents. 99 Asian Americans and 90 Caucasian Americans, who ranged in age from 13 to 18 years and grew up in the same neighborhood, were recruited using a stratified sampling method. Drawing on the literature that ethnic minority adolescents' acculturation stress and incongruent cultural expectation between home and host society affect their self-esteem and psychosocial adjustments, the authors compared levels of self-esteem, acculturation, and communication with their parents between Asian Americans and Caucasian Americans. For this, the study used questionnaires consisting of four scales: 10-item Rosenberg Self-esteem scales, 15-item acculturation behavior scale for adolescents (Chae, 1990), and 20-item Mother-adolescent and 20-item Father-Adolescent Communication scale (Olson et al., 1985, as cited in Rhee et al., 2003). Using two-tailed *t* test and regression analysis, the results showed significant differences in self-esteem levels between the two ethnic groups: Asian Americans have significantly lower level of self-esteem than their Caucasian counterparts. The

authors found that the level of acculturation related to levels of self-esteem, which is associated with openness in communicating with their parents. The more openly they communicated with their parents, the higher levels of self-esteem they tended to have. In general, Asian adolescents expressed more difficulty in communicating with their parents and have more limited peer networks than Caucasian American adolescents.

As examined above, many quantitative studies found that acculturative stress of parents affected children's outcomes and adjustment. In considering that acculturative stress of youth themselves, it is also very natural that many transnational youth struggle to construct their identities in adolescence. Therefore, it is critical to understand a specific population of transnational youth within the diversity in order to provide appropriate educational and social contexts.

Aligned with the studies that examined Asian immigrants, some scholars reported the struggle of Korean transnational youth reflecting Korean parenting styles within their conflicted cultural contexts (Kim & Cain, 2018; Kim & Hong, 2007; Lee, 2004). For example, Kim and Cain (2018) examined the association between Korean American parent–adolescent relationships and adolescents' depressive symptoms. Framed within a parental acceptance–rejection theory, the study defines the quality of the relationship between adolescents and their parents including parental warmth and care, parental control, and intergenerational acculturation conflicts. Although adolescents' elevated levels of depressive symptoms tend to relate to their perceptions of low parental warmth, high parental control, and frequent conflicts with their parents (Hale et al., 2005; Rapee, 1997; Sheeber et al., 1997), the authors pointed out higher rates of Korean American adolescents with mental health problems than other ethnic groups. Considering cultural contexts as a Korean living in the American society, the authors took notice of Korean

Confucian culture and authoritarian parenting styles that make a gap between the perceptions of adolescents about parental warmth and parental control and the parents' expression and control level. In addition, intergenerational acculturation conflicts of Korean Americans might affect significantly to their depressive symptoms. Based on a study with 56 Korean American adolescents, this inquiry explored to what extent these parent-adolescents relationship affects adolescents' elevated depressive symptoms. Specifically, it addressed: (a) How are parent–adolescent relationships with adolescents' depressive symptoms? (b) Of the three factors (i.e., parental warmth, parental control, and intergenerational acculturation conflict), which one is the most significant contributing factor to adolescent depressive symptoms? and (c) How does the frequency of common parent– adolescent conflict situations contribute to adolescents' depressive symptoms? The data for this study had been collected by four self-reporting instruments from Korean American adolescents. Data analysis using SPSS for descriptive statistics include means, standard deviation, ranges, and distributions from the self-reporting instrument. The results showed that 39.3% (N=22) of adolescents in this study resulted in the score indicating "positive" for depressive symptoms. Moreover, the results showed that the quality of relationships between adolescents and their parents are related to their depressive symptoms. In particular, lower maternal and paternal warmth and higher intergenerational conflict were positively correlated with adolescents' elevated depressive symptoms. Also, elevated depressive symptoms were correlated with higher maternal control, irrespective of paternal control. Interestingly, intergenerational conflict was the most significant factor for father-adolescent relationship while maternal was the most significant factor for mother-adolescent relationship. This study is quite critical in that the authors considered the cultural contexts to examine adolescents' perceptions of parent-adolescent relationships and to investigate the reason for higher rates of Korean American

adolescent's mental health problem. Moreover, this study revealed the difference between mother-adolescent relationships and father-adolescent relationships to affect the adolescent's depressive symptoms. However, it did not suggest the detailed cultural and linguistic experiences of adolescents that affect their perceptions of the quality of relationship with their parents although it confirmed that many Korean American adolescents suffer from depressive symptoms. The more in-depth investigation from qualitative data might be able to reveal what and how their cultural and linguistic experiences make the adolescents perceive their relationships with their parents such as parental warmth, control, and intergeneration conflicts. The study from the more detailed investigation will support promoting parent-adolescent relationship and decreasing parent–adolescent acculturation conflicts for Korean American families by understanding their intergenerational and intercultural gaps to affect their perceptions. Besides, it is necessary to examine how peer relationships affect their perceptions with their relationship with their parents.

Considering the complexity of transnational youth, it is assumed that transnational adolescents tend to linger in the stage of identity exploration. Yip, Seaton, and Sellers (2006) reported that individuals who have high levels of identity exploration might not acquire the psychological protective factors observed when one has committed or affirmed his/her group membership. Fisher et al. (2014) also found that identity exploration lowered mental health of youth. Taken together, it is vital to examine the identity development of transnational youth in adolescence and how to support their identity construction positively. In terms of language and culture, in particular, it is meaningful to investigate a specific group of transnational population with the same ethnicity because ethnic identity is an essential part that consists of identity. There are still various differences even within any specific population with the same ethnic backgrounds, but the similar cultural and linguistic background become a clue to understanding

the specific groups, and it will help to expand to understanding more diverse ethnic groups by comparing their similarities and differences among the groups. Therefore, I chose the subject of this current study as 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American transnational population who have lived through both Korean and American, either physically or mentally.

Summary

Chapter 2 has reviewed theories and research to identify the relations among language, identity, and investment to understand transnational youth' spaces. The literature has suggested that language and culture construct and are constructed by identities, which is a sense of belonging. As transnational youth, who are the subject of this study, cross liminal spaces in their everyday life, the literature about their familial and social contexts have been also reviewed. In line with the current research inquiry, in addition, studies about Korean transnational youth and their struggles were examined. In doing so, the primary goal of this review process was to understand how the language and culture of transnational youth affect their identity. Based on the review of the literature, this study sought to describe the Korean American transnational youth' experiences and perceptions.

In the next chapter, the research methodology is discussed. My theoretical consideration of the methodology is described, and details around how I conducted the study is presented.

3 METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I outline and discuss the research design of the study. I begin by restating the purpose of the study and the research questions guiding the study. Next, I discuss the theoretical framework that underpins the methodology. I follow with the rationale for conducting a case study. I conclude this chapter with a description of the design of the study and the data analysis methods used such as the criteria and procedures for recruitment of participants, the researcher's reflexivity and trustworthiness as it relates to qualitative interviewing as a primary data collection method, and discourse analysis for analyzing data.

Purpose of Study and Questions

The research design in a study has to follow the research questions since research is the systematic collection and analysis of data to address a question (Duke & Martin, 2011). Duke and Martin (2011) further stated, "A good research study has a strong match between the research question or purpose, the research design, and the conclusions drawn and claims made from the research" (p. 19). In this sense, to set up good research questions and a strong purpose are essential elements of good research. With this in mind, the purpose of this study was to explore the complex processes in which transnational adolescents articulated how they constructed and adjusted their identities in terms of cultures and languages and how their agency in language and culture supported their identity exploration and construction.

The following research questions guided the design of the study and data analysis: 1) How do 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American transnational adolescents self-identify? 2) What resources do participants say that they draw upon and that have shaped their identity across transnational spaces? 3) What conflicts do they experience in-between communities? 4) To what extent do their linguistic and cultural investments interconnect with their identities?

To investigate these questions, I took a qualitative case study approach (Berg & Lune, 2012). Methods that I used included in-depth semi-structured interviews (Given, 2008; Jacob & Furgerson, 2012; Roulston, 2010) with 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American transnational adolescents. As the world has been globalized, there has been steady migration from country to country. This migration pattern has become more diverse and is described by Vertovec (2007) as "Super-diversity":

> more countries of origin entailing multiple ethnicities and languages as well as differential legal statuses and their concomitant conditions, divergent labour market experiences, discrete configurations of gender and age, patterns of spatial distribution, and mixed local area responses by service providers and residents. The dynamic interaction of these variables is what is meant by "super- diversity." (p. 1025)

In this pattern, all the migrants cannot be labeled as just the same 'migrants' since they have a range of variables that intersect to create diversity such as their country of origin, country of settlement, purpose of immigration, family types, ages, or genders. Thus, it is not feasible in this study to include a range of different nationalities and the complexities around which they have integrated into target culture and life.

Instead of including a generalized population of migrants, I delimited this study to examine 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American transnational adolescents. Although there is still diversity within this category, 1.5 and 2nd generational transnational youth have the commonalities in that most of them migrated in their early childhood by their parents' decision not by their spontaneous decision. In addition, Korean American transnational youth have been affected from both Korea and America since they live with their 1st generation immigrant family while going to school in the United States. Moreover, they are in a psychological development

stage of constructing and exploring their identities. With these rationales, this study investigated how 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American transnational youth explained factors that influenced their identity construction as adolescents. Moreover, this study investigated participants' perception of their identities as they related to the world around them. This study created a space for the participants to express and discuss representations of themselves, their own understanding of themselves in relation to their social and geographic settings, as well as how others viewed them.

Epistemological Research Framework

In this study, I conducted a qualitative case study by collecting data that was detailed and in-depth (Merriam, 2009), and analyzed data through the paradigm of interpretivism (Creswell, 2014; Crotty, 1998; Punch, 2009). Guba and Lincoln (1998) define a research paradigm as a basic set of beliefs that guide the researcher not only in the choice of a method but also in epistemology and ontology. Creswell (2014) is in agreement; he stated that engaging in research involved making certain philosophical assumptions in terms of ontology, epistemology, and methodology. Other scholars expound that research must be balanced across methods and paradigms with the consistency of the objectives, scope, and nature of inquiry (Creswell, 2007; Duke & Martin, 2011; Guba & Lincoln, 1998; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Punch, 2009).

Interpretivism

This study in language and identity is best suited to an interpretive qualitative approach because this approach can yield a rich understanding about 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American transnational youth. Interpretivism, in general, suggests that there is no single reality to be found. More specifically, interpretivism allows multiple perspectives of reality, understanding the world through the eyes of the participant being studied. There is no objective reality but people assume the reality with their subjective interpretation (Prasad, 2007). This

paradigm concerns the nature of reality that is subjective and constructed by study participants, in light of their experiences and interactions with their social worlds (Creswell, 2014; Crotty, 1998; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Moreover, interpretivism suggests that action and objects are not only identified as constituting a particular phenomenon on their own but also interpreted through acts of social interpretation and meaningful sense making. Thus, the inquirer affects reality by interpreting the world through the perceptions and experiences of the participants. In this context, there are multiple realities, or interpretations, even of a single phenomenon as people may construct different meanings in different ways. Prasad (2007) asserted that "the interpretive tradition" emerged from the standpoint that takes "human interpretation as the starting point for developing knowledge about the social world" (p. 13). As a perspective to embrace the standpoint of the researcher, the interpretive tradition includes symbolic interaction, hermeneutics, phenomenology, or ethnography (Crotty: 1998; Prasad, 2007). Studies that have drawn from interpretivism have shown the participants' subjective point of view in their social contexts, which is with the uniqueness of a particular situation (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; Fournillier, 2009).

For example, Fournillier (2009) examined the perceptions and experiences of mas' makers in the production of costumes for Trinidad and Tobagos annual Carnival celebrations. Fournillier used an ethnographic case study to examine how the members of the community mas'makers learn to make mas. To conduct research, the author gained access to the mas' camps, which is the context of the study and selected participants using her networking. For four months, the author engaged in the activity as a full participant and participant observer. The participants shared their experience and perceptions of their learning and creating mas from interviews and interactions. While the author involved and observed the process of making mas,

she also understood the space as the sociocultural and historical context of the carnival as well as teaching/learning space for the mas' makers. Fournillier (2009) found that the mas' making process and the space became an excellent teaching/learning space providing practical knowledge as well as high-level cognitive function. As Fournillier (2009) described, "[the participant's] perceptions of the experience were important to my critical understanding and exploration of the mas' camp space" (p. 82), the reality was constructed by the subjective interpretation of the participant in the study. From the standpoint of interpretivism, this study examined the meaning of teaching/learning in the non-formal learning context.

Another investigation by Curdt-Christiansen (2009) studied how family language policies (FLPP) were planned and developed in Chinese immigrant families in Quebec, Canada. To conduct this study, the participants were recruited from the Chinese community in Montreal. Ten families with children who attend a heritage language school were selected, and semi-structured interviews and participants observation in the home and heritage language school contexts were conducted. From the collected data, the author examined the perceptions of the parents such as their attitudes and beliefs toward multilingualism and academic success and the experiences of literacy activities and practices in which families engaged with their children. The result suggested that FLO were influenced by socio-political, cultural, and economical factors. From the perspectives of an insider who has a similar background, the author also pointed out the influence of Confucianism.

Interpretivism is apt for this study because the participants of this study are situated within transnational contexts, which cannot be fully captured, and the participants' subjective understanding of the contexts and identity are critical in this study.

Qualitative Research

There is a tight connection between interpretivism and qualitative research. According to Merriam (2009), “the overall purpose of qualitative research is to achieve an understanding of how people make sense out of their lives, delineate the process of meaning-making, and describe how people interpret what they experience” (p. 14). While a quantitative approach seeks to generalize objective truth to a larger population, qualitative approach concerns subjective truth of the participants for deeper understandings (Creswell, 2014; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). From a qualitative perspective, idiosyncratic human behaviors can be understood with relating them to intentions, goals, and purposes that are inextricably involved in their life, and the experiences and perceptions of the participants cannot be explained as direct, one-way causal links (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). In the real world, “multiple-constructed realities abound, that time-and context-free generalization is neither desirable nor possible” (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p. 14). As qualitative researchers seek to find subjective truth and reality of participants by examining people and phenomena in the real world, it is critical to describe the participants and phenomena in detail within their situated contexts. Thus, qualitative research is important in social foundations research to investigate deeper meanings of particular human experiences and perceptions.

Qualitative research involves a number of important characteristics such as the focus on meaning and understanding, thick and detailed description, researcher as a key instrument of data collection, and inductive process. Most of all, qualitative research concerns how people make sense of their world and the experiences they have in the world (Creswell, 2014; Crotty, 1998; Merriam, 2009; Punch, 2009). Creswell (2007) stated, “in the entire qualitative research process, the researchers keep a focus on learning the meaning that the participants hold about the problem or issue” (p. 39). Human beings may not understand the full spectrum of the truth, and only see

and understand the part of truth within their context. In this sense, qualitative research includes two perspectives relevant to a study in considering the backgrounds and contexts of participants, in order to make the space and people visible: emic and etic perspectives. The emic perspective is one in which the view of the participants within a culture. Creswell (2007) described emic as "type of information being reported and written" with the "view of the informants" (p.242). When a researcher has similar experiences with the participants, the researcher may also have emic perspectives. The etic perspective is the other one in which the researcher might bring up to data collection and data analysis as Creswell (2007) explained etic types of information when "researcher reports his or her own personal view" (p. 242). Stake (2010) is in agreement by demonstrating the characteristics of qualitative inquiry as being "interpretive, experiential, situational, and personalistic" (p. 14). He suggests that researchers can understand the meaning of people and phenomena from different views. Human beings may not understand the full meaning of the phenomenon, and only see and understand the part of that phenomenon. Further, meaning of a phenomenon will be interpreted from different perspectives. Thus, qualitative research suggests "multiple realities" (Stake, 2010, p. 66) that includes the participants' reality and the researchers' reality as well as reality from the interaction between the researcher and the participants.

According to Patton (1985), qualitative research "is an effort to understand situations in their uniqueness as part of a particular context and the interactions there" (p. 1). Human beings are social beings and knowledge is culturally and socially constructed and defined. Thus, qualitative research will identify the meaning the participants make of their experiences understanding their background or context. As a qualitative approach seeks to understand meanings constructed by the participants in their contexts, it is likely to begin with more flexible

design and data collection and data analysis generally proceed together. Methodology under the qualitative approach typically uses inductive logic, allowing categories, themes, and patterns to emerge from a recursive data analysis process (Creswell, 2014). Thus, with a qualitative approach, the perceptions, meanings and interpretations of the participants are reported with thick and detailed descriptions from inductive data analysis.

As discussed above, qualitative approaches were apt for this study and enabled me to investigate the research questions for this study in several important ways. First, this study sought to describe the experiences and perceptions of the participants. The participants of the study included 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American transnational youth. They cannot be simply defined because of their nationality, but must also be viewed in terms of what they embody in terms of super-diversity (Vertovec, 2007). This includes their various ages of immigration, different levels of English fluency, different heritage language fluency, the diverse background and experience of the current host community, or various experiences before immigration. In this sense, this study examined the perceptions and experiences of the participants, "attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 3). Thus, qualitative research fit with this study to reveal the subjective truths of the participants while considering their contexts.

Secondly, this study aimed to present a detailed and thick description about what Korean American transnational youth experienced in their transnational space and how they perceived their context, language, culture, and identity. Qualitative inquiry and its open-ended method of data collection seemed to be an appropriate approach for exploring transnational adolescents' experiences and perceptions, given that the identity of participants have been constructed through their meaning-making process from cultural and linguistic experiences. In this study, the

rich and in-depth data helped explore and describe the phenomenon of how transnational adolescents constructed their identity through struggles in-between multicultural and multilinguistic contexts. From the collected data, I learned how the population made sense out of their lives, and the data were presented with in-depth and thick description. In this sense, qualitative research worked well to study about the 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American transnational adolescents who were an ethnic minority "as a basis of further research" (Bryman, 1984, p. 84).

Last, this study paid special attention to the historical and cultural context of the participants. The data of this study were very dependent on the context, as their complex transnational context was not stable and uniform across time and space. This study was concerned about the linguistic and cultural experiences of the participants by understanding their primary familial and social environments and interactions within the contexts. From thick and detailed descriptions of their transnational spaces as a context, this study broadens the understanding about the transnational youth and their experiences in considering power and ideology surrounding the environment (Donmoyer, 2014; Gage, 1989; Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

The Role of the Researcher

In a qualitative approach, the researcher's role is very critical since the researcher is a primary instrument of the study throughout the study including collecting and analyzing data (Merriam, 2009; Patton, 2002; Stake, 2010). In this study, as a researcher, and in line with an interpretivist perspective, I conducted interviews with participants and tried to be an "active" learner from the participants' view rather than as an expert who passed judgment (Creswell, 2014). An interpretivist perspective also regards individuals as able to construct their own social reality (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). Therefore, I tried to elicit each participant's construction of knowledge from an emic (insider) point of view and then interpret this understanding from an

etic (outsider) view (Creswell, 2007; Patton, 2002). The primary data was collected by conducting interviews. This study is the product of interactions between the interviewer and the interviewee: the participants shared their point of view, which was an emic perspective, in collecting data and I analyzed and reported the collected data with my own view as a researcher, which was an etic perspective. The dialogic nature of the data collection was in itself a co-construction of meaning and identity. Therefore, throughout this study, the identity of transnational adolescents was described and constructed by participants to represent what truth meant to them, and as the researcher, I interpreted the meaning of the participants. In this sense, in this qualitative study, the influence of a researcher on the interpretation of the participants' behavior and collected data was unavoidable (Morse, Barrett, & Olsen, 2002). Thus, it is critical to make visible the position of researcher in relation to the research.

As a researcher, my background and experience affected building the relationship with the participants, whether negatively or positively, in collecting and analyzing data. It is critical to balance the boundary of rapport and trust (Woods, 1996). Most of all, my similar background and experience with the participants contributed building a relationship easily without engaging in their everyday lives over time. The rapport between the participants and the researcher influences how the research is conducted, what sorts of information will be gathered and how the data will be interpreted (Woods, 1996).

My interest in conducting this research was to understand the identity of the transnational youth in adolescence since I experienced struggles while living as an immigrant with two children, especially in their adolescence. In some ways, my experience acted as a benefit when trying to understand the discourse with the participants. At the same time, I needed to fight familiarity with my preconceived mindset towards the participant as immigrant adolescents. If

the participants know that a researcher has a similar experience and background, it might limit their responses with less description because they suppose that the researcher already knows and understands them without details. According to Nairn et al. (2005), "Even when the identities of interviewer and interviewees seem most closely aligned, a successful interview is not guaranteed" (p. 235). To overcome this, I kept trying to ask for clarifications and examples while maintaining an appropriate analytical space.

My status as a mother of two adolescents might also influence how participants interacted with me. My English with an accent and Korean may have created empathy, resistance, or curiosity among participants in that their parents had a similar linguistic and cultural background as me. At the same time, my teaching experience as an English teacher in Korea and Korean teacher in the United States may have opened the door in developing trust with the participants. During interviews, I sometimes shared my personal information and experiences with the participants to open them up about their own thoughts and experiences. Securing a certain level of trust and rapport was helpful to learn from the participants as I encouraged them to share their life and experiences. Moreover, I tried to keep an objective researcher's perspective throughout the study. Even when I did not agree on some occasions, I did not show my true feelings other than smiling and nodding.

Finally, the multifaceted reflexivity of qualitative data collection was embraced in this study by writing a reflexive note after each interview. The reflexivity of a researcher is important for the sake of quality, trustworthiness and integral part of my study throughout the process of this study (Morse, Barrett, & Olsen, 2002).

The Design of Study

Case Study

Given the position of interpretivism adopted in this study and the nature of the research questions, I chose a qualitative case study. By conducting a qualitative case study, I could capture the complex process of identity construction in transnational spaces to gain an in-depth understanding of linguistic and cultural experiences for 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American transnational adolescents. A number of methodologists have defined case study. According to Yin (2018), a case study is defined as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the "case") in depth and within its real-world context" (p. 14). He suggests that a distinctive feature of case study from other experimental or quantitative studies is the investigation of the context of real world setting. Both Creswell (2007) and Merriam and Tisdell (2016) defined a case study as "an in-depth description and analysis of a bounded system" (p. 37). To deepen the understanding about a case, Bogdan & Biklen (2007) argued that it is critical to clarify the case and the boundaries of the case. For them, a case study is "a detailed examination" of the bounded system, which they define as "one setting, or single subject, a single depository of documents, or one particular event" (p. 59). Moreover, Stake (2006) defined case study as "the study of the particularity and complexity of a single case, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances" (p. xi).

Among all the aforementioned definitions of case study by these methodologists, the primary goal of a case study is to understand the case which is the phenomenon being studied thoroughly within their real contexts. This study attempted to study participants' lived realities and not list mere characteristics that define who transnational adolescents are—this is too easy. As complex humans with idiosyncratic characteristics, especially those defined by super-diversity, this study investigated the uniqueness of this population: their linguistic and cultural

experiences in-between contexts and their transnational identities. Thus, the case study was the best fit for this study.

Other scholars like Berg and Lune (2012) and Yin (2014), discussed the importance of ensuring the rigor of design and process to conduct a case study. For example, they described case study as involving a systematic method to gather information about the case and for researchers to understand the case effectively. Yin (2014) also suggested that case study must have an implicit design and follows a logical sequence, which "connect[s] the empirical data to a study's initial research questions and ultimately to its conclusions (p. 25)". For this "logical plan," Yin (2014) recommended five component elements for case study design: a study's questions, its propositions, its unit of analysis, the logic linking the data to the propositions, and the criteria for interpreting the findings. Firstly, questions for a case study include "how" and "why" questions. Secondly, propositions should be stated to guide the direction of the case study based on the questions. Next, from study questions and study propositions, the unit of analysis is defined in detail. A case study design including study questions, study proposition, and unit of analysis indicates what data need to be collected. Then, the case study design guides what to be done after the data is collected such as analytic techniques considering the link the data to the propositions and specifying rival explanations as the criteria for interpreting the findings.

While Yin (2014) emphasized the method and the techniques that constitute a case study, Stake has a more flexible perspective to conduct a case study. Stake (1995) proposed that case study research is not the methods of investigation, but the object of study. According to Stake (1995), "as a form of research, case study is defined by interest in individual cases, not by the methods of inquiry used" (p. 236). Thus, Stake suggested the importance of a researcher's interpretive role in the process of case study.

While I employed Stakes' more inclusive and flexible definition for this study, I also considered Yin's (2014) logic plan as a novice researcher because it was more feasible in terms of following the five components suggested by Yin step by step.

Multiple Holistic Case Study Design

Yin (2018) suggested four types of case study design by describing single and multiple cases in detail: single holistic design, single embedded design, multiple holistic design, and multiple embedded design. While embedded designs contain multiple units of analysis, holistic designs consider one unit of analysis. He describes this design as a case study with multiple cases, which is presented as one unit of analysis. Employing multiple-case study makes it possible to understand the similarities and differences between the cases. Each case is analyzed as a single case, while multiple cases are analyzed as an integrated whole for the conclusion across cases (Yin, 2018). In this sense, the multiple holistic case study design is similar to Stake's (1995), multi-case study, which is "a research design for closely examining several cases linked together" (p. v). I conducted a multiple holistic case study that involved multiple participants, each being its own case. Yet, I integrated and looked across cases to understand transnationalism and adolescence.

Rationale for Multiple Holistic Case Study Design. For this study I employed Yin's (2018) multiple holistic design, which was also informed by other case study methodologists cited previously. A multiple holistic case study design was apt for this study; the primary phenomenon of this study was the experiences and perceptions of three to five 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American transnational adolescents including language, culture, and identity within a transnational space as their situated contexts. A multi-case holistic study of 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American transnational youth was important for several critical reasons: (1)

focused on the participants' experience and perception, (2) could not be studied without understanding their contexts, (3) could not control or manipulate the subjects: 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American transnational youth in this study and (4) the understanding of the case was limited and not yet mature. First, the experiences and perceptions of the participants in this study are unique real cases in real situations; thus, a case study offered insights into the data that other research strategies such as surveys and experiment did not. Second, "important contextual conditions pertinent to a case" (Yin, 2018) were important to understand how 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American transnational youth identified themselves. Third, this study aimed to understand the real-world case in a natural setting, not in a laboratory setting. The lives of the participants, including their behavior, perceptions, and experiences, were articulated by them. Yin (2014) suggested that the case study fit the case, "over which the investigator has little or no control" (p. 13) to explore "how" and "why" questions. Fourth, there are few studies that have examined Korean American transnational youth in adolescence and their contexts. Thus, rich, detailed description and understanding of each of the participants and their contexts provide critical understandings of identity construction and perceptions for 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American transnational youth.

A multiple holistic case study was undertaken by recruiting five participants. Each participant was analyzed as a case while five individual cases were presented holistically as one unit of analysis. Even in the similar contexts of the transnational spaces, participants' experiences and perceptions were various. Multiple cases could predict similar results or reveal the discrepancy of findings from each case. With "following an analogous logic" (Yin, 2018, p. 55), these similarities and differences filled a gap left by investigating a single case. For this, each case was conducted and analyzed separately. Also, cross-cases were analyzed to "indicate

the extent of the replication logic and why certain case studies were predicted to have certain results, whereas other case studies, if any, were predicted to have contrasting results" (Yin, 2018, p. 57). This holistic approach helped understand the detailed sociocultural environment of transnational spaces in-between two or more societies and presented the rich voice and the nature of experiences of transnational adolescents. In this sense, five cases together made this case study compelling and strong.

