A STUDY OF KOREAN TRANSNATIONAL AND IMMIGRANT MOTHERS' BELIEFS AND VALUES REFLECTED IN THEIR BOOK CHOICES

by

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(Under the Direction of Kyunghwa Lee)

ABSTRACT

This study aims to explore how seven middle-class Korean mothers with different immigrant status select books for their children's language development and learning. For this study, I draw upon the uses and gratifications theory, Bourdieu's notion of field, capital, habitus, and legitimate language, and Norton's idea of investment. Through these theoretical frameworks, the mothers' book selections are viewed as active and individual choices and a result of influenced by Korean and the U.S. society. Using multiple-case study, data were derived by interviews, observations, and documents. The data were analyzed using the constant comparative method to discover differences and commonalities among the mothers regarding their book choices.

The findings highlight that the seven mothers valued the Korean language and culture for their children's lives. However, depending on their different immigrant status, the mothers had different beliefs and values about their children's Korean language development and cultural exposure. These beliefs and values influenced their Korean book choices. This study reveals that as schools and society imposed their values about English, these values affected the book preferences of the middle-class mothers who respected appreciated the schools. In addition, due

to their immigrant status, the mothers' different social and cultural capital in the U.S. and in Korea enhanced or restrained their access to English and Korean books. Furthermore, the findings showed that the mothers actively utilized e-books for their children's English development and schooling in order to address what some mothers saw as their lack of cultural capital and spoken English abilities, and limited school support. As the mothers considered their minority status, they invested in more informational books regardless of languages, English or Korean to improve their children's performance in school and to prepare them for future success. Lastly, their middle-class habitus often limited their book choices to stories about the White and Asian middle-class. The findings suggest that we need to understand immigrant parents' diverse needs and to support them in educating their children.

INDEX WORDS: Parents' book choices, Immigrants, Sojourners, Transnational immigrants, Qualitative research, Multiple-case study

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

While in the process of undertaking my pilot study examining Korean immigrant mothers' perspectives on picture books depicting Korean immigrants, one Sunday afternoon, a Korean immigrant mother and I were looking at the ten picture books that I had provided. She had a wry expression on her face. Flipping through the pages of the picture books, she said:

> I don't like to read these books to my children. Most of these stories are typical first-generation depictions of Korean immigrants' suffering or Korean immigrants who just arrived. Their experiences are different from those of my family. Most of my children's friends are White. They hang out with each other well . . . When they get older and become capable of recognizing the differences between other races and their own cultural identity, perhaps they will have similar experiences and be able to relate more to the books.

When I interviewed her and other Korean immigrant mothers, I realized that their attitudes toward certain books were not simple personal opinions. Instead, they seemed to reflect these mothers' experiences in Korea and the U.S. as well as the mothers' views of their children and their class and racial identities. The interviews with the immigrant mothers piqued my interest and raised several questions: What kinds of books and which language do Korean immigrant mothers prefer to choose in their everyday lives? Why are certain books meaningful to them? What values do they want to pass down and how do the values influence their decision-making

regarding books? With these questions in mind, my interest expanded to investigate how Korean mothers choose books for their children in the U.S.

This dissertation study focuses on the book selections of Korean mothers in the U.S. whose children are four to five years old. Korean parents often use books as an entertainment and educational tool for their children who are under six years old (Chung & Koo, 2001). At these ages, parents purchase or borrow books for their children on a regular basis to assist in developing their children's vocabulary, knowledge, reading skills, and habits (Adams, 1990; Shapiro, Anderson, & Anderson, 1997). By sharing books with their children, parents help them understand themselves, shape their values, and develop their identities (