Unit of Analysis

Yin (2018) argued that when using a case study design, the researcher needs to design a study which is "the logical sequence that connects the empirical data to a study's initial research questions and, ultimately, to its conclusions" (p. 16). To conduct a case study, most of all, it was critical to define the unit of a case and set up the case selection criteria. Yin (2018) described a "unit of analysis" as the "case" to be defined in a study. A unit of analysis may be an individual, individuals, event, entities, a program, or programs (Yin, 2014). My research focused on individuals of transnational youth and their language, culture, and identity. As Yin (2014) proposed "selection of the appropriate unit of analysis will start to occur when you accurately specify your primary research questions" (p. 30), the unit of analysis in this study is 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American transnational youth based on my research questions.

This study investigated the experiences and perceptions of transnational youth in adolescence, and the case was bounded by those who lived with their immigrant parents to be called 1.5 generation or 2nd generation in order to focus on their transnational experience on the regular basis of daily life. More specifically, the boundary of the case was narrowed down to Korean American youth in order to examine the specific population in detail. As Yin (2014) suggested, "Once the general definition of the case has been established, other clarifications in

the unit of analysis become important" (p. 32). In other words, the boundary of the case was confined to 1.5 and second generation Korean American adolescents who had transnational experiences in their daily lives. As the boundary of a case was clarified, the unit of the case was each 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean-American transnational adolescents.

Study Procedures

The data collection of the study began October, 2019. Upon completion of IRB approval, I began recruiting participants.

Participant Selection and Recruitment

The primary participants recruited for this study included 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American transnational youth between the ages of 13-16. Secondary participants were the mothers of primary participants.

This study used purposeful sampling (Berg & Lune, 2012; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Patton, 2002) to recruit and select participants. Purposeful sampling is the most common sampling strategy in qualitative research since a case can be studied in great detail about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research by seeking cases purposefully. Merriam and Tisdell (2016) described purposeful sampling as the selection of "a sample from which the most can be learned" (p. 96). Patton (2002) also suggested that purposeful sampling is to select information rich cases for the illumination of research questions. Taken together, these methodologists describe purposeful sampling as the selection of information-rich cases for in-depth study (Berg & Lune, 2012; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Patton, 2002).

Unlike a quantitative approach employing random sampling based on probability theory, Eisenhardt (1989) stated that the "random selection of cases is neither necessary, not even preferable" (p. 537) in a qualitative study. The purpose of qualitative research is to achieve an in-depth understanding while quantitative research aims to generalize the results of a study from the

samples to the populations (Patton, 2002). According to Patton (2002), "the justification of sampling choice, the number of investigated cases, and sampling techniques" is flexible in the case study approach (p. 46). Yin (2014) also suggested that a case study did not follow the statistical "sampling logic" because the case study is not to study the prevalent phenomena and the data is not manageable to cover the phenomenon and the context from the larger samples (p. 56). In this sense, Patton (2002) suggested that a purposefully selected case allows attaining an in-depth understanding of a phenomenon. Patton (2002) expounded that "information-rich" cases are those who can show and tell much about the phenomenon to be investigated. Berg and Lune (2012) proposed that researchers should use their special knowledge or expertise to select the "information-rich" cases in the process of purposeful sampling. As a strategy of purposeful sampling, which is "an approach for locating information-rich key participants or critical cases" (Patton, 2002, p. 237), I employed network sampling (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). First, I contacted and recruited people who met the inclusion criteria of the study using my personal network and asked them to refer to other participants if they knew potential participants. Using this network sampling technique, "the chain of the recommended informants" (Patton, 2002, p. 237) were contacted and selected if they were considered to be fit in the category after a few screening question (Appendix A)

Inclusion Criteria for Participant Recruitment

To use purposeful (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016) sampling, I refined inclusion criteria for participant recruitment. This study intended to understand the complexities around identity construction of transnational youth. To do so requires that I "accumulate new information-rich cases" (Patton, 2015, p. 298) and get "insights into [these] matter[s]" (Yin, 2018, p. 119). Thus, as Patton (2015) and Yin (2018) suggested, I must "choose the case(s) that will most likely

illuminate [my] research questions" (Yin, 2014, p. 30). To understand transnational youth's identity construction, recruitment and selection of participants followed these inclusion criteria.

1. Primary participants must be 1.5 or 2nd generation Korean American transnational adolescents between the ages of 13-16.
2. Primary participants who are 1.5 generation must have been born in South Korea and moved to the United States before their school age.
3. Primary participants live with their 1st generation parents.
4. Secondary participants, the mothers of primary participants, are first-generation immigrants who moved to the United States. They agree to participate in the study.

Rationale for Participant Selection. I confined the boundary of participants to Korean American transnationals for two reasons. First of all, I am familiar with and have access to the population of Korean American youth as a Korean immigrant in the United States, and it made possible to understand and analyze "emic perspective," which reflects the culture of an insider of a case (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 30). Secondly, ethnic identity is a salient characteristic to understand the identity of adolescents whose parents are first-generation immigrants (Rumbaut, 1994). There are complexities and differences of languages and cultures between familial context and social context. In this sense, Korean ethnicity explained their uniqueness in the context of the United States and it is critical to examine a case by considering their ethnicity. Although the participants are limited to a specific ethnic group, the findings are transferable through a rich and detailed description.

In addition, the selection criteria require further explanation to clarify the range of age for adolescents. According to identity theory in adolescence (Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1983), people have constructed their identities between 12 and 18 years old. The range of adolescents for this

study limited participants to adolescents who were 13 to 16 years old as primary participants since they were assumed to begin navigating their identity in their early adolescence.

Recruitment Procedures. I recruited five primary participants considering the purpose of this study, data manageability, and the potential loss of participants. Eisenhardt (1989) believed that between four and ten cases often work well for an individual study. Creswell (2014) and Patton (2015) also suggested that four to five cases are ideal for a multi-case study since the sample size of four or five will provide "reasonable coverage of the phenomenon given the purpose of the study" (Patton, 2015, p. 314). According to Yin (2018), selecting the number of cases is based on the understanding of "literal and theoretical replications": two or three cases are suggested for literal application, which predict similar results among each individual. Four or six cases are suggested for theoretical replications, which predicts different results among cases. Based on these suggestions, this study recruited five cases because more detailed data could be collected and analyzed thoroughly.

Upon receiving the approval of the Institutional Review Board, recruitment commenced based upon the inclusion criteria identified above and network sampling, as previously described in the study's recruitment procedures.

First, I used my personal networks to recruit any potential participants. I contacted my friends and personally asked them to recommend any potential participants. I made and shared a recruitment flyer (Appendix B), that outlined the details of the recruitment. The invitation flyer included general information about the study such as the purpose of the study, procedures of the study, time that participants would spend during the study, the criteria of the participants, benefits of the study, and contact information.

Based on this sampling process, I first reached out to my church members who could be potential participants, as parents of teenagers and invited them to participate in this study. One of the church members agreed to participate in the study and I met her children. Among her four children, two boys fit in the inclusion criteria. She also recommended her friend's son who was also her second son's friend. To recruit him, I explained to the mother that if her child refused consent even though she gave parental permission, I would not collect data on her son. As she agreed with her child's participation, I contacted her son.

In addition, I contacted my friend who was a mother of two children. After sharing information about this study and getting permission from her, I met with her older daughter to talk about my study and ask if she would participate in this study. Finally, I was introduced to a girl who went to the same high school as my daughter. I met with her with my daughter at my house after school and explained my study. She agreed to participate in the study and I sought her parents' permission by sharing the consent form. I talked with her parents by phone to explain this study and answer questions.

Once I recruited five 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American transnational youth between the ages of 13 and 16 and their parents who met the inclusion criteria for information-rich cases and for the depth of understanding, I stopped recruiting. I then began informed consent procedures for both primary and secondary participants (Appendix C). I explained the study to each participant and its possible impact on them while they were participating in the study. Also, I explained that they could withdraw from the study at any time and for any reason. Once informed consents were returned, I commenced with data collection. The following table 1 presents the background information of the participants. I assigned each participant a pseudonym to protect their identities. 2nd generation participants were assigned English names and 1.5

generation participants were assigned Korean names.

Table 1

Background Information of the Individual Participants

Participants' Name	Sara	Eun	Daniel (Sibling to John)	John (Sibling to Daniel)	Hoon
Age	14	16	14	16	15
Nationality	American	Korean	American	American	Korean
Gender	Female	Female	Male	Male	Male
Grade	9th	10th	9th	11th	9th
Age at the time of arrival in the United States	Born in the United States	5 yrs. old	Born in the United States	Born in the United States	3 yrs. old
Siblings	1 younger sister	1 younger brother	1 older brother, 2 younger siblings (a sister and a brother)	3 younger sisters (2 brothers and 1 sister)	1 older sister
Mother	Immigrated after marriage as a	Immigrated after marriage for	Immigrated right after high school	Immigrated right after high school	Immigrated after marriage as

	graduate student	her husband's graduate study	graduation	graduation as an international college student	her husband's job

Participants

From four families, I recruited five participants whose parents were both 1st generation Korean immigrants in the U.S. In one family, I included two siblings who were both eligible to recruitment criteria. Having siblings as participants presented observations of their mutual interactions and influences in and out of home contexts as well as observations of the uniqueness of their transnational identities even though they are from the same family.

Sara

Sara, a 15-year-old 9th grade girl, lived with her parents and younger sister. Sara's parents had immigrated to the United States from Korea for their graduate study right after their marriage and Sara was born in the United States. Sara's father was an engineer and her mother was an instructor who taught at a college. The family had visited Korea several times after Sara's birth and their last visit to Korea was about two years ago at the time of data collection.

Sara lived in the southern area of the United States with a large Korean community and attended a high school with a large population of Asians including a significant number of Koreans. Sara and her family went to quite a big Korean church with both Korean ministry and English ministry. As Sara joined the youth group from middle school, she selected to join the Korean ministry.

John & Daniel

John and Daniel were brothers. John was 16 years old and Daniel was 14 years old at the time of data collection. They had an 11-year-old younger sister and a 5-year-old younger brother. All of them were born and raised in the United States and they had never visited Korea at the time of data collection. Their father was a custom officer of a company and their mother worked in an accounting team of a global hospitality company. Although their parents' English was quite fluent, both parents' first language was Korean. John and Daniel's parents immigrated to the United States right after their graduating from high school respectively and attended colleges in the United States. The father came to the United States as an international student and got a job in the United States after his graduation. The mother came to the United States with her family members including her mother, an older brother, and a younger sister. As the whole family moved to the United States, the mother's extended family often visited each other even after her marriage, maintaining close relationships. Since John was born, the maternal grandmother moved into his house and took care of him and his siblings at home because both of his parents worked full time. John and his siblings met their paternal grandparents just once in their lifetime when the grandparents visited the United States. John and Daniel maintained weak connections with their paternal grandparents as they lived far away.

As both parents of John and Daniel went to colleges in the United States, they had a lot of 1.5 and 2nd generation childhood friends. This was different from the parents of Sara, Eun, and Hoon who moved to the United States after their marriage as adults. The parents of John and Daniel had more Americanized 1.5 and 2nd generation friends as well as 1st generation friends.

John and Daniel also lived in the southern area of the United States with a large Korean community, which was the same city where Sara lived. As 11th grader and 9th grader

respectively, both John and Daniel went to the same high school as Sara. Although Sara and Daniel were in the same grade, they did not know each other. John and Daniel went to a small Korean church with a few numbers of peers. Unlike Sara's church, there was no distinction between Korean ministry and English ministry.

Eun & Hoon

Eun and Hoon's family immigrated to the United States in their early childhood: five and three respectively. Contrary to the other three participants who had U.S. citizenship as they were born in the United States, Eun and Hoon's citizenship was not American, but Korean. At first, they were hesitant to describe their national identity while they thought that they were Americans, rather than Koreans. Although the first language that they acquired was Korean, they had a fear of using Korean as a competent user. They described their current first language as English.

Eun and Hoon lived in the southern area of the United States. Although their living place was located within the same county as Sara, John, and Daniel, the area had few Korean populations. Eun and Hoon were 10th and 9th graders respectively and went to the same high school. They described that there were four or five Korean students in each grade at the school. In considering that the school has approximately 1,000 students per grade, the portion of Korean was very low.

Context of the Study

The participants lived in the suburban area of a southern state in the United States. In the state, the Asian and Asian-American population has grown steadily since the 1990s. With an Asian population of approximately 500,000 as of 2019 (www.census.gov), Asians and Asian Americans made up 4% of the state's population. In particular, the participants lived in a county

with the second largest Asian population in the state: 12% of the population in the county were Asians. All of them lived in the same county, which included a large Asian population. However, the participants lived in two different cities. Three of the participants-Sara, John, and Daniel-lived in a city with a large Korean population. Two of the participants-Eun and Hoon-lived in a city with a lower Korean population because they lived about 30 minutes away from the Korean area. Across several cities, including the city where Sara, John, and Daniel lived, Korean communities have been formed, which consists of, but not limited to, Korean restaurants, large Korean grocery stores, and Korean churches. Despite the large Korean population and community in the county, there was little Korean language support in public institutional settings.

Data Collection

Yin (2014) suggested that the case study needs empirical data and multiple sources of information to provide a rich and detailed understanding of a case and strengthen the construct validity. Thus, I utilized multiple sources of information to ensure the veracity of this study's findings. Three specific data were collected: 1) semi-structured interviews (Given, 2008; Jacob & Furgerson, 2012) with the participants and their parents, 2) written/visual artifacts from the participants such as autobiography, reflection, or photos and demographic data such as school information and census results, and 3) researcher's research journal including reflection and analytic memo writing. Involving multiple forms of data collection provided a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomena being studied and ensures triangulation of the data (Creswell, 2014; Merriam, 2009; Yin, 2018). As a strength of case study, Yin (2018) suggested triangulation from multiple sources of evidence. Multiple sources of evidence can be converged "in a triangulating fashion" (p. 2) while the strategies of data collection can be modified and added by relevance of the evidence. Yin (2014) said, "any case study finding or

conclusion is likely to be more convincing and accurate if it is based on several different sources of information, following a corroboratory mode" (p. 116). As I gathered multiple sources of evidence, I stopped collecting data "when gathering fresh data no longer sparks new insights or reveals new properties" (Creswell, 2014, p. 189) within each case.

Semi-Structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews, as described by Given (2008), Jacob and Furgerson (2012), and Roulston (2010), were employed as a primary data collection method to gain a holistic view of the participants' perceptions and experiences. I conducted three face-to-face semi-structured interviews with each primary participant and one or two semi-structured interviews with each secondary participant. Given (2008) defined a semi-structured interview as "a qualitative data collection strategy in which the researcher asks informants a series of predetermined but open-ended questions" (p. 810). The intent of semi-structured interviews (Jacob & Furgerson, 2012) was to understand the experiences and perceptions of the participants and how their experiences constructed their identities throughout their lives. Semi-structured interviews are loosely structured and open-ended "to uncover as much about the participants and their situations as possible" (Jacob & Furgerson, 2012, p. 3). A researcher prepares a limited number of questions in advance and asks follow-up questions based on each participant's responses. For information rich data, Roulston (2010) suggested to develop open-ended questions such as "Tell me about…" in order to "invite interviewees to tell a story, and can generate detailed descriptions about topics of interest to the interviewer" (p. 12). Follow-up questions using the "participant's own words" (Roulston, 2010, p. 13) serves as probes to derive further description or clarify their answers as well as to encourage the participants to reflect deeply on their experiences and perceptions. For example, if a participant stated, "I'm an Asian American," a follow-up question was "Can you

tell me more about what makes you ‘Asian American’?” “Can you describe activities or situations in which you know you are an Asian American?” In this way, I was able to discern in more detail a participant’s understanding of the word “Asian American,” and/or the practices around which this participant sees her or himself as “Asian American. In an interview with parents, the questions included, “Do you think your child identifies with the American or Korean culture more? Why do you think so? Are there situations in which your child may feel more ‘Korean’?”

For each primary participant interview, I prepared approximately 5-10 open-ended questions in advance to draw out the participants to share and reflect their own experiences and perceptions. As I listened to participant responses, I revised subsequent questions as the interview progressed as needed, and included follow-up questions.

In order to understand the multi-dimensions of the participants’ social spaces, the mothers of each participant took part in a semi-structured interview. I chose to interview the mothers because they were more accessible and comfortable to me as well as with me as a mother myself and female researcher. In addition, the mothers were closely involved in raising children and interested in speaking with me about their children. The main aim of the mother interview was to provide background information and elicit parental perspectives about their adolescents. For example, “Tell me a little bit about your child”, “Tell me about your family (i.e. family tradition, immigration story). When mothers were interviewed, children were not with their mothers.

I conducted at least three interviews with each primary participant and one interview with the mothers of the primary participants. Three interviews positioned me to get more authentic and detailed information by building a relationship with them over time. I conducted one or two

interviews with each participant's mother. As the study aimed to hear the adolescents' own voices as a primary participant, the interviews with the mothers were just to ensure the triangulation of the data from the primary participants by gathering background information about the primary participants. All interviews were held in Korean, English, or both based on the preference of the participants and their mothers. For the first two interviews with the primary participants, I prepared and asked all the questions in English. Mostly, they answered in English, but they also used Korean to describe in specific words or expressions relations to their heritage cultures. For the last interview, I intentionally asked the questions in Korean. Although the purpose of the study was to understand their linguistic and cultural resources, I felt that they tended to respond mostly in English since I asked them questions in English. Participant choice of language for interviews offered some insight into their identity, and served as a point of data. From the first two interviews, I learned that participants used Korean with their parents at home and I found that all the five participants were enough to understand Korean questions. As needed, I asked some questions again in English. For example, one question I asked was "네가 오늘 가져온 사진에 대해서 얘기해 줄래?" in Korean. In English, this question translates as, "Tell me about the visual image that you bring for this interview."

Interviews were conducted in a mutually agreed upon place and at the participants' convenience. For some participants, it was home and for others I met them in a local coffee shop.

The interviews were conducted from October 2019 to April 2020. Each face-to-face interview lasted about one hour and intended to establish rapport, build trust, and to identify any non-verbal cues that warranted further questioning (Roulston, 2010). After the first two interviews, I conducted interviews using Skype with the three participants because of the pandemic situation of the United States. All interviews were audio-recorded. The data from the

first interview, and which relate to research questions, informed questions developed for subsequent interviews.

The flexibility of semi-structured interviews (Charmaz, 2003; Glaser & Strauss, 1967) allowed me to collect data comprehensive in detail, including participants' expressed beliefs, perceptions and practices, and made a space to explore new and relevant questions that emerge during the interview. The intention underpinning interviews offered important insights into the participants' linguistic and cultural experiences and perceptions of their self-described identities. Each semi-structured interview was a conversation to facilitate rich discourse of their identities and the source of rich information (Merriam, 2009). In addition, at least one interview was conducted with their mothers to better understand the participants' social contexts as well as provide information about my study to them as a guardian of the primary participants such as the purpose of this study and the benefit of the study.

Each of the three interviews with participants had a distinct focus. The primary participants engaged in a casual conversation about the participants' background information and their life in the first interview (Appendix D). Based on their response to background information, following questions were asked such as how participants felt about being Korean/Asian/Korean American/American at the time of data collection. For instance, "Tell me about your experiences (positive or negative) that you remember as Korean/American/Korean American." At the end of the first interview, I addressed that the participants can bring any personal documents or visual artifacts such as photos, drawings, journals, book reports, or course writing assignments at school in order to share their identity and experience for the subsequent interviews. Below is the table that displays sample interview questions for the first interview (Table 2).

Table 2

Sample Interview Questions for Participants in the First Interview

Primary Participants

- Tell me a little bit about yourself and your family.
- Tell me about your language background.
- I'm interested in hearing about your life at school and at home. Tell me about your life and spaces where you tend to hang out or like to be.

Secondary Participants

- Tell me a little bit about your child.
- Tell me about your family (i.e. family tradition, immigration story).

The second interview for primary participants was conducted after one or two months from the first interview. The interval between interviews allowed time for transcribing the previous interview, analyzing their responses, and preparing the questions for the next interview. Questions for the second interview focused on participants' identity development and struggles in transnational space by asking their practices of language and culture (Appendix D). For the second interview, I began with sharing a 2-minute video clip that addresses what Asians might experience in their daily life because of their appearance or skin color (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DWynJkN5HbQ). This video clip was selected because it presented the "foreigner syndrome" (Lippi-Green, 2012) to think about their ownership of language, their identities, and sense of belonging as an Asian in the United States. The questions in this interview focused on participants' previous and present conceptions of ethnic identity. I asked participants to watch this video on my laptop to provoke a response. After watching the video clip, I asked them to share their impressions and thoughts about the video clip including the following questions: "Have you had a similar experience?" "Do you think that there are differences between your self-identification and identity determined by others?" From there, I asked additional questions to offer them space to speak about their linguistic and cultural experiences in transnational spaces. Areas around which questions were crafted for this interview include the following: their school lives, peer relations, relationship with families, and linguistic

and cultural activities in transnational spaces. At the end of the second interview, I asked the participant to bring any writings, drawings, images or photos, social media to represent and express their identities or show their daily life in transnational spaces to the third interview. In addition, I asked them to share their biography if they have one during the school works. Below is the table that displays sample interview questions for the second interview (Table 3).

Table 3

Sample Interview Questions for Participants in the Second Interview

Primary Participants
• Tell me about your language background. • I'm in interested in hearing about your life at school and at home. Tell me about your life and your educational spaces. • Tell me about a typical day at school. • Tell me about a typical day at home. • Have you heard the term "transnational"? What do you think this term means or might mean to you?

The third interview for the primary participants focused on how participants made meaning of their identities in transnational spaces (Appendix D). This interview included which identity/identities is/are most salient for participants and what experiences in their transnational spaces influence their identity. The questions for the third interview also included several questions from the memo that I took notes during the process of previous interviews, transcriptions, or data analysis to clarify participants' ideas and/or to address any follow-up questions. The interview began with sharing any written/visual artifact to be brought by a participant. Some participants showed their photos, and some participants shared their photos and writings by phone or email. These written/visual artifacts facilitated the conversation without reluctance since the discourse of identity is very sensitive to engage in. Moreover, visual artifacts led me to understand the participant better as Weber (2008) advocated the power of image for the

"ability of images to evoke visceral and emotional responses in ways that are memorable, coupled with their capacity to help us empathize or see another's point of view" (p. 47). At the end of the interview, I asked for any reflection and/or final thoughts about the interview experience. Below is the table that displays sample interview questions for the third interview (Table 4).

Table 4

Sample Interview Questions for Participants in the Third Interview

Primary Participants
• Tell me about the visual/written image that you brought to this interview. • Why did you bring this artifact? • Were there other artifacts that you would have liked to have brought? Why? • Tell me about your interview experience. • Is there anything else you'd like to share with me that I have not asked you about?

Interview Procedures

Each interview with primary participants lasted approximately an hour. I requested that their parents not be present as I believed participants would be more honest and parents may interrupt to include information that might not be the thoughts of their child. All the interviews were audio-recorded. Each interview was transcribed verbatim and was used to develop further inquiry and interview questions before conducting the following interview. The previously collected and transcribed data were utilized to prepare the next interview questions.

The first interview focused on establishing a relationship with the participants. The first 5 to 10 minutes of the first interview were spent explaining the purpose of the study and to remind them of the informed consent/assent they signed including confidentiality, anonymity, voluntary participation, the option to withdraw at any point and details on the IRB. Then, the interview began getting to know participants and building on rapport and trust. The second interview took

place approximately one or two months after the first. This interval enabled me to transcribe each interview, and to generate questions for subsequent interviews after the first. The third interview took place approximately two or three months after the second interview. After the first two interviews, I began to find patterns for each participant to reveal any similarities and differences across participants. From this, I created some follow-up questions for each participant. For interviews with a parent, I scheduled it by the availability of the parent after their children's first interview.

Written/Visual Documents

Visual and written data were collected at the third interview with primary participants with the purpose to prompt participants about their transnational spaces. Visual and written documents provided additional and multiple perspectives that was not expressed orally by participants. Further, as Prior (2003) argued, such documents were used to aid in the analysis and discussion of research questions and offer multimodal insights into participants' perceptions of themselves or as parents of 1.5 and 2nd generation transnational adolescents.

Visual Documents

I asked participants to bring drawings, images or photos in the third interview and which aligned with information gathered in the first two interviews. The documents that participants brought to this interview were intended to represent identity or share their memory. Many scholars have already documented the importance of flexible multi-method approaches including visual methodologies to researching with children and young people (Alderson, 2000; Christensen & James, 2000; Eisner, 2002; Gauntlett & Holzwarth, 2006; Hall, 1997; Pahl & Rowsell, 2007; Punch, 2002; Thomson & Holland, 2005; Weber, 2008). For example, Pahl and Rowsell (2007) argued that the process of multimodal text production reveals and traces

children's sedimented identities. The intention behind these documents was to provide space for primary participants to discuss, interpret, and analyze the importance of these documents as 1.5 and 2nd generation transnational adolescents.

I intended to explore the complex processes in which transnational adolescents articulated how they constructed and adjusted their identities in terms of cultures and languages and how their agency in language and culture supported their identity exploration and construction in transnational space. Thus, semi-structured interviews included very sensitive questions about their personal stories connecting with their identities. Participants may not have thought about their sense of belongings and identity in terms of cultures and languages before, and I thought they might feel uncomfortable in answering those questions. So, it was critical to develop "relative intimacy and rapport with participants" (Roulston, 2010, p.98). While creating a supportive environment so that participants felt at ease to share their experiences and perceptions, I agree with Gold (2007, p. 145)'s idea that "making and sharing photographs can be helpful in generating rapport." Using visual documents, participants shared their experiences and perceptions. In turn, this deepened my understanding of the research questions by asking them to share their interpretations, and asking further questions about these artifacts. At the same time, I wanted to create a space for the participant to express and interpret their identities in diverse ways of their own choosing. The data sources such as visual documents provided a space for the participants to navigate and express their identities as well as make visual aspects of how they perceived themselves as 1.5 and 2nd generation transnational adolescents. Gauntlett and Holzwarth (2006) forwarded the concept of "therapeutic value of creative activity" (p. 83) to explain the usefulness of making creative artifacts within the research process to lead the participants expressing their identities and experiences. Visual data must help the participants "to

position themselves as legitimate actors and contributors throughout the research process from data" (Weber, 2008).

Visual data are powerful to represent diverse cultural and linguistic identities and provide a reflexive space for participants. Including visual documents such as self-portrait, drawings, images, or coloring, participants can elicit more reflexive and expressive responses more than they can do with words (Albers & Frederick, 2012; Castellotti & Moore, 2011; Gauntlett & Holzwarth, 2006; Molinié, 2009; Pahl & Rowsell, 2007; Weber, 2008). For example, Albers and Frederick (2012) proposed, "some modes have the potential to express part of the meaning that other modes cannot" (p.236). In their one-year ethnographic study, Albers and Frederick (2012) described how two Latino teachers supported ninth-grade students who struggled in literacy: students actively engaged in multimodal activities including multimodal production of texts such as images and movies. The student-centered multimodal experience facilitated students' engagement in the classroom to make their voices. Instead of limiting them to communicating in a given spoken language (Bagnoli, 2009; Butler-Kisber, 2010; Diaz Soto & Swadener, 2005; Freeman & Mathison, 2009; Leavy, 2009), researchers can access to the voices and experiences of the participants that are not accessible verbally. Harper (2002) supported that the visual method can "mine deeper shafts into a different part of the human consciousness than do words-alone interviews" (p. 23). The visual documents the participants brought were thought-provoking data to facilitate their engagement in sharing their innermost feelings.

According to Banks (2007), "the meaning of images changes over time as they are viewed by different audiences" (p. 33). Thus, the visual data were combined with interviews to get individual interpretation and description of the participants about what the images/photos/drawings mean and how they read and interpret them. Many scholars have also

found that it is critically important for visual data to be interpreted by their creator in order to assure validity (Busch, 2010; Castellotti & Moore, 2009; Freeman & Mathison, 2009; Gauntlett & Holzwarth, 2006; Leavy, 2009; Pink, 2013; Weber, 2008). Although the visual data was not fully and directly explained or described verbally by some participants, the combined analysis of verbal and visual data could give a richer and deeper description and interpretation of their experiences and perceptions connecting with their identity (Busch, 2010; Pink, 2013). Botelho and Ridman (2009) suggested:

> The analysis of the representation process shows that meaning does not come directly from words but instead is re/presented in language (written or visual). Thus cultural meaning is established through representation, drawing on literary and nonliterary texts (imbedded with discourses) that play a central role in fixing the meaning in literature: dominant meanings get encoded. These cultural meaning offer particular subject positions, which are associated with social identities. (p. 2)

Thus, I asked primary participants to talk about the image as it related to their perceptions in how they saw themselves. These visual data sources helped to understand the complexity of the participants' identity within their transnational spaces.

Written Documents

Methodological triangulation is described by Patton (2002) as "the use of multiple methods to study a single problem or program" (p. 246). To strengthen the study's findings with methodological triangulation, I also included written documents as part of data collection. Written documents included personal documents of the participants such as personal essay, reflections, biography, and text messages they chose or agree to share them with me. Berg and Lune (2012) described, "Personal documents involve any written record created by the subject

that concerned his or her experiences…[It] includes autobiographies, diaries and journals, letters, and memos written by a subject in a research investigation" (p. 333). During the first interview, I asked participants to bring written and/or visual documents to share their life stories and identity in the third interviews, but opened up this invitation to the second interview as well, if they choose. However, the participants seemed to be reluctant to share some images or written images about themselves. After the second interview, as the researcher explained that the third interview would begin with their own artifacts, they agreed to share in the third interview. Considering that adolescence is a sensitive time, I tried to make the participants not feel forced by explaining the anonymity of the artifact and the findings of the study.

Researcher Journal

In conducting a qualitative study, a researcher is a key instrument of data collection and analysis. Thus, the reflexivity of a researcher needs to be fully acknowledged and described since the process and findings of study include how a researcher understands the participants and their contexts. For this, I wrote a researcher's journal throughout the data collection and analysis process in order to clarify "individual belief systems and subjectivities" and "personal assumptions and goals" (Ahern, 1999, as cited in Russell & Kelly, 2002, p. 2). Some scholars agree that written reflection is a rigorous documentary tool in a qualitative study (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Stake, 1995). After each interview, I wrote analytical notes and memos in my researcher journal about the interview and the participant including thought and reflection, and it was also used as a source of data (Saldaña, 2016). By analyzing data and reflecting on its meaning in my researcher's journal, I could better understand my beliefs and values about myself, and my assumptions about knowledge, power, and privilege.

At every step of data collection, I also wrote analytic memos, open-ended written

reflections about the data and the data analysis to think about how the categories or codes are interrelated and transcend (Saldaña, 2016). Analytic memos allowed me to reflect and record my "coding processes and code choices; how the process of inquiry is taking shape; and the emergent patterns, categories and subcategories, themes, and concepts in [my] data…" (Saldaña, 2016, p. 44). To write analytic memos, I revisited and reevaluated the process of coding and data analysis to investigate how the items may connect and weave complexly together. Analytic memos also include "future directions, unanswered questions, frustrations with the analysis, insightful connections…" (Saldaña, 2016, p. 45). Once analytic memos were written, they became data as well, and I was able to use the coding process to code and categorize each memo. Thus, it was recursive throughout the process of collecting data, transcribing, coding and writing an analytic memo.

Table 5

Researcher's Journal

Date/ time	Settings	Researcher reflection/Analytic memo
Oct. 12th/ 3pm	Participant's house	It was interesting that he began describing himself as a high school student first for the question of "Tell me a little bit about yourself". As he spends most of his time in a day at school, school and his status as a student might be the most important part of his identity.

Table 6 presents how the research questions aligned with the data source and the theoretical and methodological stances that guided this study.

Table 6

Research Questions aligned with Data Source

Research Questions	Data Sources	How this data helps to investigate this	How is this data theoretically and methodologically

		question	aligned with this question?
1) How do 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American transnational adolescents self-identify?	Interview with the adolescents Visual/Written artifacts	Interviews and artifacts reveal how the participants identify themselves in terms of sense of belonging.	They spoke to their identity, which is a sense of belonging, by sharing their experiences and perceptions (Evans, 2015; Gee, 2000). Transnational social spaces that migrants are embedded in (Vertovec, 2007) were described through their own words.
2) What linguistic and cultural resources do participants say that they draw upon and that have shaped their identity across transnational spaces?	Interview with the adolescents Visual/written artifacts	Interviews and artifacts allow the participants to share their linguistic and cultural experiences through their own words.	The meaning of language is culturally and socially constructed within situated contexts (Gee, 2013; Halliday, 2013). In addition, identity has been constructed within sociocultural contexts. Thus, interviews and visual/written revealed the participants' identities by understanding their ways of being and ways of belonging.
3) What conflicts do they experience in-between communities?	Interview with the adolescents Interview with the mothers Visual/written artifacts	Interviews and visual artifacts allow the participants to reflect on their experiences and perceptions.	As sharing their experiences and reflection, their struggles not to "fit-in" were revealed (Evans, 2015).
4) To what extent do their linguistic and cultural investments interconnect with their identities?	Interview with the adolescents Interview with the mothers Visual/written artifacts Researcher's journal (Reflection and	Interviews, artifacts, and researcher's analytic memo reveal the relations among language, culture, identity, and investment.	While sharing their linguistic and cultural experiences with their own words, it was revealed how they constructed and negotiated their identities. Identity affects linguistic and cultural learning investment (Norton, 1995, 2000)

	Analytic memo)		

Data Analysis

On-going and recursive data analysis was conducted throughout the data collection phase. The data were analyzed from the very beginning of data collection. As Merriam and Tisdell (2016) suggested, data analysis should be conducted simultaneously alongside data collection "in order to recognize that your data is saturated" (p. 101). I employed the strategy of "analysis-in-the-field mode" in which analysis and interpretation are concurrent with data collection. By writing a researcher's journal, I did the prompt analysis of the data right after each interview. However, the more formal analysis and interpretation was left until most of the data were collected (Bogdan & Biken, 2007) and transcribed. Qualitative researchers suggested that analysis is undertaken by examining multiple sources of data within a case, and then themes and categories of all the participants are compared. Finally, the findings emerge as common themes (Bogdan & Biken, 2007; Gee, 2014; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). My analysis was inductive and emergent, constantly comparing one data source within and alongside data sources (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003).

My primary data analysis was based largely in Saldaña's coding and analysis procedures (2016). Saldaña (2016) suggested two cycles of coding: first cycle of coding is a way to initially assign codes to the chunks of data, and the second cycle coding is a way of grouping those codes with the result of first cycle coding into categories, themes, or explanations as a meaningful unit of analysis.

According to Saldaña (2016), a code is "a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-

based or visual data" (p. 4). For this study, as a first cycle of coding, the coding process started with initial coding, which I manually assigned codes while reading each interview transcripts. After each interview, I listened to the audio-recorded interview to get a general understanding. Based on the advice "to code quickly and spontaneously after familiarizing yourself with the material" (Saldaña, 2016, p. 117), I scribbled whatever came to my mind while listening to the audio-recorded interviews and the audio-recorded interview was transcribed as verbatim (Table 7). According to Saldaña (2016), "Initial coding can range from the descriptive to the conceptual or the theoretical, depending on what you observe in and infer from the data, and depending on your personal knowledge and experiences you bring to your reading of the phenomena" (p. 180). In addition, I read the transcript and re-read while highlighting significant meaning units in different colors. Overall, I applied initial coding for "open-ended approach" (Saldaña, 2016, p. 115) in the first cycle of coding. At the same time, I applied values coding, which is defined as "the application of codes to qualitative that reflect a participant's values, attitudes, and beliefs, representing his or her perspectives or worldview" (Saldaña, 2016, p. 131). I applied valued coding to examine the complex process of identity construction in terms of language and culture by focusing on participants' values, attitudes, and beliefs. For example, examining the code "attitude" enabled me to investigate research questions 2 or 4 that address 1.5 and 2nd transnational adolescent identities in terms of language and culture. Saldaña (2016) defined attitude as "the way we think and feel about ourselves, another person, think, or idea" (p.131). Table 7 is the sample of the first cycle of coding using initial coding and value coding: V: (Value), A: (Attitude), B: (Belief).

During this process of first cycle coding, I changed and developed codes as the data collection continued. This coding process went through iterative cycles within a case and across

cases, and major categories, themes, or concepts were constructed. In this way, I could identify repeating themes or categories. I thought about the context of the code in depth, and this process was helpful to emerge sub-code or subcategories. Table 7 offers an example of initial coding.

Table 7

First Cycle of Coding, Saldaña (2016)

Participant's Response	Codes	Descriptions/Thoughts
[1]I prefer to listen to American stuff, because I like the artist. [2]At first, I tried to listen to American songs, because my friends enjoyed it. I can sing along to it.	[1]A: enjoying American music [2]V: influence of friends for the selection of American music	She enjoys American music with the influence of peers. Then, who is her friend? Need to ask the description about the friends.

After the first cycle of coding, I did the second cycle of coding to develop a smaller and more select list of broader categories, themes, or concepts. For the second cycle of coding, I went back to the data and coded again sequentially, applying axial coding (Table 8). With the goal to develop a sense of categorical, thematic, conceptual, and/or theoretical organization from the array of first cycle codes" (Saldaña, 2016, p. 234), I reorganized and reanalyzed data of the first cycle coding by changing, adding, or deleting codes during the second cycle of coding.

First of all, I looked for similarities amongst the codes and grouped codes into categories. I read the coded data looking for similar codes and recurred themes to keep my research purpose and questions in mind. For the possible answers to my research questions, I grouped the codes into three categories: 1) identity, 2) context, and 3) language and culture.

I then created codes for each of these categories that described the participants' perceptions and experiences.

Table 8

Second Cycle of Coding, Saldaña (2016)

Open Codes	Axial Codes	Finding Statement
Attitude toward American culture: enjoying American music with peers Influence of friends for the selection of enjoying American music Using English at schools Feeling different from the majority of others	-Investment in American identity -Distance themselves to be fully American	They self-identified as Korean Americans.
Using Korean to Korean adults in the church Korean inputs from their parents Feeling lack of competency and fluency about Korean language and culture	- Investment in Korean identity -Distance themselves to be Korean	

As Saldaña (2016) suggested, I started writing as I constructed several major categories, themes, or concepts.

Analysis of Written/Visual Data

While I collected these data, I also analyzed documents made by the participants. I listened to how they talked about these artifacts and asked questions as they talked. I did not intend to apply any method of visual analysis as this laid outside the intention of this study.

Quality of the Study

To establish the quality of qualitative study design, Yin (2018) suggested increasing validity and reliability.

Validity

In order to increase the validity of my study, methodological triangulation/crystallization was employed using multiple data sources of evidence: interviews with the participants and their mothers, visual/written artifacts, and researcher's journal including reflection and analytic memo. These multiple sources of evidence provided multiple measures of the same phenomenon to answer the questions of the study (Yin, 2018). In addition, the data analysis and findings for the case study were built around the consistency of data from these sources. In collecting each type of data, it was analyzed and coded separately. And then, the code from each of the data sets was reviewed, compared, and converged.

For trustworthiness of the data source, member checking was also conducted during the interview process and at the end of the data collection and analysis. Stake (2010) defined member checking as "presenting a recording or draft copy of an observation or interview to the persons providing the information and asking for correction and comment" (p. 126). The data analysis reflected my understanding of the data generated from the interviews with the participants. Thus, member checking was worthwhile to improve the quality of the case study in that the purpose of qualitative research is to investigate subjective perspectives of the participant (Creswell, 2014; Merriam, 2009). In the beginning of interviews two and three, I cross-checked my interpretations of the interview data with the participants to ensure that I captured their experiences and perceptions as accurately as possible. In addition, I asked the participants to review their interview transcripts for member checking after all three semi-structured interviews. I asked them to read and comment on a shared Google Doc and asked them if there were anything they wanted to change, add, or correct. I also asked the participants what they felt after reading their interview transcript and if any of their thoughts were changed after their interviews. However, I was hesitant to share the findings of this study for member checking with the

participants; my interpretations of their identities is a sensitive issue. Thus, to enhance the trustworthiness and the credibility of this study, I also employed peer debriefing with my colleagues. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), peer debriefing is defined as a "process of exposing oneself to a disinterested peer in a manner paralleling an analytic session and for the purpose of exploring aspects of the inquiry that might otherwise remain only implicit within the inquirer's mind" (p.308). I invited my colleagues to share my analysis and findings. I could get a deeper insight into my colleagues' interpretation and I could also recall my data that had not been considered prior to the peer debriefings.

Reliability

To increase the reliability of the study, a rich and thick description of the study was included. Since qualitative researchers are interested in the study of individuals' interpretation of social reality within the nature of a particular context, it is not their primary goal to generalize the findings. Moreover, the results of case study with small numbers of participants cannot be generalized in a sense that the sample selection is not large and random and not to cover or represent the population (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). However, the findings of qualitative research can be transferable to other contexts or settings through analytic generalization, which is defined, "The logic whereby case study findings can apply to situations beyond the original case study, based on the relevance of similar theoretical concepts or principles" (Yin, 2018, p. 286). Qualitative research can be transferable with sufficient rich, thick and thorough description of the context, the participants, the assumptions, and the findings with the adequate evidence (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Yin, 2018). The reader and user of the study can transfer and apply the findings by either "(a) corroborating, modifying, rejecting, or otherwise advancing theoretical concepts that research investigators referenced in designing the case study

or (b) new concepts that arose upon the completion of the case study" (Yin, 2014, p. 24). In this sense, this study is transferable to other cases about the identity construction of adolescents with transnational experiences from diverse backgrounds and contexts. The readers of the study will decide whether the findings can apply to other contexts or other populations by assessing the similarity and difference. Although a case of this study is not a sample of a population, the findings of this case study would suggest empirical light on further understanding of diverse transnational youth in adolescence.

Ethical Considerations

Before conducting data collection, I informed the participants what participation entailed and had them freely consent to participation. However, there were still some ethical issues to be considered in this study. Most of all, participants might feel uncomfortable sharing their personal experience and stories, in particular, which is confidential. Therefore, I focused on establishing rapport with the participants at the beginning of the study by creating a considerable degree of connection and warmth. In addition, to protect the participant from any potential harm or risk, participants were regularly encouraged to ask questions and share their points of view about the process of data collection. Secondly, in the process of interviews, I believed the participants might feel anxious or uncomfortable to answer some questions. Moreover, they might never have thought and expressed their identity, language, and culture explicitly and they might feel uncomfortable to answer certain questions. Thus, I designed questions carefully so as to let them feel free to express themselves if they felt uneasy and anxious. I kept reminding them they could skip any questions if they do not want to respond. Finally, the confidentiality was protected as the information gathered would not be stored, published, or presented in a way that anyone identify the participants. Pseudonyms will be used throughout the final report of the study.

Writing

After finishing data collection and data analysis, writing was the most important part of the study. I considered my audiences as immigrant adolescents and parents, teachers and researchers, and policymakers. I included a rich and thick description of the participants and the contexts in writing, and the reader will understand and see my study in detail. I tried to help readers read about what I saw and what I understood. According to Geertz (1973), a good ethnographer provides an "insightful narrative" of their fieldwork for their readers by including a thick description (as cited in Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, p. 80). This case study included the story of a specific ethnic group with similar experiences and background. Thus, their stories in a specific social cultural context were weaved in describing and interpreting data. It would help the readers better understand the experiences and issues affecting transnational youth in adolescence.

Summary

In this chapter, I provided an overview of the rationale for this qualitative case study and the design of the study. I discussed the study participants, the instrument of data collection, the process of data collection, and the method of data analysis. I also discussed how to enhance the integrity of the study including ethical consideration, and the limitation of the study.

4 FINDINGS

The purpose of this qualitative case study was to understand how transnational youth construct and adjust their identities. Specifically, this study aimed to investigate how and in what ways the participants drew upon their linguistic and cultural resources in identifying themselves and how their agency in language and culture supported their identity exploration and construction.

The focal participants of this study included both 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American transnational youth: Sara, siblings John and Daniel, Eun, and Hoon (pseudonyms). Sara, John, and Daniel are 2nd generation immigrants who were born and have lived in the United States. Eun and Hoon are 1.5 generation immigrants who were born in Korea and immigrated with their parents before beginning their formal schooling with their parents. All five participants were educated in the American educational system their entire life, whether they were born in the United States or not. Given that children are mainly socialized in the school contexts after their formal schooling begins, the schooling experience of the participants in this study was critical in examining their exposure to the language and culture of the host society. In addition, all participants had limited memory and experience of their heritage language and culture as their main interactions and sources were from their family members. Thus, the transnational contexts and experiences between 1.5 and 2nd generation transnational youth in this study were not significantly different, which aligns with Rumbaut's (2004) categorization that immigrants who arrive in the host country before 6 years old show characteristics similar to 2nd generation. Therefore, the findings are presented collectively from the cross-analysis of all participants.

In this chapter, I present findings of this study guided by the following research questions: 1) How do 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American transnational adolescents self-

identify? 2) What resources do participants say that they draw upon and that have shaped their identity across transnational spaces? 3) What conflicts do they experience in transnational spaces? 4) To what extent do their linguistic and cultural investment interconnect with their identities?

From the cross-analysis of data for all five participants, four key findings emerged: 1) Transnational youth self-identified as Korean Americans with both a sense of belonging and a sense of distance. 2) Transnational youth moved fluidly across transnational contexts. 3) Transnational youth experienced tensions within their sociocultural contexts without articulating them as tensions 4) Transnational youth leveraged language and culture within varied contexts.

Finding 1. Transnational youth self-identified as Korean Americans with both a sense of belonging and a sense of distance.

As this study aimed to examine 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American transnational youth's identities, the interviews with the participants included questions about how the participants self-identified. The data showed that the participants valued their identities as Korean Americans, immigrants, and students within familial and school contexts and interactions.

"I'm both Korean and American"

In this study, three participants are 2nd generation immigrants who were born in the United States and two participants are 1.5 generation immigrants who were born in Korea and came to the United States before their formal school ages. However, in general, participants did not identify themselves as solely an American or Korean. All the participants identified themselves as Korean Americans. For example, Sara kept describing herself as "Korean American" throughout the interviews by using language such as, "I speak English, and being

Korean American, it so influences greatly," "My environment itself is very just Korean American in general," and "I'm both Korean and American" (Sara, 1st interview, 2019). She lived in a U.S. city where there was quite a large Korean population, and she described her environment as "very Korean American in general." As she had grown up with Korean Americans, she seemed to accept both Korean and American identities without many conflicts.

John and Daniel resided in the same area as Sara with a large population of Koreans. While they revealed weaker connections to Korean American groups compared to Sara, they still self-identified Korean Americans, not just Americans. John explained, "I'm a Korean American so I guess I belong to that group," and "I like being, part of being Korean, living in the United States" (John, 1st interview, 2019). When Daniel was asked about his identity, he also responded, "I'd say Korean American" (Daniel, 1st interview, 2019). Using the expressions "I guess" and "I'd say," their identities were expressed with some hesitancy, but they still included both Korean and American. The difference between Sara and John and Daniel was that John and Daniel did not have direct experiences living in or visiting Korea. John and Daniel were born in the United States and had never visited Korea while Sara visited Korea several times during school breaks.

Eun and Hoon, who were 1.5 generation Korean American immigrants, explained in more detail about the ways they identified as Korean Americans. Eun self-identified as Korean American and explained, "My ethnicity is Korean and I live in the United States" (Eun, 1st interview, 2019). Hoon also mentioned, "I'm Korean American," with the rationale, "because I have Korean heritage, but I live most of my life in America" (Hoon, 1st interview, 2019). While they drew upon their ethnicity and heritage for their identities, both Eun and Hoon emphasized their current geographical location as part of their identities.

All participants used the term “Korean American” to identify themselves which indicates that they recognize their ties to both societies of Korean and American. The following two sections discuss to what extent their identities connected with each one.

“I’m just a regular high school student”

In this study, participants’ self-identification started with school, being around friends, engaging in school activities, and having expectations that they would be good students. For these participants, this was considered being “regular” or socially engaging with friends both in and out of school. For them, “regular” had less to do with how they interacted with their families in Korean spaces (e.g., home, Korean stores, speaking Korean, etc.), and more to do with how they performed at school and how they interacted socially with their friends as teenagers. They did not sense that they should be considered “different” because they spoke Korean or had a Korean heritage. They took on the identity as American in the spaces like school and social settings in which they can be “just regular kids.”

For example, Sara said, “I am a high schooler attending a high school and I grew up with friends and I am happy with my friends right now. I am both Korean and American, but I am more comfortable with the English language and culture” (Sara, 1st interview, 2019). While she identified herself as both Korean and American, her linguistic and cultural context centered on school with friends who also grew up and lived in the United States. Later in the interviews, Sara further elaborated that her understanding of her identity came from outside expectations about her performance as a student. She stated, “especially as a student, everyone, not just because I’m Korean American, but just because I’m a student, I feel like, they want me to be just a student, not because I’m Korean American” (Sara, 2nd interview, 2020). She valued her identity as a student within her situated contexts.

John also put his identity as a student first by emphasizing the word “regular” because he considered a “regular student” as one who studied hard and invested in school work.

> I’m just a regular high school student, just studying and trying to do school in the US. What group do I belong to? I’m a Korean American so I guess I belong to that group. But like, I mean I'm just a regular kid I guess.
>
> (John, 1st interview, 2019)

As the participants tried to do their jobs as students, they were not self-conscious about cultural or ethnic differences with their classmates/peers. John’s sense of belonging was not so clear-cut in terms of culture and language, but rather what it meant to be a teenager. He first positioned himself as a “regular” kid before naming himself as Korean American. In the same vein, John’s self-identification as the first child of the family was prioritized in his context. When I asked him to tell me about himself, his statement began with, “I’m the oldest of four.” As his family was large with four children and they maintained close connections with extended family members, it meant a lot to him to be the oldest child of the family. He shared that sometimes these expectations made him frustrated: “Since I’m the oldest, I’m expected to do everything correctly and my family just expects me to do everything right” (John, 3rd interview, 2020). He felt pressured to be a good older brother and a good example to his siblings as the first child of the family.

Unlike other participants who self-identified as students and Korean American, Daniel did not mean much to share his identity as a Korean, American, or Korean American at the beginning of the first interview. When I asked him, “How do you identify yourself?” he shared his name first and said, “I come from a family of four kids with parents. Uh…. what am I supposed to say?” (Daniel, 1st interview, 2019). After that, I explained that I just wanted to know

who he was, but he kept saying, "I don't know." While Daniel did not specifically state his identity as a student or Korean American at first, he stated, "I think I belong anywhere I feel comfortable. Anywhere that accepts me, I guess." (Daniel, 1st interview, 2019). As he lived in the United States as a "regular" ordinary person, he was an American. He was not particularly concerned about his Korean ethnicity or American nationality in his daily life. His current context was where he belonged. In the 3rd interview, when I asked him to share one artifact to show his identity, Daniel brought in a picture of him on the swim team. He also mentioned his sense of belonging in the swim team: "Oh, who do I have the deepest relationships with, I would say swim. I have really good relationships there, like friends wise. I don't feel uncomfortable at school." (Daniel, 1st interview, 2019). As he was an active member of a swim team at school, this was the one of important contexts for him. It showed he lived where he was.

Eun clearly mentioned that she felt closer to American culture and language. As she had lived and educated in the United States, she was situated in the context of the United States and she could easily identify and describe her differences from Koreans who just immigrated. Specifically, Eun shared how she felt closer to being American instead of being Korean,

> I'm really more American, I guess. Like my American friends or like people who have grown up in the States. Instead of obviously like straight Koreans from Korea or someone who's more into Korean things. 'cause we don't have the same interest in lifestyle, I guess.
>
> (Eun, 1st interview, 2020)

Eun grew up in America, unlike some of her friends who grew up in Korea, and was aligned with Korean culture. When Eun said, "'cause we don't have the same interest in lifestyle," her use of the collective pronoun "we" suggests that she saw herself outside Korean culture and is more

aligned with others in America with the "same interest in lifestyle." Eun aligned with being American when she claimed, "like my American friends or like people who have grown up in the States" (Eun, 1st interview, 2020).

Throughout the interviews, as seen in the excerpt from John, Daniel, and Eun, all participants repeated, "I guess," which suggests that perhaps there was some tension in identifying themselves with a specific category. According to Holland et al. (1998), social encounters within the current time and place are the most meaningful to identity construction. Given that the participants resided in the US as students who spent most of their time at schools, the school contexts and their peers and teachers were critical to constructing their identities. Before being conscious of their differences, they just belonged to the U.S. school system with their friends as "regular" students.

The participants' identities as regular students were also explained by Hoon's interview. After member-checking the interview data, I asked how Hoon's interview experience was and if the experience changed his identification and identity as a Korean American. He shared, "I didn't really think in-depth about how my, how that would make me different as a person because I was a Korean American" (Hoon, 4th interview, 2020). Hoon's thoughts align with Levitt and Schiller's (2004) concepts of *ways of being,* "the actual social relations and practices that individuals engage in rather than to the identities associated with their actions," and *ways of belonging*, "practices that signal or enact an identity which demonstrates a conscious connection to a particular group" (p. 1010). As a Korean American, Hoon did not view himself as different from other students. It was a very natural practice for Hoon and other participants to go to school "as an ordinary person" in their situated contexts, but it was not their conscious activity to reveal

their connections and identity as students. Hoon also brought the mini album as an artifact to show his identity. He explained,

> I have a very fun memory of this time and for a while I was really into soccer. So, uh…it represents that I like sports…And my closest friends around the soccer team, so yeah, it was a lot of fun.…it's probably one of my best memories playing for the soccer team in the States.
>
> (Hoon, 3rd interview, 2020)

As students who lived in the United States, the participants-who were 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American transnational youth didn't necessarily see themselves as different than their American peers. Despite their Korean heritage, participants were unable to articulate or appreciate their diversity in situated contexts. The participants saw themselves as people first and foremost: they were who they were. Before recognizing their ethnic identity, their self-identification had less to do with culture and language and more to do with being a "regular" teenager in the United States. Data in this study suggest that, as Americans, the participants felt a strong sense of belonging. These findings align with the research which suggests that 2nd generation immigrants' ethnic identities and the extent of 'becoming American' is different from their 1st generation immigrant parents who have strong ties to their country of origin (Kasinitz et al., 2008; Rumbaut & Ima, 1988; Yi, 2013). Participants saw their primary social activities as having friends and being good students. In their figured world, 1.5 and 2nd generation transnational youth were regular students who go to American schools.

"Like [through] blood [I'm] physically Korean"

Living in and across two geographic and cultural spaces, participants articulated that their identities as "regular students" were entangled with their Korean ethnicity, particularly as

developed in their home spaces. Transnational youth in this study self-identified with their ethnicity that might imply their parents' country of origin and national identity. Although they were more exposed to American culture and language than Korean culture and language, study participants did not separate their Korean ethnicity from their identity. As they lived with their family and engaged in Korean community, all participants experienced Korean language and culture outside of school. While they had strong connections with their peer groups in the United States, their connections to Korea laid solely in their immediate and extended family or friends of family, but not necessarily with their peer groups. In other words, the participants did not have much connection with peer groups in Korea since they lived and spent their entire lives and/or school years in the United States. Their identification with Korean was direct, only through "blood," and through their families' direct connection to Korean living and current Korean language and culture. Their interactions with their parents, older family members, Korean friends, and community members reminded them that they were Korean, a part of their identity that they respected.

For example, Sara shared, "I still think being Korean is important to my heritage and influences me every day" (1st interview, 2019). For Sara, her sense and knowledge of Korean culture and values were cultivated by the importance her parents placed on Korean culture,

> Yeah, so even my values in life are influenced by Korean culture and what Korean people think… like respecting your elders, thinking about how to treat others. I think that all drives from the mindset that Korean people have. Especially what my parents think is important.
>
> (Sara, 1st interview, 2019).

As Sara described, she revealed a strong sense of belonging as a Korean and built up relationships with co-ethnic peers in and out of school contexts.

Siblings John and Daniel had roots in America and had some ties with Korea through their contact with Korean church members and immediate family, including their parents, grandmother, and other extended family including their uncle and aunt. Although they were born in the United States and had never been to Korea, they still self-identified with their Korean ethnicity. For example, about his cultural identification, John noted, "my ethnicity is Korean, but I was born in America" (John, 2nd interview, 2020). In other words, John dichotomized his self-identity as culture or geography; he was Korean because his parents were from Korea, but was American because he was physically born in the United States. This distinction is important because he thought that he had much more in common with Korean Americans than Americans. He explained that he identified more as a Korean as opposed to an American because of his Korean background, knowledge about Korean language and culture, and because of his parents' and ancestors' birthplaces and Korean heritage. To support his rationale as a Korean American who was differentiated from Americans, he explained that his Korean American friends' life styles at home were quite similar to his own:

> We are all like Korean Americans. We know Korean backgrounds, we know a little Korean so we know at least something of our culture… So they have the same background knowledge and our home life is kind of similar…there's rules and Customs about what we do.
>
> (John, 1st interview, 2019).

While John identified more closely with his Korean ethnicity, his brother Daniel felt differently. Although Daniel identified his ethnic identity as Korean, Daniel's ethnicity did not seem to be

the center of his identity and life. Daniel saw ethnic identity as biological, "Like [through] blood, [I'm] physically Korean" (Daniel, 1st interview, 2019). Throughout the interviews, Daniel distanced himself from other Korean American groups at school and his parents who were described as Koreans. However, he still embraced the identity of Korean to describe himself.

Unlike 2nd generation participants born in the United States, for Eun and Hoon, 1.5 generation transnational youth, Korean ethnicity was related to their citizenship as they were born in Korea and lived in the United States as permanent residents but not as U.S. citizens. Hoon began his biography by mentioning, "My life started in Seoul, South Korea" (Hoon, biography, 2019); Korea was meaningful to him as his birth place. Eun explained, "I'm not, like, fully American 'cause I don't have citizenship here" (Eun, 2nd interview, 2020). The data indicate that Eun and Hoon saw themselves as being rooted in Korea because of their citizenship and birthplace although they did not have many memories in Korea.

While all participants accepted and considered their Korean ethnicity, the three 2nd generation participants were more flexible in how they identified their ethnic ties as they were born and claimed citizenship in the United States compared to 1.5 generation participants. Although there was a difference in degree of their connections reflecting their nationality or citizenship, the findings suggest that the Korean ethnic identity of 1.5 and 2nd generation transnational youth was inseparable from their identities.

"I'm really more American": "I'm really not American."

Participants did not always express their sense of belonging in both host and heritage societies. Instead, they sometimes distanced themselves from the both societies or either one of the societies. For example, Sara showed a strong sense of belonging to a Korean American friend group in which peers had a similar background to her. She defined her friend groups as

Korean by saying, "My friends are all Koreans" (Sara, 1st interview, 2019). When I asked further to clarify the meaning of 'Koreans,' she explained her friends as Korean Americans, but repeated as describing them as "Korean."

Pang: Although you said that they are Koreans, but they might be Korean Americans. Right?

Sara: Oh, yes, Korean Americans. They are Koreans.

Pang: They are not newly from Korea?

Sara: Yeah, there are few people who are from Korea directly, but most of them are like me, Korean Americans.

Pang: Born here [America] and closer to American cultures?

Sara: Yes.

(Sara, 1st interview, 2019)

Sara identified herself and her friends as Koreans who were born in the United States and familiar with American culture. She may have used the term Korean to differentiate Korean Americans from mainstream Americans or other Americans. Sara did not seem to fully belong to America. In another interview, Sara explained, 'American' refers to "People who have their roots here [America], and their family, and their upper generations have been here [America] for a long time." In this excerpt, Sara called Americans 'they' and which revealed that Sara distanced herself from Americans. On the other hand, Sara distinguished her Korean identity from her parents' identity as Korean:

> They [My parents] lived in Korea for a majority of their life. They went to school there, they are more accustomed to culture, they can fully write in Korean and speak way more

> fluently than my sister and I. Also, they haven't gone through like K-12 schooling here. So I feel like that's a big thing.
>
> (Sara, 3rd interview, 2020)

Sara's self-identification differed from how she categorized her parents. She described her parents as Koreans by comparing them to herself and her sister: "I'm a Korean American, but my family is mostly Korean except my sister" (Sara, 1st interview, 2019). Her sense of belonging to the United States was different from her parents since Sara was more familiar with American language and culture than her parents. In this way, Sara distinguished herself from identifying as fully Korean or American although she self-identified as, "both Korean and American" (Sara, 1st interview, 2019). Sara did not mean to embrace or to distance both the identities of Korean and American by identifying as Korean American, rather, she existed somewhere in-between.

John also expressed his sense of distance from the majority population of white American by sharing his experience that people considered him as being competent in Korean language and culture. In an interview, John explained, "people ask me all the time, like about Korean stuff, like culture, food, actual cities and places I've never been" (John, 2nd interview, 2020). He lived in the United States for his entire life and he did not have direct experiences of visiting or staying in Korea. To some extent, he knew about some aspects of Korean culture and language under the influence of his parents at home. However, it was not unusual for 2nd generation youth to be less familiar with Korean culture and language compared to those born and raised in Korea. Although John had Korean heritage, he needed an effort to build up his Korean resources while living in the United States. His experience facing expectations to be competent with the Korean language and culture seemed to affect his feeling of distance from both societies of Korea and America.

Daniel expressed that he distanced himself from more "Koreanized" Korean American groups at school. Daniel admitted his connection with Korea, but felt much closer to America. Instead of embracing his identity as a Korean/Asian, he had more of a desire to belong in society as an American. He expressed how deeply he belonged to the host society as an American throughout the interviews.

> Daniel: I mean like, how do I say? Like blood physically, Korean, but then, like, I guess I have [the] mental trait[s] and stuff that makes me an American.
>
> …
>
> Pang: I wonder what your definition of American is. What is your definition?
>
> Daniel: Like, your part of the culture. Like part, you know how in Korea, like it's different from America obviously. And just like what you do, I guess, how you act, what you prioritize is like what makes you either Korean or American or whatever.
>
> (Daniel, 1st interview, 2019).

Daniel recognized his Korean ethnicity, but he rationalized that he was closer to having characteristics of Americans by saying, "I guess I have [the] mental trait[s] and stuff that makes me an American." To further explain, he pointed out the differences in culture between Koreans and Americans. Kasinitz et al. (2008) state that the term "American" is used for the children of immigrants in two different ways: one way is to compare themselves to their 1st generation immigrant parents and the other way is to compare themselves to mainstream white Americans. Although Daniel did not elaborate in detail, he explicitly mentioned that there was a difference between Korean and American about such as "what you do," "how you act," and "what you prioritize." He considered himself more American than Korean. In this context, he identified

himself as "American" by comparing himself to Koreans. As he has been involved in schools and with peers as an American, he was aware of differences between himself and his parents who identified more closely with Koreans. This was supported by his statement in a later interview describing his parents: "They just watch Korean shows, eat more [Korean foods] ...they're just more culturally connected to Korea than I am" (3rd interview, 2020). His sense of distance from his parents may be understood as his sense of belonging or desire to belong as an American.

In addition, he shared his experience that other people assumed about his culture and language based on his ethnicity.

Pang: Do you think that there are differences between yourself identification and identity determined by others?

Daniel: Yes. 'cause other people make assumptions, and like "oh, you like this because you're Asian. you are this because you are Asian." For instance, like as a joke, but sometimes like, "you watch K-pop." I don't listen to K-pop. No, I listen to [the] same music as you.

(Daniel, 2nd interview, 2020)

Although Daniel was familiar with *ways of being* in the United States, he was required to be equipped with *ways of belonging* as a Korean. This gap may have kept Daniel away from linguistic and cultural investment in Korea.

Even Eun and Hoon, who were born in Korea, felt that their Korean identities were not fully their own, but rather derived from their parents. For example, Eun explained she was Korean because "My parents were born in Korea." With respect to herself, she vaguely explained that she was Korean by "my looks obviously, my language, my culture, sometimes my thoughts I

guess. I don't know" (Eun, 1st interview, 2020). As she accepted her Korean heritage as a part of her identity, she noted her appearance, language, culture, and thoughts as a Korean. However, Eun also shared her struggles of belonging. She said that she did not fully belong to a Korean group. When she was with Koreans or Korean Americans whose culture was closer to Korean, she felt closer to being American by saying, "I'm really more American, I guess…Instead of obviously like straight Koreans from Korea or someone who's more into Korean things" (Eun, 1st interview, 2020). She felt that she did not have the same interest in the lifestyle of Koreans born in Korea or more "Koreanized" Korean Americans. Conversely, she also felt that she did not fully belong as an American. When I asked further about her characteristics as an American, she portrayed her identity as being "nothing":

> Pang: In what ways do you think you are an American?
>
> Eun: I don't know, I'm not really American.
>
> Pang: Oh, you think you are not
>
> Eun: I'm nothing.
>
> Pang: When do you think you are nothing? What makes you think that you are nothing?
>
> Eun: Cause I'm not really part of either one. I'm just like, it's like, I'm standing on a line and just like split in the middle.
>
> (Eun, 1st interview, 2020)

Eun's feelings as distanced or rejected from the both societies were expressed strongly with the words, "I'm nothing." While she described her spaces as divided, she seemed to feel a sense of loss in her struggle to name where she belonged.

For Eun and Hoon, their birthplace was Korea and it seemed to greatly influence their American identity; they felt closer to being American. For example, I asked Hoon who Americans were:

> Hoon: People who live in America their whole lives.
>
> Pang: So if they were born in the United States, they are Americans?
>
> Hoon: With American parents.
>
> Pang: What does that mean, 'American parents'?
>
> Hoon: They were born in America.
>
> (Hoon, 1st interview, 2020)

Although he has lived in the United States longer than he lived in Korea, Hoon distanced himself from being an American. He did not consider himself to be an American because he depicted Americans as living in the United States for their entire life. Furthermore, his future children will not be considered American by his definition because Hoon, as their parent, was born in Korea. Nevertheless, he still described his identity as "closer to American." His conflicting elaborations of American identity illustrate his struggle of belonging in the United States. He added, "but [I'm] not fully American. So I think it's pretty neutral in the middle" (Hoon, 1st interview, 2020). Even if Hoon was born or grew up in the United States, he did not consider himself American because his parents were immigrants. At the same time, unlike the characterization of his parents, Hoon didn't see himself as fully "Korean."

In terms of ethnicity, Kasinitz et al. (2004) explained three ways of using 'generation': to measure or define "the distance from the country of origin, exposure to host society, and age of immigration" (p.400). In this study, applying this term 'generation', 1.5 and 2nd generation

transnationals distanced themselves from the country of origin, which could be farther than their parents since they had been exposed to the host country for most of their lives or all their lives.

Immigrant

Throughout the interviews, I found that the participants were mindful about their identification as immigrants. Even 2nd generation participants who were born in the United States without direct experience of immigration did not separate their identification as immigrants or a child of immigrants. Their identification as immigrants made them appreciate their parents who sacrificed their lives to provide for a better life for their family. At the same time, it urged them to try to be successful in the United States.

For example, Sara did not self-identify as an immigrant, but as a child of an immigrant family. She shared what values she sought to as a child of immigrants,

> Since I'm from an immigrant family, there's always, like, this thing that my parents came here to give me a better opportunity. So I have to live up to that sometimes. So better emphasis on education, at getting good grades, like playing an instrument, something that lots of Korean parents push their children to do.
>
> (Sara, 1st interview, 2019)

While Sara thought that her parents immigrated to give her a better opportunity, Sara's mother explained that her primary purpose of immigration was not for her children, but for her and her husband's graduate study.

> 우리 같이 유학생으로 오기로 했어. 그래서 따로따로 오기보다는 그냥 결혼하고 같이 오자 그래 가지고...결혼 전에 같이 GRE 준비하고...같이 준비해서 나왔지
>
> (*We decided to come as international students. So, rather than coming separately, we*

decided to come together after marriage. So, before marriage, we prepared for the GRE together and came to United States as graduate students).

(Sara's mother, interview, 2020)

Although Sara's mother did not explicitly mention their purpose of immigration was for her children to have a better life, the data suggest that Sara felt that their parents lived in the United States for a better life for her and her sister. In an interview, Sara's mother elaborated,

> 근데 남편이 가끔 너네가 미국에 있어서 정말 좋은 거다라고 애들에게 얘기한 적이 있긴 하죠. 저랑은 애들한테 정말 좋은 기회를 준 거다라고 우리 둘이서는 얘기하는데, 애들한테 그런 식으로 너네 때문에 우리가 이런 걸 해줬다라고 얘기하지는 않아요. (*My husband had told my children that it was good for them to live in the United States. With me, we often talked with each other that we gave good opportunities for our children, but we did not tell them directly that we immigrated because of them*).

(Sara's mother, interview, 2020)

The data suggest that Sara's parents also believed that their decision to stay in the United States after their graduation was a good choice for their children's life although their primary purpose of immigration was for their graduate studies. In the third interview conducted in Korean, Sara said, "집 구할 때도 항상 학업이나 이런 것들을 중심으로 집 알아보시는 것도 있어 가지고, 딱 그런 게 느껴지더라구요 (When they were looking for a house, I felt that they considered school districts for us. I could see it)" (3rd interview, 2020). Although her parents didn't directly tell her, Sara observed their hard life as immigrants, value of life, and priority of

children's education. To some extent, Sara's and her parents' statement reflected Korean culture in which children's education was highly valued without Sara's even realizing it.

John also described himself as an immigrant. He explained that he belonged to America, but to some extent he was different from people in mainstream American society and closer to Korean American immigrants since he was from an immigrant family.

> John: A lot of, like, since I'm friends with a lot of Koreans Americans, a lot of us, like, we are more pressured to do good at school. Not only our parents, but also we pressure ourselves a lot, too. I've noticed that. And so there's a lot of us people, we also enjoy life outside of school like going out, just watching sports and talking about sports. But during school usually we are more pressured I guess.
>
> Pang: Why do you think Korean or Asians pressure themselves?
>
> John: I don't think it's just Korean or Asian. I think it's just immigrants in general 'cause like their parents immigrated to the United States to have more opportunities. And that's what they want their kids to succeed--to capture the opportunities that they probably wouldn't have if they're back at their own home place.
>
> (John, 1st interview, 2019)

John expressed that he felt pressure as a child of immigrants because his immigrant parents immigrated to the United States for better opportunities for their families. Similar to Sara, although he did not explicitly mention it, the pressure John felt about being a good student and successful might arise from their status as immigrants as well as from Korean culture that values children's education.

In addition, Daniel described his parents as immigrants and noted that they immigrated for a better life: "I know my mom, I don't know my dad. My mom for a better life. Like her

mom moved with her for a better life" (1st interview, 2019). However, Daniel was not obligated to fit into the category of immigrants or a child of immigrants.

Eun also described her struggles and identity as an immigrant. In an interview, Eun shared her memory of struggles in the United States as an immigrant.

> I'm an immigrant because I consider myself an immigrant because I moved here. But if I feel like, if my parents had come here, and then how me and my brother, we would be children of immigrants, but since we all immigrated at the same time, I would consider myself an immigrant. And I feel like being an immigrant, it's like, it's stupid I say like, saving money and stuff, worrying about money? That's what it means to be an immigrant, kind of.
>
> (Eun, 2nd interview, 2019)

Although Eun mentioned their financial struggles, her statement also may reflect her parents' struggles culturally, linguistically, and financially as immigrants. In an interview with Eun's mother, she described her family's process of coming to the United States for the purpose of her husband's graduate study. Eun's mother said that both she and her husband worked in Korea and belonged to the middle class. They were able to survive in the United States without much income while the father sought his doctoral degree. However, she admitted to experiencing stress associated with linguistic and cultural assimilation: "At first, I was happy to come to the United States, but soon I struggled to participate in society. It was a totally different life from Korea because of my lack of English and cultural competency" (Eun's mother, interview, 2020). Parents who immigrate often struggle or have stress living in a new place. This in turn must affect their children's struggles and pressures whether they are mentioned explicitly or not, and whether they keep their culture of their country of origin or assimilate to the host society.

Although Hoon explained that he did not experience struggling as an immigrant, he shared his identity as an immigrant by illustrating his family's experience:

Pang: Do you feel that you are an immigrant?

Hoon: Yeah. I think I am by definition an immigrant.

Pang: Why?

Hoon: I was born in Korea and I immigrated here with my family. So I think that makes me an immigrant.

Pang: So what does it mean to live as an immigrant?

Hoon: Well, I guess you're a different culture than most of the population. And I guess there's a hardship too in the beginning especially, 'cause if they adapt to what you're not familiar with.

Pang: So do you remember any moment that you were adapting to something unfamiliar…?

Hoon: uh… not me individually specifically, but I think as a family, we're getting used to American food because its taste was different from Korean. And just like understanding the customs and I guess a more individual sense in America.

(Hoon, 3rd interview, 2020)

Hoon perceived himself as an immigrant and shared some examples of cultural struggles including food in his daily life. Although he did not further explain direct experience in difficulty as an immigrant and just assumed his parents' struggles to adjust in the new place in the early days of their immigration, he implied his vicarious experience as an immigrant whose family had different cultures and values.

None of the participants had distinct memories of living in Korea, and they aligned themselves with both their Korean and American identities. Overall, the transnational youth had roots both in Korea and America, although there were slight differences in their sense of belonging. They had linguistic and cultural resources of both Korea and America, to a greater or lesser degree, as they crossed borders in their everyday lives. As a consequence, the participants' identities reflected their shift in contexts and resources as well as the perceived differences across the transnational contexts.

Finding 2. Transnational youth moved fluidly across transnational contexts.

The findings showed that the transnational youth identified themselves as either Korean, American, Korean American, or neither Korean nor American. Given that identities are not fixed but constantly change in people based on contexts and experiences, participants' identities necessarily shifted according to their situated contexts. As the participants lived in transnational contexts, they shifted, changed, and embraced their identities wherever they were situated. The participants moved across national borders and became a part of transnational contexts including at least two communities, Korean and American, in their everyday lives. As their primary transnational contexts, the participants drew upon family, school, peers, and community resources and identified these cultural resources as having shaped their identities. This section discusses specific spaces in which they identified.

Setting: School

The participants found their American identification stronger at school and with peers. All participants lived in the United States throughout their school ages. The school represented their American context where they used English as an official language and followed American educational curriculums. All of them shared that they used English at school and did not seem to

draw on Korean resources. They did not have any intention or reason to use Korean in school, even when speaking among peers from Korean heritage; they mostly used English. None of the participants mentioned that their Korean language and culture were utilized at schools.

To understand participants' school contexts, I extracted race demographics at each school, which I was able to access from local school websites. While the Asian ratio of the school that Sara, Daniel, and John attended (School A) was 23%, the Asian ratio of the school that Eun and Hoon (School B) attended was 17%. Furthermore, among Asians, the ratio of Koreans in School A was higher than School B based on the participants' statements. Sara, Daniel, and John stated that most Asians in School A were Koreans. In contrast, Eun and Hoon claimed there were few Koreans in their school, which meant that Koreans were in the minority, even among Asians in their school. Figure 1 presents the ratio of races in School A that Sara, John, and Daniel attended. While white students made up 53%, Asians were the second most common race in the school. According to the participants' statements, Koreans represented the largest population among Asians in the school: "there's definitely a lot of Asian people" (Daniel, 1st interview, 2019), and "we have lots of Koreans" (Sara, 1st interview, 2019).

Figure 1

Racial Diversity of Students in an A high school (Sara, John, & Daniel attended)

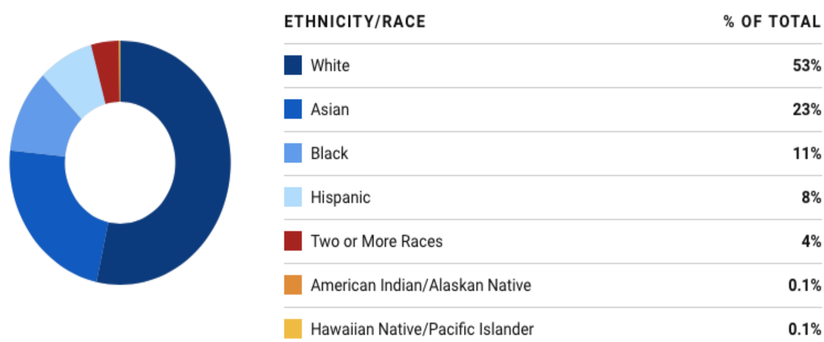
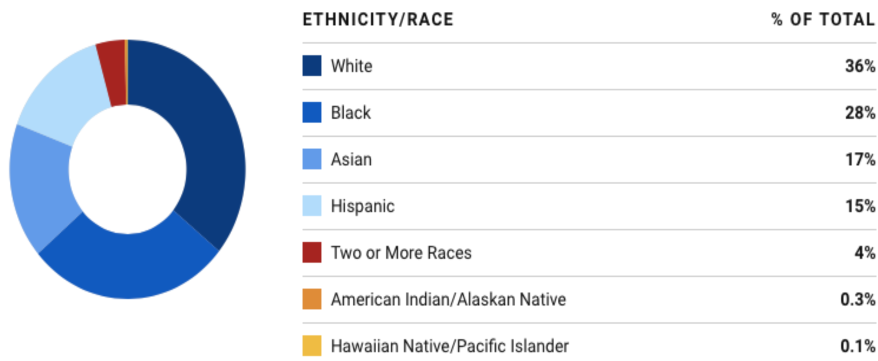


Figure 2 shows the ratio of races in the school that Eun and Hoon attended. White was still the most common race in the school, but the ratio was less than School A at 36%. Black was the second most common race with 28% of the school's population, and Asians made up 17%. Although Asians make up 17% of the student population, Eun explained, "my school does not have many Koreans. We have only several Koreans in each grade" while describing, "there's a lot of Asian Americans" (Eun, 2nd interview, 2020). Hoon also stated, "there weren't many Koreans in middle and high school" (Hoon, 1st interview, 2020). From these demographics and statements, Koreans appeared to be the minority among an already marginalized group in School B.

Figure 2

Racial Diversity of Students in a B high school (Eun and Hoon attended)



Both schools were quite diverse, but, according to participants, in terms of language, English was the primary language in the context of both schools for academic activities as well as social interactions for all participants. The participants were mostly exposed to American language and culture at schools and they did not see value in using the Korean language and integrating Korean culture at school. In the state where the participants resided, Korean was the third most common language spoken after English and Spanish (Kiersz, 2019). However, there was no institutional support to use Korean at schools. For example, School A, even with a 23% Asian student population, did not provide Korean courses as a foreign language nor did they provide dual-immersion programs. In 2018 and 2019 respectively, the only two Korean dual-immersion elementary schools in the participants' state opened and began operation and no Korean class was provided as a foreign language in K~12 settings in the State. From the 2018 data, which was located on the state education department website, there were 57 Spanish, 8 French, 4 German, 4 Chinese, and 1 Japanese dual-immersion schools including a newly opened Korean dual immersion school in the state. Given that Korean is the third most commonly spoken language in the state, more institutional support was called for in the area. Without enough institutional support, Korean was considered to be marginalized and powerless with little

need to use. For example, when asked if she was interested in learning Korean further, Eun said, "Korean was kind of boring, because like… uh…it's not necessary, I guess. I don't need that to pass high school," (Eun, 2nd interview, 2020). As the participants used English predominantly at school, they may have been implicitly affected by conflicting messages or ideologies about the value of languages between English and Korean.

Setting: Home

Participants demonstrated their connections to the Korean language and culture at home. Whether they articulated their Korean identification or not, they were exposed to the Korean language and culture in the contexts of home. Their parents and other extended family members who were 1st generation immigrants mostly used Korean language and culture at home. In this sense, the participants made clear distinctions between school and home in terms of language and culture. While each participant made different meanings from their ethnic socialization experience at home, the participants' Korean-based identities at home differed from the more American-based identities they were developing at school.

The participants' linguistic and cultural resources and repertoire were quite different at home versus in other contexts. In that respect, the transnational contexts of transnational youth seemed to be similar among the participants to some extent. The home context was the space of cultural and ethnic socialization for all participants, while the transnational circumstances affected each participant differently. Hu et al. (2017) defines ethnic socialization as "beliefs, messages and practices that instruct children and adolescents about their racial or ethnic heritage" (p. 2077). With Korean parents, the participants were exposed to ethnic socialization at home such as eating Korean food, speaking Korean, and remembering Korean holidays with limited celebration.

In understanding Korean American transnational youth's home contexts, it is important to understand the differences among families. While siblings John and Daniel had extended family members in the United States, Sara, Eun, and Hoon's extended family lived abroad. To explain in more detail, the families of Sara, Eun, and Hoon immigrated to the United States after their parents' marriages. While their physical interactions with extended family members in Korea rarely occurred, they sometimes interacted virtually.

For siblings John and Daniel, their mother's entire extended family immigrated to the United States after her high school graduation. In addition, John and Daniel had two other siblings. John was the oldest, Daniel was the second child, and they had one younger sister and one younger brother. While they mostly used English among the siblings, John and his younger sister spoke Korean to the youngest brother, who was a preschooler at the time of data collection. Even at home, the presence of siblings affected their language selection. Moreover, both John and Daniel primarily spoke English, but they spoke Korean when talking with their grandmother.

John and Daniel had more diverse and complicated family relationships in comparison to Sara, Eun, and Hoon. Notwithstanding, all parents seemed to play a critical role for the participants' ethnic socialization. The parents of the participants shared how they made an effort to transmit their Korean culture, language, and history as their heritage to their children at home. For example, Sara's mother asked her children to use Korean at home. Her family primarily watched Korean TV programs or media together. Most of all, Sara's mother believed that immersion in the Korean language was important. She said,

> 한국말 유지는 좀 신경써야지라는 생각은 했어 (*I thought that I should pay attention to maintaining my children's Korean language*) ... 왜냐면 우리와의 커넥션이 안 끊어지게 하려고 (*because I want to make sure the connections with me and my*

children won't cut off) ... 우리는 컬쳐를 다 쉐어를 하니까, 예를 들면 TV 쇼나 뭐 이런 거 (we *share culture, for example, TV show or something like that*).

(Sara's mother, interview, 2020).

Sara has been exposed to Korean culture naturally while Sara's family was watching and talking about the Korean programs.

However, Eun's family did not watch Korean media together, but her mother said that she and her husband often shared links for any meaningful and useful articles and programs with their children, whether the children watched them or not. Eun's mother also tried to maintain connections with Korea. She explained, "한국에 있는 할머니, 할아버지와 가끔 전화를 하거나 하도록 해요 (*I let my children make the occasional phone call with their grandparents in Korea*)," and added,

> 미국 교회를 다니고 싶다고도 생각했었는데, 그래도 한국 교회를 다니니까 그래도 아이들이 한국 사람들과 교류하면서 제가 기대하는 만큼은 아니지만, 한국 문화에 대해서 경험하게 되고, 열려 있다는 생각은 들어요. (*I also thought I wanted to go to an American church, but my children could interact with Korean people, and experience Korean culture, not as much as expected, since we still go to a Korean church.*)
>
> (Eun's mother, interview, 2020)

Although Eun's parents did not directly teach Korean heritage to their children, they tried to create a context to learn and experience Korean heritage by engaging in Korean communities living in the United States.

Hoon's mother also shared how she made an effort to maintain her children's Korean heritage, and elaborated on her rationale that she presented to her children regarding their Korean heritage maintenance:

> 어렸을 때는 제가 같이 이제 애들 데리고 다니면서, 제가 교사를 하면서 애들 한글학교를 같이 갔어요 (*When my children were young, I took them, as a teacher, I went to Korean language school with my children*)
>
> …
>
> 사실 저는 아직도 우리 애들은 한국인이라고 생각을 해요. 한국 culture 가 더 편하고 이렇기 때문에 깊게 미국 사회 속에서 involve 되어 있지는 않은 거 같은 느낌이 좀 있고 그렇기 때문에 애들이 계속 한국문화를 좀 저와 통하기 위해서 유지해 줬으면 좋겠다 생각들이 있죠 (*Actually, I still think our children are Koreans. I am more comfortable in Korean culture and I have a feeling that I am not deeply involved in the American society. That's why I want my children to keep the Korean culture in order to communicate with me*).
>
> (Hoon's mother, interview, 2020)

As an immigrant, Hoon's mother was eager to maintain Korean heritage for her children. In an interview, Hoon explained how his mother suggested watching Korean programs: "Well, since I tend to like more historical things, she'd show me historical K-dramas based in older times or in history, historic times" (Hoon, 3rd interview, 2020). Hoon noted that his mother shared her Korean heritage with her children by being involved in teaching Korean language in their childhood and suggesting Korean TV programs to watch together.

Although it only happened occasionally, John and Daniel's parents also tried to make space for their children to experience Korean language, culture, and history. In an interview, John and Daniel's mother said,

> 응. 그니까 아이들 여름방학 때 이제 한글 가르치는 거. 그니까 애들이 학교에서 발음기호로 배웠잖아요. 그거를 apply 해서 그걸로 맞춰서 나는 애들 ㄱ,ㄴ을 가르쳤거든요. 뭐, 그런 식으로. 가르쳤어요. 그래서 John 은 조금 읽을 줄 알아. 근데 이제 아예 우리 Daniel 이랑, Susan (younger sister-pseudonym)는 아야어여우유, 모음자를 잘 못하더라고. 헷갈려 하더라고. 그런 거하고. 했었고. 근데 그게 이제 계속 이어졌으면 좋겠, 좋았겠지만, 계속 이어지지 못해서 되게 한글을 아직 다 깨우치지 못했어요.
>
> (*Yes, I taught my children Korean during summer breaks. The children learned phonetic symbol at schools, and I applied it to teach ㄱ, ㄴ [Korean alphabet-consonants]. I taught like that way. So John could read a bit of Korean. But Daniel and his [younger sister] confused the vowels, 아[a], 야[ya], 어[ə], 여[yeo], 오[o], 요[yo], 우[u], 유[yu]. I did it. It must be good if I keep doing it, but it did not last too long and my children could not learn all of the Korean alphabets.*)
>
> 그리고, 어…또 이제 삼일절 같은 날 태극기에 관해서 이제 설명해 주는 거, 프린트 아웃해서, 이제 유튜브에서 설명은 좀 내 생각 내가 생각하기에 굉장히 meaningful 하게 잘 설명해 주는 유튜브를 하나 찾아서, 그거 보여 주고 그리고 태극기 print out 해서, 이제 건곤감리 같은 거, 태극마크에 관한 설명?그런 거 해주고.

(*Also, uh…I explained about Samiljeol [Independence Movement Day] and printed out [materials]. I showed YouTube videos which provided meaningful expressions about it. In addition, I printed out the [Korean national flag] and explained [the names of each shape in the flag] such as geon,gon, gam, yi and Taegeuk*)

(John and Daniel's mother, interview, 2020)

The parents of John and Daniel tried to maintain Korean heritage by having their children watch YouTube videos and do activities to celebrate Korean historical holidays. In addition, the parents spoke Korean at home, although the children's investment and proficiency with Korean was limited.

The participants' homes were spaces in which they experienced ethnic socialization for transnational youth by maintaining their Korean competency and sharing cultural resources.

Setting: Church & Korean Communities

Participants' identification with their Korean culture was primarily in the Korean community, especially centered on Korean churches. As they were involved in the Korean communities, the participants shaped their Korean cultural identities, but instead of expressing them externally, the participants carried their Korean culture more internally: they did not actively utilize their repertoire of heritage language and culture. As an example, participants stated that at church they communicated in English with peers who had the same or similar ethnic background. For instance, John stated, "I use mostly English when I'm in a youth group" (John, 2nd interview, 2020). Daniel, Eun, and Hoon also said that they spoke English with their friends at church. Even Sara, who chose to join a Korean ministry in which all the sermons and worships were presented in Korean, spoke English with her peers at church except for those who were not fluent in English.

For the majority of the participants, Korean churches were not the primary context in which they used their heritage language, even with in-group peers. However, the participants agreed that Korean language was a primary language spoken among the church members. Sara and Eun explained they spoke Korean with the peers who just came to the United States or were not fluent in English. For example, Eun shared her experience speaking Korean with a new church member who just arrived from Korea:

> I tried to talk to Jane (pseudonym) in Korean to help her, because she could understand some English and stuff. But when we're reading bible verses and stuff, she reads the Korean version, and if she gets chosen to pray, she'll pray in Korean.
>
> (Eun, 2nd interview, 2020)

Eun adjusted her language selection in Korean to speak with Jane, whose primary language was Korean. In addition, Jane's language use in Korean was accepted at church. Even though the participants did not use Korean primarily at churches, it shows that they still perceived that Korean churches were the space to use Korean.

Participants described how they spoke Korean to older church members. John stated, "On Sundays, since the church is all Korean, all the adults don't speak that much English and I speak Korean to them sometimes" (John, 2nd interview, 2020). Even Daniel, who did not speak Korean at home, shared his use of Korean with elderly church members by saying, "[with] the older generation, I speak Korean. They don't really understand English." He expressed his discomfort by saying, "I feel really uncomfortable… I just try to avoid it because it's awkward [to speak in Korean with them]" (Daniel, 2nd interview, 2020). The data suggests that the participants adjusted their linguistic identity depending on interlocutors at Korean churches or Korean

communities, while they considered the church was an acceptable place to use Korean as the members' primary language.

In terms of culture, Korean communities played a critical role in providing both Korean and American cultural experiences. All participants articulated that they were exposed to and celebrated Korean and American holidays at churches. As the participants lived far away from their heritage country, they did not celebrate the Korean holidays in the United States with the usual traditions such as sharing holiday food, wearing traditional clothes, or bowing down to elders; they just celebrated by contacting their extended family members virtually. In addition, the American holidays and cultures were mostly new to their 1st generation parents and they tended not to celebrate American holidays as other people did at home.

Additionally, the Korean churches provided resources and opportunities for families to experience American activities by celebrating American holidays together. For example, Sara said, "We're just thankful that we got to stay home for Thanksgiving [break]… We don't have any [traditional American] food. My mom just cooks regular food" (Sara, 2nd interview, 2020). Sara's family did not celebrate specific American holidays at home; they engaged in church activities to celebrate the holidays such as Thanksgiving by sharing food. John also explained, "Like Fourth of July and New Year's, a lot of kids just go out to parties, but we go to church. I think that's a little weird" (John, 2nd interview, 2020). John compared his situation with that of the other non-Korean students to explain his family's ways of celebrating holidays. It shows John's intercultural awareness that Korean ways at home were different from American ways. Notwithstanding, John indicated that his family celebrated American holidays at church with other church members. Daniel also explained that his family usually did not follow American traditions, but on these holidays, they would eat at church: "Every Christmas, Easter, we would

go to eat at church anyways, but still we have to dress up. Like we, on Christmas days, I think, on Thanksgiving, you know, how it's like a really traditional American meal, but I guess families like us Koreans …We still sometimes eat Asian things" (Daniel, 2nd interview, 2020). Siblings John and Daniel agreed that their ways of celebrating American holidays reflected a more Korean style at home and different from traditional American. That John and Daniel's family went to church on holidays indicated the importance that Korean churches played in the context of celebrating Korean and American holidays for transnational families. Eun also shared,

> With Thanksgiving, and New Year's stuff, since most of my family is gone and most of my family are in Korea, we would go to church on like New Year's and have Thanksgiving dinner at church. Instead of with family, like a lot of my other American friends [who spend time with their family members].
>
> (Eun, 1st interview, 2020)

Eun pointed out that her family was the only family in her circle of friends who did not have extended family in the United States. The excerpt shows that Eun's family also celebrated important holidays at church like other participants of this study. Participants just had family time at home without following American traditions. The data suggest that Korean American transnationals engaged in American cultural practices in the Korean community.

In their Korean communities, Koreans celebrated their holidays by sharing symbolic food or traditional practices. At first, all participants said that they did not celebrate Korean holidays. They said that they called their extended family members in Korea to celebrate holidays. However, based on my experience, I asked participants' mothers if their church members celebrated at church. All mothers answered they often shared Korean traditional foods for the weekend including Korean holidays at church. In an interview, Sara's mother said,

Pang:그러면 그, 추석이나 설날은 한국에 있는 가족들에게 연락 하는 것 말고, (*Then, [what do you do during Korean holidays] except contacting your family in Korea at Chuseok or New Year's day?*)

Sara's mother: 그냥 일상이야. 일상. 밥먹고, 그냥 지나가고, 그대신 생일만 스페셜하게 뭐 음식 차려주는 날이고, 그 외에는 별로 스페셜하지 않아. (*It's just a normal life. We just eat together, and the day just passes. Instead, it's a special day to prepare food for birthdays only. Other than that, there is not any special day*.)

Pang: 땡스기빙이나 크리스마스는 집에서는 안해도 교회에서나, 다른 가족들과 하는 건 있지 않아?

(*Even if you don't celebrate at home, isn't there anything you do at church or with other church members on Thanksgiving and Christmas?*)

Sara's mother: 아, 맞다. 맞다. 땡스기빙 때 교회에서 스페셜한 거 나온다. 터키. 추석 때도 뭐 스페셜한 거 떡이 나와…

(*Ah, right. At Thanksgiving, something special is served at church. Turkey. In Chuseok, special rice cakes are also served.*)

Pang: 가족안에서는 특별히 그런 건 없지만, 이제 Korean 교회 가서는 이제 그런 것들 때맞춰서

(*There is no special event in the family, but at church, special food to celebrate the holidays is served?*)

Sara's mother: 그지. 그때 느끼는 거지. 아, 땡스기빙이었구나. 그때 느끼는 거야.

(*Right. I feel it then. Oh, it was a Thanksgiving. I feel it then.*)

(Sara's mother, interview, 2020)

The findings show that all participants experienced some form of both Korean and American culture and activities in Korean communities. Korean communities were spaces, particularly churches, for transnational populations to experience both Korean and American cultures.

Setting: with Peers

Interestingly, even with their friends from similar Korean backgrounds, participants used English at school, which suggests that the participants saw their identity as Americans while at school. In addition, the participants used English with peers at churches, one of their primary Korean contexts. For 1.5 and 2nd generation transnational youth, school was the primary context where they identified as American. In this sense, peers who grew up in the United States, whether they were rooted in Korea or not, were the primary social members to share their American identities and cultures with and seemed to affect participants' identities. Their identities were flexible as they engaged with peers, and they adapted to meet the expectations of their peers. The way their peers interacted with them, therefore, had a powerful influence on them as well. When their peers respected their Korean culture, their Korean identities were distinctive. When they were labeled with stereotypes of Asian or Korean, they either accepted it or distanced themselves from the stereotypical images or linguistic and cultural resources.

While the participants' identities were shaped by peer groups with whom they engaged, participants seemed to gravitate toward people who shared similar identities. To a greater or lesser degree, in other words, the participants presented strong identification with those who shared their cultures and languages. For example, Sara explained that she and her friends shared

similar values and cultures as Korean/Asian Americans: “I feel like I just click with Asian people better, just because we share similar cultures and values. I feel I can relate more to them” (Sara, 2nd interview, 2020). John and Daniel did not articulate any preference of races or ethnicities to make friends, but at least 50% of their friends were Korean Americans. John stated:

> I have a lot of Korean friends, but then I also have…with my activities at school, there’s a lot of non-Koreans. But then in schools, it’s like mixed. Maybe like 60% Korean and Asians and then the rest of other races.
>
> (John, 1st interview, 2019)

Daniel stated, “I think I have more Asian friends, but like not that much of a difference.” He did not necessarily prefer Asian friends, and explained, “I didn’t feel it’s easier to make Asian friends” (Daniel, 1st interview, 2019). Participants’ choices of friends may have been due to the ratio of Asians in their school, but it also suggested their sense of belonging as Korean Americans.

Eun did not explain her preference to become friends with anyone of a specific race or ethnicity. However, she indicated that she became close with other 2nd generation immigrants of peers from any country, like herself, whether they were Korean or not:

> I feel like, 2nd generation, not generation, but a lot of my friends who are born here, but have parents who are immigrants, something like, they did not necessarily grow up here, I guess, I relate to them the most. So we get along well.
>
> (Eun, 1st interview, 2020)

Hoon did not share any preference of races of friends and he did not have many Korean/Asian friends. When I asked him if he has many Korean friends, he explained, “um… not a whole lot, because there’s not a lot of Koreans here” (Hoon, 2nd interview, 2020).

By examining their situated contexts and their identities within the context, transnational youth's primary social contexts in adolescence were schools and spaces with peers. School was identified by participants as an American context that promoted American culture and language, and did not make space for Korean language and culture. Even within the Korean communities, participants openly conveyed their American identities while they carried their Korean identities internally.

Participant identities shifted, changed, and/or were embraced within situated contexts. In this sense, participants' identities were constantly in flux and depended on the context and the people with whom they interacted. In a sense, the space was figured for them, whether it was church, school or community. Yet, participants also figured their own spaces through the identity choices they made based on social cues and agreement. Thus, the participants' identity choices and construction reflected how they wanted to be viewed by others in their figured world which is "a socially and culturally constructed realm of interpretation in which particular characters and actors are recognized" (Holland et al., 1998, p.52). Moreover, participants were strongly influenced by an imagined community which they wanted access to and from which they perceived they would gain access to their goals. Participants created their imagined communities directly from the experiences in transnational contexts; "in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (Anderson, 1991, p. 7). The participants projected their imagined communities reflecting "how the person understands possibilities for the future" (Norton 2000, p. 5) and, to various degrees, invested their identities to match them.

To understand their figured and imagined worlds, I asked participants to think about their futures. Where (what type of community) would they want to live with their own children? Would they educate their own children to embrace their Korean heritage? Did they think they

would learn to view their heritage positively in the future? Their responses shed light on how they viewed their current identities. For example, Sara said, without hesitation, that she preferred to live in a Korean community:

> I prefer to live in a Korean community like my current place. My environment itself is just Korean American in general and the people [I] hang out with, too…Since I'm not that fluent in Korean, I don't think I'm in a position to teach [my future children] Korean. But I will encourage them to speak Korean.
>
> (Sara, 2nd interview, 2020)

Sara was satisfied with belonging to the Korean community. In her future, she saw herself in a Korean community that would enable her children to take advantage of Korean resources. The data suggest that Sara had a strong Korean identity.

Other participants were more open about where they lived; it depended on who their significant others would be. John said, "I don't know. Maybe, it depends…I'll see when I get there. I'll see when I have a child" (John, 2nd interview, 2020). Hoon said, "I don't know. I don't think being Korean has to do with anything. But it will be nice to live in a neighborhood with kids your age" (Hoon, 1st interview, 2020). The participants saw that being Korean had little to do with their future preference to live in a Korean community or American community. Daniel distanced from his Korean language and culture when considering how he wanted to raise his children: "I wouldn't want my children to do all these [Korean] stuff 'cause we grow up in America." However, he qualified his stance, "unless I [have] a Korean wife" (Daniel, 2nd interview, 2020). As Daniel lived in the United States, he did not want to invest in ethnic identity. Daniel did not seem to have strong bonds or a desire to maintain his connection to Korean heritage, that is, unless he married a Korean woman.

For the transnational youth in this study, their current geographical context was the United States. As such, their figured worlds and imagined communities primarily reflected the current geographical context of the United States. The participants, through their own words, seemed to want to belong to their situated context and negotiate their identity instead of actively seeking to belong to their ethnic group. To some extent, however, their figured worlds and imagined communities were bound by their ethnicities whether they actively sought belonging to the mainstream society or to their ethnic group.

Finding 3. Transnational youth experienced tensions within their sociocultural contexts without articulating them as tensions.

All participants except Eun articulated that there was no tension across their Korean and American identities, language and culture. Instead, they expressed that they felt comfortable in their current transnational contexts without any conflicts in in-between spaces. Sara did not experience any struggle with language and culture in transnational contexts; rather, she accepted the cultures and languages of both host and heritage communities. Siblings John and Daniel did not have much of a connection to Korean communities but instead, connected strongly with American society. Because the perceived tension or differences between their Korean and American identities were not clear, John and Daniel did not recognize any differences. They did not have many experiences with or knowledge of Korean culture. While Hoon was not as actively engaged in the Korean community, like Eun, he did not experience tension within the transnational contexts. When I asked Hoon if he had any positive or negative experiences as a Korean in the United States, he stated, “No, there is nothing particularly special” (Hoon, 1st interview, 2020). He further elaborated in the last interview, “I never thought about my

differences because I was Korean" (Hoon, 3rd interview, 2020). While Hoon valued his current geographical context, he flexibly moved within transnational contexts.

Even though transnational youth did not articulate any tensions or conflicts, participants' stories suggest they had challenges with their identity and sense of belonging across contexts. For some participants, school experiences caused conflicts between them and their parents. These tensions were usually revealed in their linguistic and cultural identities. As the participants spent most of their time at school, their primary interactions were with their peers and teachers. As a result, they accepted or compared the culture of American schools to their home and Korean community cultures.

Daniel noted his parents were different from others, "[My parents] grew up differently, moving from Korea so they have a different mindset on how to raise their children" (Daniel, 1st interview, 2019). He elaborated that his parents "push[ed] [him] hard" in terms of doing well at school. Daniel's objection to their parenting style developed a negative perception toward his Korean identity due to his constant comparison of his experiences with his parents to those of his peers. He described his parents' culture: "They just watch Korean shows, eat more [Korean food]. They're just more culturally connected to Korea than I am" (Daniel, 3rd interview, 2020). Daniel's description of his parents is known as an "indicator of [a] claim." He laid claim to a certain identity within a certain social category and a position which is "Korean" with some indicators such as food and TV. This was contrary to his identification as an American, which was the "social category and position of privilege" of his perceptions (Holland et al., 1998).

Daniel did not place much value on his Korean identity; Daniel is a Korean but did not want to put much investment into his heritage culture, language, or identity. Daniel admitted his ties with his Korean ethnicity, but valued his American identity: "[I'm] like blood physically,

Korean, but then, like, I guess I have [the] mental trait[s] and stuff that makes me an American" (Daniel, 1st interview, 2019). He has never been to Korea and, for him, his Korean identity was a negative trait in the United States. The cultural mismatch between home and school led Daniel to devalue the Korean resources made available to him. Daniel seemed to reject his ethnicity, especially with his parents who were 1st generation Koreans, asserting instead an American identification. In a sense, by distancing himself from his Korean heritage, Daniel distanced himself from his parents, who were closer to Korean culture and language than Daniel and his brother John. Speaking in both English and Korean during the interview, however, their mother insisted there was not a mismatch between American and Korean culture, rather, there were individual differences:

> At a certain level, I may be Koreanized more than any other people, but I'm still his [Daniel's] parent. You know, each parent does have different guidelines. No matter what their background is. 나는 그렇게 생각하거든요(*I think so.*). He may be thinking that they[his American friends] have more freedom than he does, but his friend might be thinking differently. If he is in their shoes… 그니까 이거는 어쩌면 cultural background 때문이 아니고, each family difference 라고 생각해 (*So maybe this it's not caused by cultural background, but I think it's each family difference.*)
>
> (John and Daniel's mother, interview, 2020).

Daniel's mother believed that there were different values and styles of parenting within the same cultural groups. Thus, Daniel's mother explained that Daniel's inaccurate stereotypes about the parenting styles of Koreans limited her effective parenting. Daniel's rejection of Korean parenting styles led him to be judgmental of his parents' guidelines and rules. He saw Korean parenting styles as not acceptable in the context of the United States as they were too strict; he

did not have much freedom. Moreover, Daniel's limited access to Korean social or intellectual resources appeared to influence his judgmental and stereotyped perceptions toward Korean culture and identity.

Unlike Daniel, other participants did not explicitly mention any conflicts with their parents. Although they articulated some differences, they accepted the differences as normal. John and Sara both felt that Korean American parents placed great value on education. John noted, "during school usually we [Korean Americans] are more pressured I guess" (John, 1st interview, 2019). Similarly, Sara shared the values of education among Korean parents: "So better emphasis on education, at getting good grades, like playing an instrument, something that lots of Korean parents push their children to do" (Sara, 1st interview, 2019). These statements align with research that found that Korean American parents placed a high value on children's education and their achievement, resulting in high pressure on their children academically (Jung et al., 2011; Ko et al., 2015).

Participants in this study seemed to experience pressure to be successful in school because of their family's immigration experience or cultural influence. As the participants and their families live in the same space, it is inevitable that participants are influenced by Korean cultures and experience a struggle between Korean and American cultures. However, instead of criticizing their parents, participants defended that their parents were just different from other strict Korean American parents. Sara elaborated, "I have lots of Korean American friends and their mom and their parents push them. So I think my friends doing that also push me to be a better worker and work harder" (Sara, 1st interview, 2019). As these transnational youth were engaged in or observed Korean American peers, they accepted the pressure and value of academic success. John noted, "since our parents are immigrants from Korea, it's kind of normal

for us" (John, 1st interview, 2019). Living in an immigrant family made participants feel pressured without explicit direction or request by their parents. They felt that their parents immigrated to seek better opportunities and wanted their kids to succeed and experience all of the opportunities the United States had to offer. So they did not articulate it as tension.

The participants also experienced tension between their self-identity and identification by others. According to James (2006), ethnicity affected the identity of individuals not only based on their perceptions but also their recognition about others' views as being different. All participants experienced others' views that categorize them as outsiders, differing in degree and shaped the way they identified themselves. They passively rejected the identity assigned by others, but these experiences also shaped the way that they identified themselves. Sara said, "when I was a bit younger like in elementary school…there weren't many Asians [at the school and in the neighborhood] so people kind of assumed like what ethnicity I was, but now everyone really just knows" (Sara, 2nd interview, 2020). Sara lived in a community with a large Korean population and was not often confronted with the situation that differentiated her ethnicity or race from others. She described her current contexts, "My environment itself is very Korean American in general and [represent] the people [I] hang out with, too" (Sara, 2nd interview, 2020). On the other hand, Sara also had a childhood experience in which she struggled with others' perspectives toward her different ethnicity/race.

> Sara: I was in, about kindergarten or first-grade, maybe, probably pre-k or kindergarten. Just because I went to vacation in Korea and then returned, they thought I was just fully Korean. I think they assumed that I was just a Korean and stuff, so they put me in ESL even though I was very [good in English].
>
> Pang: Without any test?

> Sara: I don't think so. I think they just put me in there. But then after, like a few weeks, they realize I was fluent and I got out. There were two other Korean kids, and they're all in ESOL even though I thought they can speak [English] pretty well.
>
> (Sara, 2nd interview, 2020)

Although she was a fluent English speaker, Sara was classified and labeled as "other" or an "English Language Learner" without initial testing. Although she was returned to regular classes, Sara's experience of exclusion from mainstream English speakers had affected her ethnic identity; immigrants of color in the United States cannot hide their race/ethnicity (Kasiniz et al., 2008).

John also shared his experience and perception that being Korean was the ascribed ethnic identity for him by others,

> People think, um… like a lot of white people, I guess, think they, even if you were born, even though you were born in America, they just think you're associated with your ethnicity you were born in. So it's a huge difference (between my self-identification and identity determined by others) 'cause I could say I'm Korean American but other people think I can just be straight from Korea.
>
> (John, 2nd interview, 2020)

Although John was not explicit, he expressed tension and conflict between his self-identification and how others viewed him because of his ethnicity. Even when he was with his peers from school, John was often identified as Korean/Asian by them:

> So when I'm in a primarily white group, anything that like has to be a background of Asian stuff, they always turn to me to explain or something. If we go out and there's like, we go to Korean barbeque or something, they always ask me to talk to the people because

> they don't know. But if I'm with like Asian friends, I'm not like, we're all basically the same.
>
> (John, 3rd interview, 2020)

When John was with people of other races and was the only Asian in a group, he felt expectations from his friends to be more Asian or Korean because of his ethnicity. John often felt that his self-identification was different from how others identified him. John was born and grew up in the United States, but he perceived his ethnicity as a part of his identity. Even though he never visited Korea, his friends often considered him as a Korean who was competent in Korean language and culture. He explained that his ethnicity seemed to be associated with his identity as his parents were immigrants. When I asked him to clarify the meaning of being a child of an immigrant, John said, "at first, when you meet some people they always have like assumptions and stuff. But then once people get to know you it's not much different than a regular life" (John, 3rd interview, 2020). John did not mention that these assumptions were made based on his appearance. However, Asians have distinctive physical features compared to other races in the United States. Because of his physical features, without considering his cultural and language connection with Korea, others did not see him as an American but as a Korean. For Koreans, who are immigrants of color, ethnicity is not optional but given, while for white European-born immigrants, ethnicity is optional and voluntary as Kasinitz et al. (2008) suggest. Lippi-Greene (2012) described the 'foreigner syndrome' about Asians. Although they see themselves as Americans, because of their distinct physical trait, most Asian immigrants are considered as foreigners by others even though they see themselves as Americans.

Like John, Daniel also experienced being asked about his race or ethnicity by people whom he didn't know. Daniel mentioned that he disliked being asked, "Where are you from?"

and found it inappropriate. He preferred being asked, "What race or what ethnicity are you?" This distinction suggested that Daniel accepted his Korean ethnicity although he did not seem to have a strong bond or desire to maintain connection to his ethnic roots. While Daniel asserted the differences between Koreans and Americans across interviews, he also shared that he was stereotyped as a Korean by others.

> Pang: Do you think that there are differences between your self-identification and identity determined by others?
>
> Daniel: Yes. 'cause other people make assumptions, and like oh you like this because you're an Asian. You are this because you are an Asian. But you do things differently. For instance, like as a joke, [they say], you watch K-pop. I don't listen to K-pop. No, I listen to the same music as you.
>
> (Daniel, 2nd interview, 2020)

As Daniel was not competent in Korean language and culture, he expressed his discomfort about being stereotyped. Daniel expressed that at times he was embarrassed to be a Korean American. People around him shared their preconceptions or prejudices about Asians or Koreans to explain that he did not fit into the stereotyped images. Whether it was positive or negative, Daniel was confronted with others' views about the group to which he belonged because of his ethnicity. These experiences prompted Daniel to distance himself from other Koreans. For Daniel, being Korean was a part of his identity, but he was not interested in actively embracing the Korean culture and language. When I asked Daniel if he wanted to visit Korea in the future, his answer was "maybe." He added, "there's a country I'd rather go to than Korea. Korea is not like my number one place I want to go to" (Daniel, 3rd interview, 2020).

Eun and Hoon also shared similar experiences in which people assumed that they spoke Korean language and had strong cultural ties because of their Korean physical features. For Eun, being Korean seemed to be a kind of category assigned by others' views: "I feel like when they first saw me before I start talking and stuff, I feel like people think that I'm going to be quiet and more Asian" (Eun, 1st interview, 2020). Eun explained how others used to categorize her by saying, "Because, when people talk, they never say like 'oh, she's pretty' or whatever. They are always saying, like, oh, she's pretty for an Asian or something like that" (Eun, 1st interview, 2020). As an example of this characterization of her, Eun shared a 7th grade experience she had with her friends after moving to the state where she resided.

> I think in middle school when I first moved to [this state], people all expected me to be like one Asian girl who was like super smart and very focused on her academics, and had to be like first place for everything. And everyone just thought like she was super smart. And I remember like my friends telling me that when I first got there. They thought I would be like a genius, and super smart, just like good at everything.
>
> (Eun, 2nd interview, 2020)

Eun was stereotyped as an Asian and judged by other students even before they got to know her. In the previous states where Eun had grown up after her immigration, she belonged to and felt recognized as a member of her peer groups. Eun did not have to worry about her ways of being or ways of belonging. However, her ethnicity seemed to be embossed in the new contexts. Eun recognized the differences between Korean and American students at school and faced challenges as she was stereotyped as Korean/Asian. Thus, she tried to distance herself from the stereotypical images of Asian people.

> I never wanted to be like a stereotypical Asian which is why I try to go away from it. Like with K-pop and like other stuff, I would look down upon it especially 'cause my school was definitely majority-white. And I feel like, especially back then, now it's better. But I feel like even in Middle School, it was kind of look down upon, and I just didn't want to be… I didn't want to like be in a…. I wanted to be more white so people would see me as normal and would like want to be friends with me.
>
> (Eun, 2nd interview, 2020)

Eun's experience of ascribed ethnic identity seemed to affect her identity construction. Eun made a constant effort to feel a sense of belonging with white America and rejected a stereotyped Asian image. Without an in-depth understanding about her Asian or Korean heritage, Eun just denied it; she "never wanted to be a stereotypical Asian." She first denied her Korean identity. At the same time, she tried to be equipped with 'ways of belonging' in the United States as a White person. Through this experience, Eun also constructed some stereotypes toward Asians and Americans. For her, to be American meant being "white." She described herself not being white to explain that she was not an American. Wanting to be "white-washed" might be attributed to the large percentage of white students in her school. In school B that Eun attended, 36 % of the students were white. Although more than one third of the students were white as a majority in school B, the ratio was lower than school A, of which 53% were white students. Thus, the ratio of Asians might also affect her feelings of being minoritized. While the ratios between school A (23% Asian) and school B (17% Asian) are similar, being part of Korean culture was dominant in school A and not necessarily dominant in school B. In addition, as Eun experienced being minoritized as Asian/Korean, she tried to assimilate to the mainstream white

society, rather than to remain unvoiced as Asian/Korean. She sought to find comfort in the privilege of being acceptable in the mainstream white society.

As Eun lived in the United States, her comments about 'whiter than white' could be indicative of positioning herself of relative privilege by distancing herself from Koreans, who were the minority in the United States. At the end of the interview, Eun said, "But now that I play lacrosse, people think of me more like a white-washed Asian." Her membership on the lacrosse team enabled Eun to distance her Asian identity and affirm a white identity, an American identity. Eun's statements seem to suggest that she distanced herself from Asian/Korean identity because she did not want to be stereotyped by others. As she could not change her skin color or appearance, Eun was distinctly identified as an Asian or a Korean by others. She placed her identity investment in differentiating herself from the stereotyped or assigned identities. While she tried to reject stereotyped images, Eun also stereotyped herself as 'white washed,' too close to American identity by joining lacrosse and sharing American pop culture with her peers. However, in so doing, she was accepted into white communities by her white American peers.

Eun realized her Korean roots by comparing her differences from others in out-of-home contexts. When asked how she defined herself as a Korean American and which characteristics she thought of Asian/Korean Americans, Eun answered:

> My parents were born in Korea, I'm bilingual. I'm this culture at my home. And my other worlds, with my friends and stuff, like the way I act and stuff is sometimes different, I guess, and I do different things.
>
> (Eun, 1st interview, 2020)

Eun lived with her parents at home that reflected the culture and language of her parents' country of origin. Thus, she absorbed and was affected by her parents' language and culture. However, Eun must have recognized something different from the language and culture of schools or peers from different backgrounds. If people live in homogenous contexts (i.e., in Korea for Koreans where most people identify as ethnically Korean) in particular, they might not be concerned or struggle with their ethnicity or different home culture and language. However, transnational youth like Eun seemed to become conscious of their differences which affect how they shape their identities by living in the United States with diverse populations of race and ethnicity or as minorities.

Hoon also shared his experience that people assigned predetermined stereotypes to him as a Korean. When I asked if he found any differences between his self-identification and identity determined by others, he said, "Yes, somewhat. Like being Korean people can assume you like certain things" (Hoon, 2nd interview, 2020). As he resided in the United States, he thought, "it is natural to be aware of more American things than Korean." However, people expected him to know Korean culture and language and consciously or unconsciously affected his identity in terms of ethnicity. He explained the expectations that he thought people had of him:

> Probably to know little about Korean, I guess, but that's not, even that's not like a lot of people don't expect to know a huge amount about your country. But they expect you like Korean food probably, mostly, um… I think, yeah, know about Korean culture and a little bit of history. I think that's it.
>
> (Hoon, 2nd interview, 2020)

Because he had the physical features of Koreans, people thought Hoon knew and enjoyed all aspects of Korean culture: "They assumed you watch Kdrama, listen to K-pop, eat Korean

food" even though "I do eat Korean food, but I don't like watching Kdrama, listening to K-pop, anything like that" (Hoon, 2nd interview, 2020). He lived with his family and he has been exposed to Korean culture by his family members at home. However, he enjoyed popular culture of the United States that he could share with his peers, "Usually, songs are either introduced by friends or heard from the radio" (Hoon, 2nd interview, 2020). Hoon noted that he enjoyed listening to music recommended by ads, peers, or streaming services without specific preferences.

As immigrants of color, Korean transnational youth look distinctly Asian and it is inseparable from their being Korean as "blood" as Lippi-Greene (2012) illustrated as the 'foreigner syndrome': Asians are considered foreign because of their physical features. Transnational youth of color cannot avoid being viewed as outsiders, and not U.S. citizens/residents, because of their Asian or Korean physical features. With stereotyped assumptions or questions that they were asked, participants were positioned as foreigners from Korea even though they were Americans both in culture and in language. Data in this study revealed that the participants' perceptions or experiences about how others viewed or identified them affected their identity: they tried to distance themselves from the given or stereotyped images as Koreans, or they tended to group and hang out with Korean/Asian Americans with similar ethnicity.

All participants shared a being-ousted experience as an immigrant or Asian/Korean American to some extent in mainstream society of the United States, but not in a Korean community. However, Eun shared her struggle to gain access to the Korean community or be ousted from the Korean community. In middle school, after moving to a different state (State B) where she lived at the time of this study, Eun developed her sense of "being and sharing her

Korean identity" with others as she was exposed to the context within a larger Korean community. However, even within the Korean majority context, she did not fully experience the sense of belonging as she was considered a 'white-washed' Asian. As she spent most of her life in the United States, she was not used to Korean culture as compared to Korean peers living in Korea or a Korean community in the United States.

Transnational youth living in the United States have multilingual and multicultural identities with many desires in both societies. Thus, the identities involve individuals' conflicting identities (Ibrahim, 2016; Kasiniz et al., 2004). The participants' identities in this study reflected the experiences, values, and beliefs of a specific culture of people, and they were exposed to these complicated and conflicting contexts before they achieved their identity construction. Participants experienced being stereotyped because of their Korean physical features. They were viewed by their white peers as different, or positioned themselves as white when engaging in certain activities such as playing lacrosse. As participants struggled with the sense of belonging in Korean and American societies, to some extent, they also tried to understand people who excluded them as outsiders or different. These transnational youth justified people's perspectives by explaining that these people just had a lack of experience with diverse populations or understanding about diversity.

Finding 4: Transnational youth leveraged language and culture within varied contexts.

The participants of this study moved fluidly across transnational contexts, America and Korea. Within their situated transnational contexts, the identities of the participants were constantly shaped by their experiences, as they drew on linguistic and cultural resources. In other words, transnational youth leveraged their language and culture to construct their identities. While their identity construction was a process, their identity investment appeared to be closely

related to *figured worlds* and reflected their situated contexts (Holland et al., 1998). Within their figured worlds, the participants exerted their agency in linguistic and cultural investment to foster and affirm their identities as being privileged or recognized. As Holland et al. (1998) argue:

> The dialect we speak, the degree of formality we adopt in our speech, the deeds we do, the places we go, the emotions we express, and the clothes we wear are treated as indicators of claim to identification with social categories and positions of privilege relative to those with whom we are interacting. (p.127)

The findings of this study indicated that the participants' own linguistic and cultural resources, as well as others' linguistic and cultural resources, became indicators of identity. The ways in which the participants connected with others in and out of their own ethnic groups, as well as the ways in which they acknowledged their own and others' social positions, influenced how the participants positioned themselves. This is in line with the concept of the *figured world*, where the notion of investment explains how the participants socially positioned themselves and others in their transnational contexts by examining the participants' resources and uses of language and culture.

Norton (2000) used the notion of investment to discuss how the language learning of second language learners is facilitated by their investment, not only by their motivation. This construct can also be applied to the participants of this study who were 1.5 and 2nd generation transnational youth. The transnational contexts of the participants played a role in exposure to and importance of bicultural and bilingual identity, but their competency and investment of languages and cultures varied. As Holland et al. (1998) demonstrated, the participants' language and culture became the indicators of their identities in transnational contexts. The participants

invested in their identities by adjusting their use of language and culture in certain situations. Their varied identity investment, which was the way they utilized their language and culture, resulted in their developing competency. At the same time, their competency of culture and language were leveraged for their involvement in these varying situated contexts.

This section presents how the participating transnational youth tried to leverage their language and culture as either Koreans, Americans, Korean Americans, and neither Koreans nor Americans within their figured world and imagined communities. Hence, they continuously adjusted their identity investment across transnational contexts. Their movement between transnational contexts allowed the participants with varying degrees of identity to change social positions within their situated contexts.

At School

The participants' languages and cultures emerged most assertively to present their American identity in school contexts. All participants used English in schools and were fluent English speakers, as they grew up and were educated in the United States. The participants noted that they did not feel the need to use Korean at school and therefore perceived that English was the default and acceptable language in schools. Whether they were fluent in Korean or not, they presented a similar ideology of English as the official language at school. Sara shared that she had little chance to use Korean even though she did not feel she was prohibited from using her Korean language and culture:

> Pang : 네가 학교에 있을 때 한국말을 쓰거나, 한국 문화를 나타내거나 사람들한테 보여주는 그런 공간들이 너한테 허락돼 있다고 생각해?
>
> *(Do you feel that the school allowed a space for you to use Korean or reveal and share Korean culture?)*

Sara: 어, 허락돼 있다고 생각해요. 그냥 다만 제가 드러내지 않을 뿐 충분히 그럴만한 공간은 제공된다고 생각해요. 뭐 동아리라든지, 친구들 사이라든지

(Yes, I think so. I just do not reveal, but there is enough space to share my language and culture such as in clubs or with friends…)

Pang: 음, 그니까 그러면 after school activity 나 어떤 outside of the class 를 말하는 거야? 아니면 수업시간 안에서도 니가 한국인임으로 나타내거나 한국문화를 드러내거나 언어를 쓰거나 그런 거에 대한 거는, 완전히 오픈 돼 있다고 느끼는 거야?

(Then, do you mean the spaces for after school activity or any outside of the class? Or do you feel that you are totally open to sharing your Korean identity, language, and culture even in class?)

Sara: 네, 근데 굳이 그걸 요구하는 건 아니니까 굳이 드러내는 사람들은 없는 것 같아요.

(Yes, but it is not particularly required and people may not reveal theirs.)

Pang: 없지만 네가 만약에 숙제를 하거나 아니면 어떤 클래스 컨텐츠에서 한국 뭐, 예를 들면 히스토리를 배운다 그러면 한국역사에 대해서 니가 얘기를 하거나 그런 거에 대해서는 널 invite 하고 너한테 그런 공간들 open 해 준다고는 느끼는 거야?

(Although people do not, but do you mean that you feel invited to share your culture and knowledge about Korea in content classes? For example, in a history class, there might be a chance to share your knowledge about Korean history…)

Sara: 오픈 안하는 건 아니니까 오픈 한다고 느껴지는 것 같아요.

(At least it's not that it is not open, and I feel like it's open.)

Pang: 굳이 close 했다고는 안 느끼지만, 그러면 actively 너를 invite 하는 느낌은 아닌거네.

(You do not feel it's not particularly closed, but you do not feel that you are actively invited.)

Sara: 학교 전체가 그런 수업에 center 되어 있는게 아니다 보니까, 별로 그런 얘기 나올, 그런 기회들이 없는 것 같애요. *(The whole school does not center on that kind of class, and there is little chance to share and talk about it.)*

(Sara, 3rd interview, 2020)

In this excerpt, Sara explained that her classes at school did not actively invite students to share their personal heritage, language, or culture. As a result, there were few opportunities to talk about her Korean language, culture, or identity. However, she still felt that she was allowed to share her Korean language and culture since it wasn't explicitly banned. This excerpt reveals that Sara's perception of the American language and culture adhered to the aforementioned notion of English as the standard norm in schools. Sara shared that she never used Korean at school even with her 'Korean American' friends. Although Sara was fluent both in Korean and English, she adjusted her language use by choosing to speak English at school. As Sara positioned herself as an American in the context of school, she limited the space to those that do not use Korean. She gave more space and authority in using English at school as well as she might not feel the context as a limit of using Koreans because of her bilingual competency.

Moreover, other participants including siblings John and Daniel, Eun, and Hoon also shared that they did not use Korean at school. Unlike Sara who was competently bilingual, the other participants were less fluent in Korean, and did not choose to use Korean at school. They

have learned Korean language and lived Korean culture at home since birth, and lived in the United States for years which enabled their English fluency and use outside of their homes.

In the context of schools in the United States, English is the official language, which positions English-speaking people as dominant. Farr and Song (2011) explain the United States' monolingualism through language ideology: language, to be the medium of education, is considered to include the best linguistic practices "to provide access to enhanced social, economic, and political opportunities" (p. 653). Thus, participants also positioned English speakers as privileged and English a more valued tool. Most prominently, Daniel revealed his perspective that school was the context in which one should use English. When I asked if he felt that the use of Korean was acceptable at school, Daniel stated that he distanced himself from the group of students who only spoke Korean at school. Daniel described peers who spoke Korean at his school as falling into different categories,

Pang: I wonder if you feel that you are allowed to use Korean at school.

Daniel: Like people will accept you even if you use Korean? Is that what you're saying?

Pang: Yes.

Daniel: I don't think so, no. I know people, Korean girls are always using Korean at school, but then like, the only friends they have are Korean girls.

Pang: Korean girls, does that mean that they came from Korea directly?

Daniel: No, they are just Korean. They just like, speak a lot of Korean.

Pang: Why do you call them 'Korean'?

Daniel: Oh, I mean, 'cause they're from Korea, like that's all they do, to speak Korean, they're still culturally connected to Korea. Like, they eat only Korean food and

> they dress like, I guess, in Korean popular style these days. Yes, I feel they just did.
>
> (Daniel, 3rd interview, 2020)

Using a group of Korean girls as an example, Daniel observed that the group who identified strongly as Korean did not mingle with other groups, and they only hung out among themselves within the group. By sharing the example of the group of girls, Daniel appeared to his thoughts that using Korean at school was not acceptable into the English-speaking school context. By defining these girls as Koreans instead of Korean Americans, Daniel implied his distance from his cultural and linguistic heritage.

Bucholtz and Hall's (2008) argue that language is a marker served to position people; Daniel's description of this group of Korean girls at his school aligns with this argument. The selection and use of linguistic resources, English, became the marker that separated Daniel from the Korean girls, and was an "indicator of [a] claim" to be a member of majority at school (Holland et al., 1998). Daniel, therefore, regards these Korean girls who only spoke Korean as "outsiders" at school. Daniel's linguistic choice to use English in certain contexts became understandable. He rationalized his choice, "'cause Korea is such a small country…and it's not like the majority are Koreans. So speaking Korean is not a gigantic benefit inside school" (Daniel, 3rd interview, 2020). By identifying this group of Korean girls who isolate themselves from English-speaking peers, Daniel positioned himself as an English user and, thus, in a higher position of privilege. In so doing, Daniel chooses to integrate into the mainstream society of the United States more so than identify with his Korean heritage.

With Peers

Because of the social capital attached to mainstream English language use in the United States, the participants automatically used English without thinking. Moreover, Korean language and culture were not valued as a symbolic capital in the school context; the participants did not invest in or express their Korean identity in school contexts. Instead, the participants actively placed identity investment into mainstream language and culture when involved with peers.

One participant, Eun, noted that although she has lived in a physical context with a small population of people with Korean ethnicity, her parents still shared Korean culture and language at home. She expressed that she received little American cultural or linguistic input by her parents. This context stimulated Eun's desire to engage in practices of sharing American culture with her peers. Hence, she sought to invest in her identity by pursuing American popular culture as a way of belonging to her peer group. Eun stated, "I'm still like more interested in American music because most of my friends like those stuffs" (Eun, 1st interview, 2020). She believed that her cultural investment as an American would offer more possibilities than investing in a Korean identity. When I asked her about any effort to be fit into a peer group, she responded:

> So I guess, like playing a sport, I grew up playing a sport, so I enjoyed it, but at the same time I was also, I want to decent myself I guess, change myself, and…... I don't know, like, I guess, I surround myself with, like it's first off it's like because I don't really get along with Koreans really, but also because I guess I wanted to like to fit into somewhere. So I would hang out with like Americanized people.
>
> (Eun, 1st interview, 2020)

Eun shared that she was eager to follow what her peers enjoyed. Thus, Eun's selection of culture was influenced by peer groups and interactions. She had a strong desire to present 'ways of being' as an American which might allow her 'ways of belonging.' This was not caused only by

her recognition of American identity as the “social category and position of privilege,” but also by her status of isolation within a family that had few frequent physical contacts with its extended family members residing in Korea. Throughout the interviews, she continuously illustrated the way she wanted to spend time with her family and friends:

> I think some of the big holidays like Thanksgiving and Christmas, because most of my friends, like, their families will come down from different states, so be together, and have set Christmas dinner, or Thanksgiving dinner like that, but with our family, they all live in Korean stuff. So usually just the four of us, and I appreciate the time with them, but sometimes it can be kinds of lonely. And when I see people with their big family on Snapchat and stuff, I sometimes get sad I guess.
>
> (Eun, 1st interview, 2020)

Eun described how she would celebrate holidays with her family after growing up. She listed American holidays and other important celebrations with her family and friends such as sweet 16, Super Bowl Sundays, and large family and friend gatherings for Thanksgiving and Christmas, which she felt lacking in her current context.

Inasmuch as Eun has a strong desire of belonging and integration, it also seemed important for her to “receive other’s words” in constructing her identity (Holland et al., 1998). Although she seemed to feel and seek the sense of belonging as an American, she also shared that she enjoyed Korean culture with peers from other racial or ethnic groups.

> Eventually I feel like, you'll go back to your cultures sometime like 9th grade last year. I met Asians I guess or I became close with some Asian girls and they were into K-pop and stuff, so I started becoming interested in it. They weren't all Koreans. They were different races, and they were into K-pop and stuff, so I

> became more interested in, I became kind of proud of that, and once I started hanging out with more Koreans, I feel like, I definitely was pretty proud of my culture and I was ‘oh that is actually kind of cool and stuff,’ but now I'm not into that anymore, but I feel eventually you'll have appreciation for your culture if you get to see other people who are interested in and people who enjoy.
>
> (Eun, 2nd interview, 2020)

Although her friends in Koreanized American groups were not of Korean heritage and instead were made up of diverse races, Eun recognized her Korean identity by enjoying Korean culture with them. Eun began to value her identity as a Korean after her friends opened up a space for her to share her Korean resources. Therefore, it seems that she constructed her Korean identity out of a Korean community, a safe and respectful space where she was able to share these linguistic and cultural resources with peers.

Similar to Eun’s experience, other participants invested in their Korean identities, even at school. In an interview, Sara affirmed her Korean cultural identity in a school context. As having Korean heritage, Sara stood out in her social category in regards to the image of a “good student.”

> It drives from me personally instead of being Korean American. But again, my environment, I have lots of Korean American friends and their moms and their parents push them. So I think my friends doing that also push me to be a better worker and work harder.
>
> (Sara, 1st interview, 2019)

Sara articulated that her sense of belonging to a Korean American group influenced her attitude toward working hard as a student. When I asked her specifically about the differences between

Koreans and other Americans in terms of academic engagement, she responded that Korean students worked hard whereas many American students did not value academic engagement and achievement. In her mind, the Koreans' image was aligned with the 'model minority' who was described as a successful immigrant group. Sara's perception of American students as not being concerned with their academic achievement seemed to have been shaped by her interactions with her Korean peers at school. She demonstrated that she was more comfortable with peers from similar cultures who value academic investment and success. She stressed that it was not necessary to have friends from other races but wanted friends with the same values. Her major concern was to be academically successful at school, and she has challenged herself to be a good student.

> Since I'm from an immigrant family, there's always like this thing that you know my parents came here to give me a better opportunity. So I have to live up to that sometimes. So better emphasis on education, at getting good grades, like playing an instrument, something that lots of Korean parents push their children to do.
>
> (Sara, 1st interview, 2019)

Sara delved a little more deeply into the reason behind her desire to be challenged. She believed that her parents immigrated to the United States not only for a better opportunity for themselves but also to better her education. Thus, Sara tried to meet the expectations of her parents by achieving academic success. Sara also believed, like her parents, that her efforts as a student would lead to more possibilities. As an immigrant in the United States, she had more opportunities than students her age in Korea. Sara's identity in this context was not simply the investment in Korean culture, but to see privilege by being a good student. Other participants had

similar beliefs about being a good student because their parents made sacrifices to give them a better life.

> John: I'm friends with a lot of Koreans Americans. A lot of us, like, we are more pressured to do good at school. Not only our parents, but also we pressure ourselves a lot, too. I've noticed that. And so there's a lot of us people, we also like enjoy outside of school going out, just watching sports and talking about sports. But during school usually we are more pressured I guess.
>
> Pang: Why do you think Korean or Asians pressure themselves?
>
> John: I don't think it's just Korean or Asian. I think it's just immigrants in general 'cause their parents immigrated to the US to have more opportunities. And they want their kids to succeed, to capture the opportunities that they probably wouldn't have if they're back at their own home place.
>
> (John, 1st interview, 2019)

Whether Koreans or other immigrants value education, transnational youth put identity investment toward being academically successful to achieve a better life by accepting Asian/Korean as 'model minority' stereotypes. Unlike Sara and John who illustrated their identity investment in Korean culture, Eun tried to reject the 'model minority' stereotypes: she described the model minority with negative connotation, "I didn't want people to continually see me as a nerdy, Asian girl. That's a lot of people saw me cause I had glasses, braces, that is kind of shy, I was awkward" (Eun, 1st interview, 2020). Instead of being stereotyped, Eun sought to be valued for her uniqueness which did not fit other Asian stereotypes;

> Yeah, it's like everyone usually compares themselves to their own race 'cause you can't have [physical] features from another race. I think also that's why I like, it's weird, but

> that's why I want to be more muscular and have like a bigger butt, because other Asians they all want to be like skinny and stuff. So I want something that makes me different.
>
> (Eun, 3rd interview, 2020)

Similarly, Sara expressed enjoying her uniqueness.

> I'm one of the many [Saras] that exist in the world. I'm thankful that at least my first name is distinct, and I don't mind that it starts with an unpopular letter. It is my first name that sets me apart; it gives me something of my own to keep for myself…Tradition is what handed my grandfather the chance to name me. I was born in [state], but the name I would be branded by forever and ever was a name of Korean origin.
>
> (Sara, biography, 2019)

In her written biography, Sara valued that her unique first name was Korean and represented family tradition in naming children. John also shared that his Korean heritage and knowledge of the language positioned him as unique,

> So when I'm in like, a primarily white group, anything that's like has to be background of Asian stuff they are always turn to me to like, explain or something like if we go out and there's like we go to Korean barbeque or something, they always ask me to talk to the people because they don't know.
>
> (John, 3rd interview, 2020)

John believed that his Korean identity was valued and appreciated by his swim team friends, who were primarily white. His experience with friends from other races positioned John as a cultural resource and opened up spaces where he could exert his sense of agency; he was positioned in more powerful ways as non-Korean others legitimized his cultural experiences. This appeared to affirm John's Korean identity.

At the same time that participants invested in mainstream identities, they also invested as unique social beings within their peer groups. The participants were empowered and encouraged when their Korean language and culture were valued among peer groups including other races. In this sense, others' attitude, acceptance of other cultures, and ability to include those who are different will make a difference to those who are not in the majority of a society.

At Home and Korean Community

The participants were positioned as linguistic and cultural resources as English speakers in Korean communities such as church and home. In Korean communities, they exerted agency to use both Korean and English. Every participant was multilingual and spoke both Korean and English. To what extent they leveraged language as a resource in transnational contexts varied.

All participants lived in bilingual communities in which they invested identities in both cultures. While English was dominant in these contexts, participants were immersed in Korean language and culture by their parents at home or in church with elder Korean community members: interlocutors and contexts affected the participants' language selection and investment. The parents of the participants shared that they wanted to raise their children to be bilingual. However, they did not force their children to use or develop Korean competency. At home, parents seem to position their children as language resources who could navigate mainstream society; they valued English as a symbolic capital. At the same time, the parents provided opportunities for their children to learn and use Korean at home, all of whom, with the exception of Daniel, communicated in Korean at home.

Daniel grew up speaking English alongside his older English-speaking brother, John. Daniel's mother noted,

> [John 은] 18 개월서부터 말을 시작했는데, 우리 Daniel 은 2 살이 넘도록 말을 안 했어. 그런데 형아가 4 살 때 pre-K 를 갔잖아. 그니까 pre-K 를 가니까 시간이 좀 더 길게 있잖아, 학교에. 그래서 학교에 갔다오면 형아가 영어를 하기 시작하는 거야. 그러면서 우리 Daniel 은 자연스럽게 영어를 먼저 배웠어. 그래서 우리 Daniel 은 한국어를 해 본 시간이 없어요. (*John started speaking from 18 months old, but Daniel did not speak until he was two years old. But, when John was 3 years old, he went to pre-K and spent more time at school. So when John came back home, he spoke English. Thus, Daniel naturally learned English first. So he did not have time to speak Korean [at home].*)
>
> (John and Daniel's mother, interview, 2020)

Many studies support the notion that the presence of older children influence their younger siblings' language and literacy, beyond parental control, among multilingual families (Caldas, 2012; Gregory, 2004; de la Piedra & Romo, 2003; Schwardtz, 2010). Daniel's language was influenced by John, who spoke English, not Korean, at home even though their parents exclusively spoke Korean. Even at a very young age, Daniel exerted his sense of agency by speaking English to his parents instead of Korean. While Daniel understood Korean, he refused to invest in being an active Korean speaker.

Pang: What is your family primary language?

Daniel: Korean, oh, family? Family speaks Korean. Siblings English.

Pang: So with your parents, you speak Korean but with your siblings…

Daniel: No, I speak English with everybody. I understand Korean and I can talk. They can understand English, and I can understand Korean, so it just works.

(Daniel, 2nd interview, 2020)

Daniel's use of English placed him in a position of privilege and power. Throughout the interviews, I found that he looked down on the use of Korean and had no intention to develop his Korean competency. Daniel's use of English helped to establish his identification as an American, which is the "social category and position of privilege" (Holland et al., 1998). Daniel valued the American identity in the context of the United States which resulted in his speaking English, even at home.

Competent in Korean and more fluent in English, Sara also, at times, used English instead of Korean with her parents at home, especially when she was frustrated or arguing with them. She explained, "I feel like, I can express myself more explicitly through English, but still basic arguments, if it's just acceptable argument, I use Korean." Sara further explained,

> When I'm arguing with her [my mom], since I am more comfortable with English, I can say more bad things in English… I'll try speaking English to my mom and think that I have an advantage. (Sara, 1st and 2nd interviews, 2019/2020)

Sara adjusted her use of language with her parents depending on her purpose or relationship at the moment. Sara also used English as a subversive linguistic resource, a resource that prevented her parents from understanding what she said.

All participants went to church, a Korean community in which adult church members were primarily 1st generation immigrants. John, Daniel, Eun, and Hoon went to small Korean

churches where all the church members congregated as one group. On the other hand, Sara and her family went to a large Korean church, most of whom were Koreans or Korean Americans, divided by ministry in English and ministry in Korean. When Sara became a middle school student, she had to choose between joining the Korean ministry or the English ministry as the church provided two tracks of youth ministry. As she was competent in both English and Korean, Sara decided to join the Korean ministry, which helped her grow as a Christian, neither as Korean or as American. Her involvement in Korean ministry further developed her Korean repertoire as she engaged in various activities with teachers and peers in the group, reflecting the Korean language and culture by the peers of that age in Korea.

Except for Sara who chose to engage in the Korean ministry, other participants spoke English with their peers in their Korean churches and used Korean to speak with the older church members. Interestingly, even Daniel used Korean when speaking to the older church members although he refused to use Korean at home. Daniel adjusted his language, drawing on his bilingualism in order to engage with Korean-speaking adults in a situated context. Daniel may not have been willing to engage fully with a Korean identity, but the church opened up spaces where he engaged in linguistic and cultural practices of Korea. This specific space of language interaction helped the participants develop a bilingual identity. Daniel knew and spoke Korean, albeit with limited competency, but was still considered bilingual. Daniel presented an English identity through his preferred use of English, but also presented a Korean identity by deferring to Korean when listening to his parents. Within Korean churches, the participants learned with whom they could use English and/or Korean as border-crossing bilinguals. Participants developed a sense of a bilingual identity depending on contexts and other speakers' language abilities.

In the participants' experiences, there were a very clear patterns of the types of contexts that seemed to be either more or less empowering for them. Participants were empowered by bilingualism with their peers, with older people in a Korean community, and in contexts that positioned students in positive ways in relation to each other. They adjusted their language to communicate with others as well as to position themselves within their situated contexts and assisted in their construction of Korean identity.

Among the participants, John and Daniel were less competent in Korean in reading and writing Korean, but more competent in speaking Korean. Eun and Hoon were literate in Korean as they attended a weekend Korean language school; however, once they stopped attending, they stopped writing in Korean. Sara was involved in Korean across all domains and through various social experiences. She was a competent bilingual and who projected identities as both American and Korean. Sara's church was instrumental in her becoming literate in Korean. Sara explained,

> So even in elementary school, they would teach the sermon in Korean which like helps my skills again. Sometimes, when I have to pray for entire group, I have to plan out what I'm going to say [in Korean], just because I get kind of anxious.
>
> (Sara, 1st interview, 2019)

Even outside of church, Sara used Korean with the teachers in Korean ministry, "because I'm in the Korean ministry, I text in Korean to my church teachers." In a separate interview, Sara's mother explained, "지금도 큐티를 너무 많이 시키고, 설교 요약 노트 시키고, 너무 이런걸 많이 시키니까 안 할 수가 없지 (*Even now, she should do bible study, sermon summary, and so many things like that*)" (Sara's mother, interview, 2020). In the Korean ministry, in addition to texting in Korean, Sara was involved in worshipping in Korean and wrote reflections or responses in bible study. In this context, Sara's identity played a role in her linguistic and

cultural investment, resulting in language competency (Norton 2000). Norton (2000) defined identity as ‘‘how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future’’ (Norton 2000, p. 5). Sara found her identification from the Korean ministry at her church and she invested in Korean language, culture, and identity in the space. Within the contexts of the Korean ministry, Korean is the symbolic capital to be involved in any activities and worships. As she invested in Korean identity with Korean language and culture at her church and home, she could achieve the Korean competency to use fluently. Sara flexibly used both English and Korean in transnational contexts. She had identity investment in taking advantage of using the language in a situated context. At home and in the Korean community, Sara used Korean to build up relationships with her parents and others while the use of English was sometimes used to position her in powerful ways. Conversely, at school, she mostly spoke English even with her Korean friends; in the context that using Korean might position her as less powerful or minoritized.

To discuss identity investment, I also employed Norton’s (2001) “imagined communities” referring to “a community of the imagination—a desired community that offers possibilities for an enhanced range of identity options in the future” (Norton 2010, p. 355). In this sense, the imagined communities of the participants could explain their identity investment. To examine the participants’ linguistic investment reflecting their imagined communities, I specifically asked them what their language preference would be with their future children. Whether they were fluent or not, they valued the competency of heritage language for their connection with their heritage communities and extended family members including grandparents. For their parents who were 1st generation immigrants, heritage language use was

maintained for their convenience and the support of heritage language. For 1.5 and 2nd generation participants, they were more competent in English. They intended not to use Korean for their convenience, but to maintain their future children's heritage language development and ethnic identity. It suggests that the participants valued their Korean identities through their investment in the Korean language.

Summary

The findings of this study indicated that all participants identified themselves as Korean Americans, both embracing and distancing Korean and American identities. 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American transnational youth constructed their identities within the sociocultural contexts to which they belonged or were rejected. As they lived with their parents and family who were 1st generation immigrants, they maintained their ties with both host and heritage societies and moved fluidly across transnational contexts. To some extent, diversity in the United States was respected and the transnational youth were considered Americans without needing to be classified as anything else. As they lived in the United States as immigrants with Korean ethnicity, however, they often confronted situations that made them conscious of their identities and differences from others. On one hand, transnational youth are both Koreans and Americans. On the other hand, they are neither Koreans nor Americans. Thus, their sense of belonging affected their identity construction. As they continuously negotiated their identities within and across transnational spaces, their linguistic and cultural resources supported navigating their identities as well as their identity investments which supported their linguistic and cultural development. In particular, school was a space for transnational youth to utilize their American linguistic and cultural resources and they often became monolingual English speakers in the context.

5 DISCUSSION

This chapter explains the findings of this study and expands the discussion to articulate conclusions and subsequent implications. I begin by restating the purpose of the study and the research questions guiding the study. Next, I discuss the study's findings, guided by the research questions. I follow the discussion on the importance of understanding the transnational contexts of the unique population of transnational youth. Further, I then focus on supporting the transnational youth to value and invest their cultural and linguistic resources with agency without pressure or prejudices. I conclude this chapter with the implications for practice and research highlighting how to support transnational youth by understanding their transnational contexts in and out of family, school, and community contexts.

The purpose of this qualitative case study was to understand how 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American transnational youth construct and adjust their identities. Specifically, this study aimed to investigate how and in what ways the participants drew upon their linguistic and cultural resources in identifying themselves and how their agency in language and culture could support their identity exploration and construction. The questions guiding this study were: 1) How do 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American transnational adolescents self-identify? 2) What resources do participants say that they draw upon and that have shaped their identity across transnational spaces? 3) What conflicts do they experience in transnational spaces? 4) To what extent do their linguistic and cultural investment interconnect with their identities?

From a cross-analysis of data for all five participants, four key findings emerged: First, transnational youth self-identified as Korean Americans with both a sense of belonging and a sense of distance. Second, transnational youth moved fluidly across transnational contexts. Third, transnational youth experienced tensions within their sociocultural contexts without

articulating them as tensions. And, fourth, transnational youth leveraged language and culture within varied contexts.

Identity as a Cultural Process

Given that adolescence is a transition from childhood to adulthood, adolescence is a critical time for identity construction and negotiation (Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1983). According to Klimstra et al. (2010), adolescents reconsider and stabilize their identities while actively exploring their identities. Holland et al. (1998) define identity as self-understandings in which individuals have strong emotional connections. Youth have an ever-changing understanding of who they are in relation to their culture, homes, schools, and communities; thus, it is natural that transnational adolescents go through recognizing their status as transnationals living in the United States and reconsidering and negotiating their identities. The findings of this study show that transnational youth explore and negotiate their identities in their everyday lives by drawing on their experiences, language, and cultures in transnational spaces. Since transnational spaces are across, beyond, or in-between national, international, state, and local settings, youth in this study make sense of who they are through interactions in transnational spaces and how they convey these identities to others in these spaces. The participants see themselves as different from and in relation to others within transnational spaces, often by reflecting the common classifications of nationality, race, and ethnicity.

By Parents/Home

Even though they live in the United States, the findings of this study show that the participants' parents-who are 1st generation immigrants-were more familiar with Korean culture and language than American culture and language. Thus, transnational youth's lifestyles were more aligned with Korean at home because their parents share Korean language and culture with

their children. In this context, the findings highlight the displaying of the participants' Korean identities in the context of home through interacting with their parents and families. For transnational youth, home is the context to construct their Korean identity as well as build their Korean linguistic and cultural repertoire with the help of their parents. In this sense, the participants accepted their ethnicity by recognizing their ties and connections with Korean family members. However, the participants also identified themselves as Americans which separated them from their Korean parents. According to Kasiniz et al. (2004), there are two implications for the term "Americans" for transnational youth: 1) a term to distance themselves from their parents, or 2) a term to refer to white Americans who are considered as the mainstream of the United States. In this study, the participants negotiated their Korean identities by maintaining and valuing connections with their family. Their less direct experience of Korean culture and language, as well as their exposure to American culture and language, however, accentuated the differences between their Korean identities and their parents' Korean identities. When compared to their Korean parents, the participants aligned more closely to Americans, even though their identities were related to their culture and language at home.

Korean Community

The findings of this study show that the Korean communities play a critical role in providing linguistic and cultural resources for transnational youth and their families. While there is not a space for transnational youth to use and share Korean language and culture in out-of-home contexts, the Korean communities mediated access to resources of Korean language and culture. The participants engaged in linguistic and cultural practices within these spaces, and Korean communities served as "communities of practice" (Norton, 2000). The participants

negotiated their identities within their Korean communities, which was a primary context of gathering with those of similar ethnicity.

Because of the respect Korean youth must have for their parents and elders, this group of transnational youth intentionally shaped their identities to conform to the expectations of their immediate and extended families and community members. At church, for example, this group of transnational youth spoke to parents or community elders in Korean, while the youth themselves spoke English among peers and within youth groups. At the same time, the Korean community became a space to experience American culture for the participants by celebrating U.S. holidays with church members. As 1st generation immigrants, participants' parents were not familiar with how to celebrate American holidays. In addition, the celebration of Korean holidays was limited as most of the participants' extended family members lived in Korea. For this group of transnational youth, the Korean church and community became an integral, not peripheral, community of practice to experience Korean and American culture.

Whereas the participants engaged in Korean language and culture within the Korean communities, they were also differentiated from the elders or 1st generation immigrants in these spaces. For example, findings revealed while 1st generation immigrant church members' primary language of worship and interaction was Korean, the church provided youth worship services in English. Of all the participants, only Sara's church provided an option for youth to choose from either Korean ministry or English ministry. Providing worship services in English for transnational youth suggests implicit consent that the participants were Americans compared to their parents and community members who were Koreans. It also implied the Korean community was a site of identity negotiation and empowerment for transnational youth.

By Peers/School

This group of transnational youth lived in the United States, and they negotiated their identities in terms of linguistic and cultural investment in the context of the United States. While the participants were still engaged in family interactions, they explored their identities with more agency away from the influence of family in how they interacted with peers and engaged in their preferred groups and activities. As the participants engaged in linguistic and cultural practices with their peers, they considered their primary language as English. In addition, the participants tended to share the same culture with their peers to feel a sense of belonging, whether intended or not. At schools, the participants spoke English while engaging in activities with peers of diverse races. Findings suggest that the participants wanted a sense of belonging, not as ethnic transnational youth who happened to speak a language other than English or eat different foods, but as teens who liked sports and activities and desired good grades so they could better themselves in their future. They did not abandon their ethnic identity, but instead saw it as a resource to be used flexibly in different contexts.

This group of transnational youth accepted their belongings and environment while negotiating their identities by pursuing or rejecting specific qualities or traits. For example, siblings John and Daniel were members of the school swim team, and Hoon played on a soccer team. They participated in sports from their early childhood to display a part of their identities; however, these activities were not intentional practices for a sense of belonging. On the other hand, Eun engaged in playing on a lacrosse team to gain a sense of belonging to the mainstream white American group. But in so doing, Eun negated her Korean self in favor of becoming a "white-wash American." In the home, the Korean community, and school, participants understood who they were and constantly negotiated their identities and investment. The participants constantly constructed and negotiated their identities across transnational spaces

related to power relations, a finding which is aligned with the existing studies (Gee, 2000; Lippi-Green, 2012; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). In this process of negotiating identity, their investment in language and culture fluctuated. This study confirmed the investment of the participants related to individuals' language development (Lee, 2014; Norton, 2000). For example, most participants in this study presented their motivation to improve their Korean competency, but they did not invest in Korean in the U.S. context of English speaking society. Pervasive monolingual ideology limited the participants' investment in Korean language. On the other hand, one participant, Sara, showed how she negotiated her identities across transnational contexts. Sara's investment in Korean was helpful in gaining legitimate participation in the Korean church where the primary language is Korean. She constructed social interactions with 1st generation Korean church members and newly arrived Korean American youth and strengthened her Korean identity. At the same time, by investing in American culture and language in the context of school, she also was a legitimate participant with a strong sense of belonging. Sara flexibly negotiated her identities drawing her full linguistic and culture resources (Kwon, 2020; Tertrault, 2009).

Participants' ethnic socialization from interactions with their family members at home and members in the Korean community facilitated their investment in Korean language and culture. At the same time, their interactions with peers, teachers, and a variety of people in the outside-home context facilitated their investment in American identity. The participants flexibly developed their identities in the process of socialization across transnational contexts, although their identity negotiation varied. As existing studies suggest, the findings of this study confirm that the identities of transnational youth were co-constructed in situated contexts and were constantly negotiated by change and struggles (Holland et al, 1998; Norton, 2000).

What does It Mean to Be a 1.5 or 2nd Generation Adolescent?

As identity construction is a cultural process within situated contexts, transnational youth's identities are never fixed but are always in flux. The findings of this study show that 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American transnational youth had ordinary daily experiences living in the United States as Koreans/Asians. On the surface, the participants stated that they did not have any tension or conflicts as Koreans/Asians living in the United States. The participants identified their context as living in the United States and their ethnicity as Korean; however, they experienced tensions within their transnational contexts in terms of identity (gender, class), language, and culture.

To be 1.5 generation and 2nd generation transnational Korean Americans means to embrace both Korean and American identities by people with whom they interact. To some extent, their Korean and American identities are determined by their ethnicity as well as current living contexts, but their sense of belonging in certain contexts requires effort. In some spaces, they are Korean, in some spaces they are American, and in some spaces, they are Korean Americans. Sometimes transnational youth engage in multiple identities at once, but in transnational spaces, sometimes they fix their identities through how they look and by where they come from.

This study notes that transnational youth's self-identification was sometimes different from how they were identified by others. The findings reveal that participants' ethnicity was closely associated with how their identities were perceived by others. According to Kasiniz et al. (2004), ethnicity may be optional for European immigrants, but for immigrants of color; it is inseparable from their identity and unavoidable. As people of color, 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American transnational youth could not physically reject or distance their ethnicity no

matter how long they lived in a host society with a white majority. This study suggests that 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American transnational youth's ethnic identity, in terms of how they physically appear, is fixed, regardless of what they do to change this perspective by others. In this sense, 1.5 and 2nd generation transnational youth have less flexibility in choosing ethnic identities. This finding confirms the work of Lippi-Green (2012) that racial and ethnic identities are assigned. Ethnic identity is fixed first, and most evidently, by ethnic physical features, which prompt questions similar to "where are you from?" Transnational youth in this study could not escape this identity as defined by physical features associated with Koreans. They also could not escape characteristics associated with being Korean. They were expected to be good students who made good grades and had particular looks. To some extent, they were proud of their academic achievement and sincere attitude, while at the same time, they felt pressured to fit into certain images.

As they live with their parents who are 1st generation immigrants, 1.5 and 2nd generation transnational youth were exposed to Korean culture and language at home whether they were conscious of these experiences or not. Parents had an impact on transnational youth's linguistic and cultural repertoire. Moreover, because of their parents, transnational youth were involved in their Korean communities. In general, participants in this study honored their parents' desires for them to participate in Korean culture and activities in the community. Thus, participants had less control over their 1.5 and 2nd generation identities than they may have thought. The findings of this study indicate that the participants constructed and negotiated their identities to reflect their experiences and their linguistic and cultural resources at home. In this sense, transnational youth's ethnic identity might be distinctive from other racial/ethnic groups although they had a strong sense of belonging in the United States rather than Korea.

While Korean identity for this group of participants as a fixed identity by others, how they negotiated their identities varied. 1.5 and 2nd generation transnational youth saw themselves as multi-ethnic—Korean Americans in which they embraced their Korean culture, and lived in and through Korean and American cultures in school, home and church. The data in this study showed that participants struggled with belonging in transnational contexts to a greater or lesser degree with their ethnicity and confirm the findings of the works (Balogun, 2011; Bashi & McDaniel, 1997; Valenzuela, 1999) that also examined transnational struggle with belonging.

This current study's findings bring attention to how others' perspectives about ethnic identity affect transnational youth's identity construction by ascribing fixed identity to transnational youth. James (2006) argues that ethnicity "gives individuals a sense of identity and belonging based, not only on their perception of being different but also on the knowledge that they are recognized by others as being different" (p.48). Even when the participants did not fit into the assigned and fixed identity, their ethnicity was assigned by others. Although the participants admitted their ethnic identity, a few of them preferred to be differentiated from the group by others. For example, Eun rejected her stereotyped Asian images by others. Rather, she accepted herself as "white-washed," which meant she could unlock a sense of belonging in mainstream society. In essence, Eun tried to solidify her identity as a white American through playing lacrosse thus distancing herself from activities in which Koreans often participate including K-pop and K-drama. Rejecting part of her Korean identity is supported by the work of Wiley et al. whose study (2012) found that 2nd generation Latino immigrants viewed their ethnic groups in the United States less positively than 1st generation immigrants. Wiley et al. (2012) suggested that 2nd generation immigrants living in the United States experienced others' negative perspectives toward their ethnic group as low status, and they also had negative perspectives

toward their ethnic group. On the other hand, 1st generation immigrants had grown up and lived within the same ethnic group and did not experience negative perspectives toward their ethnic group before their immigration. As a result, 1st generation immigrants had positive ethnic identity compared to 2nd generation immigrants. The findings of this study suggest that experiencing others' positive views about their ethnic group affects the construction of a positive ethnic identity with positive perspectives toward their own ethnic group.

In terms of gender, Gilligan's gender theory (Gilligan, 1982, 1995; Gilligan & Attanucci, 1988) helped me to understand how gender operated within these participants by revealing females' identity construction reflected their seeking connectedness. This study involved five participants: three males and two females. While gender was not investigated as a research question, data showed that Sara and Eun, the female participants, sought connectedness in how and what contexts they identified. As Gilligan (Gilligan, 1982, 1995; Gilligan & Attanucci, 1988) highlighted, the connectedness for female identity was an important characteristic in the identity investment of girls. In this study, Sara and Eun attached value to relationships with other people. Tajfel (1974) identifies this as "knowledge that [s]he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to [her] of [her] membership" (p. 72).

The data of this study indicated that the identities of John, Daniel, and Hoon seemed to be more closely related to their understandings of themselves while Sara and Eun revealed their desire of connectedness with others by constructing group identities. For example, when John was expected to exhibit a Korean identity by others, he accepted it and wished to develop his Korean linguistic and cultural repertoire. Daniel differentiated his Korean identity from his parents' Korean identity. This was not intended to assert a direct belonging in the United States, but it was oriented in understanding himself as a Korean American compared to his more

Koreanized parents. Hoon recognized himself as who he was in relationship to his physical location. Although John, Daniel, and Hoon recognized their identity or ethnic identity by others, they did not adjust their ethnic identity to gain a sense of belonging. Instead, they embraced or rejected their identities without much consideration of whether they belonged or not.

On the other hand, Sara and Eun presented identity investment in pursuing connectedness with a desire for a sense of belonging. Although the identity investments of Sara and Eun were oriented in completely opposite ways, the underlying desire was the same-to be connected with others. Sara constructed strong social identity within her situated contexts across borders, home, school and church. She was not ousted in any contexts and negotiated her sense of belonging and linguistic and cultural resources across transnational spaces. Sara was actively involved in Korean American groups at school. Although she identified with the Korean American group, it did not mean she was marginalized from mainstream society. Instead, she maintained her sense of belonging to the mainstream at school by valuing academic success. At church, she decided to join the Korean ministry instead of the English ministry, which included more recently immigrated Korean youth. As she became a member of the Korean ministry, she negotiated her use of linguistic and cultural resources depending on the interlocutors in the contexts. As a result, Sara seemed to be satisfied with her current social contexts, which helped her maintain a good relationship with her friends and family. Sara flexibly adjusted her identities and belonged to the groups across transnational contexts.

Conversely, Eun tried to feel a sense of belonging by connecting with the mainstream group at school and distancing her ethnic identity. For Eun, ethnicity was the marker of her difference from others in mainstream society. Eun felt that she did not perfectly fit into either Korean or American culture. When “I’m nothing” was telling, Eun did not feel a sense of

belonging as a Korean or an American. Thus, she denied her sense of belonging in both groups, but also felt a lack of belonging in any group at all. Her desire to be connected to others frustrated her.

These findings align with the findings of other studies that showed that individuals' identity exploration related to how they viewed themselves in relation to others (Fisher et al., 2014; Yip et al., 2006). In addition, this study extends the work of Lee (2004) regarding racial and ethnic identification. Sara's experiences and values aligned with participants in Lee's study who presented characteristics of middle-class 2nd generation immigrants. Sara placed value on academic achievement and hard-working culture and built a bond of friendship with others who held these same values. On the other hand, Eun showed features of working-class 2nd generation immigrants similar to Lee's study. She tried to reject a Korean ethnic identity and dismissed the Asians' model minority image. Thus, she desired to belong to the white majority society and did not prefer to form friendships with co-ethnic groups.

How successful participants were in navigating and constructing an ethnic identity varied. The participants of this current study, as they explained, were top-ranked academically at their schools and their families were middle-class in the United States. Thus, the differences among the participants of this study were not located in school success or class, but were based on whether they felt a sense of belonging to a social group or not. Sara became a member of existing groups and grouped herself with co-ethnic peers. However, Eun had experienced being stereotyped as an Asian and an Americanized Korean across contexts. Eun experienced being stereotyped before she developed a sense of belonging with her race and ethnicity. Developing a sense of belonging was critical for participants to construct a positive ethnic identity positively. In this sense, this study confirms that the development of a strong ethnic identity is essential to

identity construction, and contributes to high self-esteem (Carlson et al., 2000) as well as to the personal and social well-being (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). As 1.5 and 2nd generation transnational, and often minoritized, youth, they thought people needed more understanding about diversity and thought that it was important to respect others' diversity.

In examining identity construction and negotiation of 1.5 and 2nd generation across contexts, this study extends the work in Awokoya's (2012) study which investigated the ethnic and racial identity of 1.5 and 2nd generation African American immigrant youth. Awokoya suggested family, school, and peers were primary contexts that affected participants' identity construction, and media influence produced negative and stereotypical images about their races and ethnicities. Findings of the current study confirmed that family, school, and peers were primary situated contexts of identity construction and negotiation for transnational youth.

The findings of this study highlight that transnational youth's identities should not be confined within existing and fixed categories: they should not be forced to be either Korean, American, or Korean American, or neither Korean nor American. Transnational youth struggle when they are forced to accept their sense of belonging within the existing categories. Even the term 'Korean American' has become a fixed category; using 'Korean American' to indicate Korean transnational youth living in the United States is not enough to describe their transnational identities and spaces. They need space to explore or to account for their given identities and contexts. In living in a transnational space, 1.5 and 2nd generation transnational youth should not be forced to abandon certain features to belong to the majority group. Instead, they should be allowed to explore, enact, and negotiate their identities resulting in the multiplicity and hybridity of identity construction.

What does It Mean to Be Transnational?

The participants lived in a transnational space and constantly negotiated their identities according to the situated contexts. They actively sought a sense of identity in their social contexts to some extent. With their peers at school, transnational youth presented an American identity by speaking English and engaging in U.S. culture. With the peers of the same ethnicity (Korean), they presented a Korean American identity by sharing both Korean and American culture and values. Alternatively, with Korean community members outside of their peer group, transnational youth presented a Korean identity by utilizing their Korean language and embracing Korean culture. This study suggests that transnational youth live in transnational spaces, which sometimes includes both host and heritage societies and can also exclude host or heritage societies. As the participants negotiated their identities, the transnational space varied: it looks different depending on different contexts. Although this study's purpose was to reveal 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean transnational youth's space, the space could not be defined simply as it is constantly constructed and reconstructed. Thus, the framework of transnationalism makes it possible to embrace both national borders and beyond.

This study confirms Levitt and Schiller's (2004) argument, "the nation-state container view of society does not capture, adequately or automatically, the complex interconnectedness of contemporary reality" (p.1006) by indicating that transnational space is not confined to the borders of host or heritage societies. Compared to the fixed concept of national borders, transnational spaces exist across and beyond national borders. In this sense, the transnational space is not fixed, but is continuously reformed. Because transnational youth constructed and navigated their identities and agencies through multiple contexts, like family interactions, peer relationships, and schools or communities, their transnational space included the space of relationships as well as geographical space, which means, transnational space could be the

boundary of language, culture, or relationships. As transnationals constantly move across their transnational spaces, they construct and negotiate their identities; their positive identity construction could broaden the boundary of transnational space.

To understand the transnational space of the participants, this study employed the constructs of figured world and imagined communities (Holland et al., 1998; Norton, 2000). From their own voice, this study sought to figure out where the transnational youth were and where they wanted to belong. Holland et al. (1998) defined the figured world as "a socially and culturally constructed realm of interpretation in which particular characters and actors are recognized" (p.52). Thus, the figured world of transnational youth can be revealed by examining what linguistic and cultural resources are recognized by the participants as well as where the participants engage in. Moreover, the participants' figured world can suggest where transnational youth want to be, where their imagined communities of "how the person understands possibilities for the future" (Norton 2000, p. 5).

Transnational youth in this study were flexibly positioned in the spaces in which they inhabit. Thus, from their interactions utilizing their languages and cultures as well as activities in which they take part, I could understand their figured worlds and imagined communities. Most of all, the figured worlds of Korean American transnational youth were always viewed in relation to history—from where these transnational youth came. The way the participants identified themselves and others cannot be separated from their perceptions of Korean ethnicity, culture, and language. Being Korean, they carry the history of what it means to be Korean, but in the United States they cannot escape who they are historically, and are thrust into a present and future in the United States with varied cultural norms. Thus, figured worlds for these

transnational youth bring struggle, but also potential, by knowing who they are and how they navigate in different spaces.

Participants were Koreans by heritage, and to some extent, were recruited—voluntarily or not—to be cultural and linguistic resources in various spaces, especially at home and Korean community. Transnational youth adjusted these resources to community with Korean-speaking elders. Participants' adjustment of language use in Korean implies that they perceive the church as a space of sharing and prioritizing Korean culture. This study suggests that even those transnational youth who have never visited their countries of origin were positively affected by their history and heritage such as cultures, language, values, and practices in the contexts of home and Korean community. While some participants accepted the Korean language and culture with pride, others rejected or degraded the language and culture. Thus, transnational youth negotiated and reshaped linguistic and cultural practices that reflected their situated contexts, their sense of belonging, or their desire of belonging.

While the participants were rooted in Korean ethnicity, they interacted with a variety of people out-of-home context. Thus, the demographic make-up of a school they attended as well as their neighborhood environment could contribute to how transnational youth see themselves in the larger community. For example, the data show that transnational youth experienced being othered or being categorized by others as an ESL or Asian/Korean. In addition, as the majority of the school populations were white in both schools, the participants did not tend to reveal their full linguistic and cultural repertoire. On the other hand, a participant like Sara who lived in a city with a large Korean population and community engaged in Korean language and culture that help her construct identity securely across her transnational contexts with a strong sense of belongings. The participants did not merely adopt any assigned categories; rather, they tried to

enter into the figured worlds to feel a sense of belonging. That seemed to play a central role in constructing their identity and navigating their transnational space.

This study highlights how the participants flexibly moved across transnational contexts by negotiating their identities. In this process, multilingual and multicultural investment facilitated identity navigation of transnational youth. Transnational youth's investment in language and culture reflect their understanding about situated contexts and interactional negotiations. In addition, their linguistic and cultural investment explains their identities and desires of sense of belonging. In particular, ethnic language proficiency related to individuals' ethnic identity and the degree of accepting the ethnic language in mainstream society (Lippi-Green, 2012, Phinney, 2000). For example, the participants all preferred to use English rather than Korean. As they live and are educated in the United States, English became their primary language; they can express themselves more comfortably. While their lack of competency in Korean reflected their primary use of English, their identity investment also explained their use of English. On the other hand, their engagement in the community of practice to use their language and culture enhanced their competency in language and culture to support their identity investment as the data of this study show that participants engaged in the linguistic and cultural practices at home and in Korean community. The findings of this study suggest that transnational spaces where the transnational youth existed were somewhere across, in-between, or beyond the national borders, and highlight the participants' utilization of multilingual and multicultural repertoire to belong in certain contexts and expand the boundaries of transnational contexts.

Implications for School and Home Practice

The findings of this study bring attention to the importance of understanding a specific population of transnational youth in the era of globalization in order to provide appropriate

educational and social support. In this sense, this study significantly informs the parents, educators, and practitioners who encounter transnational youth. Findings from this study will contribute to supporting transnational youth in a range of spaces, understanding their need to belong as individuals with a range of interests, languages, and cultures. Above all, this study contributes to teachers' understanding of this population of transnational youth. A better understanding of the challenges and difficulties the transnational youth face can help educators prepare and support their transnational experience.

As adolescence is a vital period of identity construction, support for transnational youth is critical to maximize their potentials and construct positive identities in transnational contexts. This study suggests that transnational spaces and identities should be openly discussed instead of being assumed. Transnational youth can be marginalized in U.S. schools without this support of discussing their spaces and identities. Within fixed categories, transnational youth are presumed to have a certain language, culture, and identity. Instead of only relying on existing knowledge with fixed categories, teachers could establish spaces for transnational youth to explore and discuss their own linguistic and cultural identities as well as their desired identities. Such exploration could diminish the fixed stereotypes and racial attitudes, as Pahlke et al. (2012) found towards 1.5 and 2nd generation transnational youth. For immigrants of color, ethnicity and race cannot be hidden. Acknowledging and respecting transnational youth's linguistic and cultural capital will be the foundation to broaden and expand the learning of transnational youth and others. In this sense, this study illuminates the importance of insights on diversity and inclusion both for teachers and teacher educators.

Teacher educators need to prepare teachers to experience the insightful discussion about diversity and inclusion in teacher education. As we live in a very diverse world, acknowledging

the strength of all diversity such as ethnicity, races, or gender can make a more thoughtful society. Thus, teacher education must begin to focus on transnational youth as the population is growing. As an example, teachers designing the curriculum for a method course in teacher education could consider emphasizing the importance of understanding the transnational youth and the ways to increase their potentials of the cultural capital they bring to multiple spaces. In addition, teacher educators need to employ strategies to support teachers' strong identity as students' advocates such as introducing Asian culture and literature in their curriculum. Choi (2019) found that multicultural literature facilitated Asian youth in navigating and constructing their identities. It is also a good strategy to discuss the experience or feeling of being minoritized to promote teachers' awareness about this population in teacher education. As teachers have been actively involved in discussing diversity and inclusion, teachers should know how to address and support this population in their classroom.

Teachers can support transnational youth by drawing upon the linguistic and cultural capital of transnational youth. While research has emphasized multilingualism and multiculturalism as resources in the United States, systematic support has not been provided to navigate diverse language and cultures in most classrooms. As the findings of this study reveal, participants believed that teachers who worked with this group of transnational youth were open to their cultural and linguistic contributions but did not actively solicit them. Learning could be enhanced and diversity embraced if classroom spaces provided opportunities for transnational youth to discuss their own linguistic and cultural capital. By discussing their linguist and cultural capital, the youth will inherently develop the capital as well. Whether they are competent in their heritage language and culture or not, transnational youth can share what they currently experience and have in their home contexts and heritage communities.

In addition, teachers can plan and implement curriculum to consider the worlds of transnational youth. According to Cummins (2001), it is important to accept and understand the culture of a diverse population in order to empower diverse populations as active learners and producers. Therefore, it is critical to authentically reflect students' culture and world into school curricula as students spend most of their time during the day. Without consistent support in their heritage language, even at English-speaking schools, transnational youth' linguistic and cultural repertoire might disappear as Zhang et al. (2018) found. In some way, language support in schools should cut across national boundaries. Therefore, institutional and instructional support at schools is critical to expand transitional youth's linguistic and cultural potentials in adolescence.

This study also opens up spaces for implications for parents of transnational youth. Children's heritage language could be maintained by parents' support and family language policy at home (Anderson et al., 2010; Curdt-Christiansen, 2013; Pillai et al., 2014; Spolsky, 2012). Parents play a critical role in initiating, maintaining, and supporting children's heritage language. Without parents' or family support, 1.5 and 2.0 generation children/youth may find it difficult to achieve fluency in Korean as the language system of Korean is quite different from English language system (Kasiniz et al., 2004). Although all parents in this study primarily used Korean at home, the children's outcomes of maintaining their competency of heritage language, Korean, varied. Parents of this study believed that preserving Korean had a symbolic meaning, although this belief did not always lead to children's investment in Korean language practices. Rather, if children felt the need to learn and develop Korean language and culture, they were more likely to display their agency in investing in Korean language and culture. As transitional youth become independent and broaden their social interactions beyond family, parents should

be cognizant of how to support and maintain their children's linguistic and cultural repertoire which otherwise could easily be lost or diminished.

On-going support from parents, educators, and schools together can contribute to expanding the pool of individuals with multilingual and multicultural resources.

Implications for Research

This study highlights how transnational youth struggle to belong in their transnational spaces and how their linguistic and cultural capital facilitate their identity navigation across, in-between, and beyond their transnational contexts. While many previous studies on language and identity focus on second language learning (Lee, 2014; Morita, 2004; Norton, 1995; Talmy, 2004, 2008), the findings of this study add to the current literature on 1.5 and 2nd generation transnational youth in terms of identity and potential of the cultural capital they bring to multiple spaces. This study links transnationalism to the role of language and culture in identity development. Furthermore, this study adds insights into how their identities may or may not increase their agency and investment of identity, culture, and language.

As immigrant populations in the United States continuously grow, the concern about children of immigrants has increased. Moreover, Joe Biden, the recently elected U.S. president, seeks to open up the U.S. border for increased immigration. Thus, additional studies to examine a more diverse population of 1.5 and 2nd generation transnational youth are needed. In the era of globalization, national and geographical borders as well as linguistic and cultural borders are blurred. The immigrant population cannot be simply defined with the super-diversity. Further studies will be called for broadening the perspectives on transnational youth to value their language and culture in transnational contexts.

Concluding Thoughts

As a researcher and mother of transnational youth, understanding the role that transnational youth play across borders, how they shape these spaces and how these spaces are shaped by them is critical. In other words, this study has implications for me. As a researcher I learned that transnational youth construct their identities in transnational contexts which cannot be clearly demarcated. Their identities shift within the different contexts, and must be considered across these contexts. As a mother, the struggles I faced with my own children were explained by these five participants. I wanted my children to maintain their Korean identities through language and culture at home, at church and in Korean community places. However, adolescent identities are complex and shaped by many encounters. Transnational youth—my children—must navigate fixed identities, wanting, and perhaps needing, to be something other than who they are. By conducting this study, I learned that each transnational youth is unique, not being tied to any specific group or category.

This study attempted to contribute to the understanding of transnational youth's experiences and their identities, and could broaden the spectrum of transnational youth and their transnational contexts. In addition, the findings of this study show that transnational youth need secure space to navigate their identities and seek their potentials instead of framing them within fixed categories. They need a space to develop an individual sense of identity by deliberating, constructing, and reconstructing their identities and contexts. I hope that the findings of this study contribute to supporting transnational youth in their journeys to understand themselves better in different spaces. This study hopefully contributes to opening the door wider for transnational youth instead of framing them within any fixed categories. Transnational youth have the possibility and potential to broaden the borders of their transnational spaces. It is critical

to encourage transnational youth to develop their full cultural and linguistic repertoire while accepting them as they are.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix A. Screening script

Date:	Initial of a contact person:
Thank you for contacting me to participate in the study. I am Myoung Eun Pang, a doctoral student from Georgia State University. I am conducting a research study about the identity and experiences of 1.5 generation and 2nd generation Korean American adolescents.	
Would it be OK for me to ask a few questions to see if you qualify for this research? • If no: Thank you for your time and have a great day! • If Yes: proceed to next question	
1. How old are you? (Eligibility: range of 13 and 16 years old) 2. Are your both parents from Korea? (No: not eligible, Yes: proceed to next question) 3. When did they move to U.S.? (Eligibility: anytime after graduating a high school) 4. Were you born at U.S.? (Yes: eligible, No: proceed to next question) 5. When did you move to U.S.? (Eligibility: range of 0 and 5 years old)	

Appendix B. Recruitment flyer

Research Participants Needed

Language, culture, and identity:
A case study of Korean American transnational adolescents

My name is Myoung Eun Pang and I am a doctoral student at Georgia State University. I would like to do a research study about the identity and experiences of 1.5 generation and 2nd generation Korean American adolescents.

The purpose of this research study is to learn about the identity perceptions, and the linguistic and cultural experience of the 1.5 generation and 2nd generation youth. In this research study, the 1.5 generation refers to Korean American youth who migrated to U.S. before age 6 and the 2nd generation refers to Korean American youth who were born in the U.S. as the children of first generation immigrants.

A total of five participants are invited. To participate in the research study, you must

- Be between 13 and 16 years old
- Live in the U.S. before at the age of 5 or be born in the U.S.
- Have both Korean parents.

The research study will take approximately 6 hours of your time.

If you are interested in participating in this study, please complete the form below and I will contact you. You can also call us at 612-423-6798 or send an email at mpang2@student.gsu.edu.

Thank you for your time and consideration. We look forward to hearing from you.

Your (child's) name: ___________________

Your phone number: ____________________

Your (child's) grade/ age: _______________________

Appendix C. Assent/Consent forms

Georgia State University

Parental Permission Form

Title: Language, culture, and identity: A case study of Korean American transnational adolescents
Principal Investigator: Dr. Peggy Albers
Student Principal Investigator: Ms. Myoung Eun Pang

Introduction and Key Information

Your child is invited to take part in a research study. It is up to you to decide if you would like your child to take part in the study.
The purpose of this study is to explore identity and experience of immigrant children about languages and cultures.
Participants' role in the study will last about six hours over three months.
Participants will be asked to the following:
Being interviewed.
Participating in this study will not expose to any more risks than participants would experience in a typical day.
This study is not designed to benefit participants. Overall, we hope to gain information about how 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American adolescents perceive their identity in their home and schools.

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to explore identity and experience of immigrant children about languages and cultures. Your child is invited this study because they were born in the U.S. or moved to U.S. before their school age. A total of five adolescent participants will be invited to take part in this study.

Procedures

If you decide for your child to take part, s/he will participate in three to five interviews with the Student Principal Investigator. Each interview will take about an hour. Interviews will be audio recorded and transcribed into written format. Participants may bring visual data such as photos or drawings to share their experience. The visual data will be scanned after the interviews. When there may be questions that arise from an interview or clarifications needed, the Student Principal Investigator would contact participants for this purpose.
The interviews will take place at participants' home, or any convenient places such as a library. The interviews will be conducted during a time that works for participants. Before the interview,

I will get the completed and signed informed consent form from you and the assent form from participants.

Future Research

Researchers will remove information that may identify participants and may use participants' data for future research. If we do this, we will not ask for any additional consent from you.

Risks

In this study, participants will not have any more risks than they would in a normal day of life. Participants may be uncomfortable answering some interview questions. To minimize these risks, participants can skip any questions that they feel uncomfortable answering during the interview. No injury is expected from this study, but if you believe participants have been harmed, contact the research team as soon as possible. Georgia State University and the research team have not set aside funds to compensate for any injury.

Benefits

This study is not designed to benefit participants. Overall, we hope to gain information about how 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American adolescents perceive their identity in their home and school contexts.

Alternatives

The alternative to taking part in this study is to not take part in the study.

Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal

Your child does not have to be in this study. If you decide for your child to be in the study and change your mind, you have the right to drop out at any time. Participants may skip questions or stop participating at any time. Participants may refuse to take part in the study or stop at any time. This will not cause participants to lose any benefits to which participants are otherwise entitled.

Confidentiality

We will keep participants'' records private to the extent allowed by law. The following people and entities will have access to the information you provide:

- Dr. Peggy Albers and Ms. Myoung Eun Pang
- GSU Institutional Review Board
- Office for Human Research Protection (OHRP)

We will use participants' initial rather than their name on study records. The information participants provide will be stored in folders on my personal password-protected computer. The recorded and transcribed interview data and scanned visual data will be kept forever for

additional research. When we present or publish the results of this study, we will not use participants' names or other information that may identify the participants.

Contact Information

Contact Ms. Myoung Eun Pang at 612-423-6798 or mpang2@student.gsu.edu or Dr. Peggy Albers at malbers2@gsu.edu,

- If you have questions about the study or participants' part in it
- If you have questions, concerns, or complaints about the study

The IRB at Georgia State University reviews all research that involves human participants. You can contact the IRB if you would like to speak to someone who is not involved directly with the study. You can contact the IRB for questions, concerns, problems, information, input, or questions about your rights as a research participant. Contact the IRB at 404-413-3500 or irb@gsu.edu.

Consent

We will give you a copy of this consent form to keep.
By signing below, you are giving consent for your child to participate in the above study.

____

Printed Name of a child

____ ____________

Parent's Name and Signatures Date

____ ____________

Principal Investigator or Researcher Obtaining Consent Date

Assent Form

Title: Language, culture, and identity: A case study of Korean American transnational adolescents

Principal Investigator: Dr. Peggy Albers, Principal Investigator
Ms. Myoung Eun Pang, Student Principal Investigator

My name is Myoung Eun Pang. I am a doctoral student at Georgia State University. I am inviting you to participate in a research study about the identity and experiences of 1.5 generation and 2nd generation Korean American adolescents. Your parents know we are talking with you about this study. This form will tell you about the study to help you decide whether or not you want to take participate in it.

Why is this study being done?
The purpose of this study is to explore how 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American youth construct and adjust their identities in terms of cultures and languages, and how their agency in language and culture can support their identity exploration and construction. You are being asked to take part in the study because you are a 1.5 generation or 2nd generation Korean American who is between the ages of 13 and 16.

What do I need to do?
If you decide to be in the study, I will ask you to participate in three to five interviews. Each interview will take about 45 to 60 minutes of your time. It will be audio recorded and transcribed into written format. There may be questions that arise from an interview or clarifications needed. If that is the case, I will contact you for this purpose.

The interviews will take place at your convenience. The interview will take place at your home or at another place such as a library. The interviews will be conducted during a time that works for you. Before the interview, I will get the completed and signed informed consent form from your parents and the assent form from you.

Are there any risks to me if I decide to be involved in this study?
There are no foreseeable risks, however, you may be uncomfortable answering some interview questions. To minimize these risks, you can skip any questions that you feel uncomfortable answering during the interview.

What are the benefits to me?
There is no direct benefit to you. However, the findings of the study will be beneficial to society because they can inform how to support 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American transnational

adolescents. We hope to gain information about the identity of 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American adolescents and their situated transnational contexts.

Do I have to be in the study?
No, you don't. The choice is yours. You don't have to be in this study, and your parent(s)/legal guardian(s) cannot make you be in it. Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. No one will get angry or upset if you don't want to do this. You can change your mind anytime if you decide you don't want to be in the study anymore.

How will my information be protected?
We will keep your records private to the extent allowed by law. We will use a pseudonym rather than your name on study records. Only Dr. Albers and I will have access to the information you provide. The consent form will be in a folder on my personal computer. The recorded and transcribed interview data will be kept forever for additional research. Your name and other information that might point to you will not appear when we present this study or write the results. Your personal name will not be shared.

What if I have questions?
If you have questions about the study, you can ask me now or anytime during the study. You can also call me at 612-423-6798 or email at mpang2@student.gsu.edu.

We will give you a copy of this assent form to keep. If you are willing to volunteer for this research and be audio recorded, please sign below.

____ ________________
Participant Date

____ ________________
Principal Investigator or Researcher Obtaining Consent Date

Georgia State University

Informed Consent

Title: Language, culture, and identity: A case study of Korean American transnational adolescents
Principal Investigator: Dr. Peggy Albers
Student Principal Investigator: Ms. Myoung Eun Pang

Introduction and Key Information

You are invited to take part in a research study. It is up to you to decide if you would like to take part in the study.
The purpose of this study is to explore identity and experience of immigrant children about languages and cultures.
Your role in the study will last about two hours over three months.
You will be asked to the following:
Being interviewed.
Participating in this study will not expose you to any more risks than you would experience in a typical day.
This study is not designed to benefit you. Overall, we hope to gain information about how 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American adolescents perceive themselves in their home and schools.

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to explore identity and experience of immigrant children about languages and cultures. You are invited this study because you are Korean immigrant in the U.S. with children. A total of five adolescent participants and their parents will be invited to take part in this study.

Procedures

If you decide to take part, you will participate in one or two interviews with the Student Principal Investigator. Each interview will take between 45 to 60 minutes of your time. The interviews will be audio recorded and transcribed into written format. When there may be questions that arise from an interview or clarifications needed, the Student Principal Investigator will contact you for this purpose.
The interviews will take place at your home or another convenient place such as a library. The interviews will be conducted during a time that works for you. Before the first interview, the Student Principal Investigator will get the completed and signed informed consent form from you.

Future Research

Researchers will remove information that may identify you and may use your data for future research. If we do this, we will not ask for any additional consent from you.

Risks

In this study, you will not have any more risks than you would in a normal day of life. No injury is expected from this study, but if you believe you have been harmed, contact the research team as soon as possible. Georgia State University and the research team have not set aside funds to compensate for any injury.

Benefits

This study is not designed to benefit you. Overall, we hope to gain information about how 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American adolescents perceive their identity in their home and school contexts.

Alternatives

The alternative to taking part in this study is to not take part in the study.

Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal

You do not have to be in this study. If you decide to be in the study and change your mind, you have the right to drop out at any time. You may skip questions or stop participating at any time. You may refuse to take part in the study or stop at any time. This will not cause you to lose any benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

Confidentiality

We will keep your records private to the extent allowed by law. The following people and entities will have access to the information you provide:

- Dr. Peggy Albers and Ms. Myoung Eun Pang
- GSU Institutional Review Board
- Office for Human Research Protection (OHRP)

We will use your initial rather than your name on study records. The information you provide will be stored in folders on my personal password-protected computer. The recorded and transcribed interview data will be kept forever for additional research. When we present or publish the results of this study, we will not use your name or other information that may identify you.

Contact Information

Contact Ms. Myoung Eun Pang at 612-423-6798 or mpang2@student.gsu.edu or Dr. Peggy Albers at malbers2@gsu.edu,

- If you have questions about the study or your part in it
- If you have questions, concerns, or complaints about the study

The IRB at Georgia State University reviews all research that involves human participants. You can contact the IRB if you would like to speak to someone who is not involved directly with the study. You can contact the IRB for questions, concerns, problems, information, input, or questions about your rights as a research participant. Contact the IRB at 404-413-3500 or irb@gsu.edu.

Consent

We will give you a copy of this consent form to keep.

If you are willing to volunteer for this research and be audio recorded, please sign below.

____

Printed Name of Participant

____ ____________

Signature of Participant Date

____ ____________

Principal Investigator or Researcher Obtaining Consent Date

Appendix D. Interview Protocol

Note: The point of the interviews will be to obtain an in-depth understanding of the participants' experience and perceptions and answer the research questions; 1) How do 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean American transnational adolescents self-identify? 2) What linguistic and cultural resources do participants say that they draw upon and that have shaped their identity across transnational spaces? 3) What linguistic and cultural conflicts do they experience in-between communities? 4) To what extent do their linguistic and cultural investments interconnect with their identities?? Each interview will take about one hour.

Date: ______________
Place: ______________
Interviewee # : ____
Interviewer: ____

Introduction
I appreciate your taking the time to talk with me again. I'm interested your thoughts and experiences and please share your responses. All of your responses will remain confidential.

Questions and Probes

Interview #1: Background/Identity/Sense of Belonging

- Share the research protocol including the purpose of the study, and discuss informed consent.

- Tell me a little bit about yourself and your family.
  - When and why did you and your family move to U.S.?
  - How long have you been in the U.S.? /How long did you live in Korea?
  - Can you tell me about the neighborhood you grew up in/live in?
  - What were you like as a child?
  - Who are you? Where do you belong?
  - How do you identify yourself? (Korean?, American?, Korean American?, etc.)
  - Tell me about your experiences (positive or negative) that you remember as Korean/American/Korean American (using the term from the participants)?

Interview #2: Linguistic and cultural practices in transnational spaces

- (Sharing a video) Tell me about your impressions, thoughts and feelings after watching the clip.
  - Have you had a similar experience?
  - If yes, who did it, and how was your feeling?

  - Do you think that there are differences between your self-identification and identity determined by others?
  - What expectations do you think people have of you?

- Tell me about your language background.
  - How many languages do/can you speak?
  - What is your/your family primary language?
  - Have you ever taken ELL class at schools?
  - When do you use English/Korean in your daily life?
  - In what language do you feel most comfortable communicating?

- I'm interested in hearing about your life at school and at home. Tell me about your life and your spaces.
  - What is your typical day like?
  - What does a typical day look like in your family?
  - What kinds of activities are you often engaged with your family?
  - What kinds of activities are you often engaged with your friends?
  - How do you and your family celebrate holidays?

- Please bring any images to show your identity for the next interview.

Interview #3: Identity and identity conflicts

- Tell me about the visual image that you brought to this interview.
  - What things are most important to you now? Why?
  - Have you ever felt pressured to look or act like based on your identity?
  - How did that impact how you felt about your identity?

- Tell me about your interview experience.
  - Were there any moments that you felt uncomfortable during the interview?
  - Any positive/negative aspects of the interview?

- Is there anything else you'd like to share with me that I have not asked you about?

Interview with a secondary participant

- Tell me a little bit about your child.
- Tell me about your family (i.e. family tradition, immigration story).

Post Interview Comments and/or Observations: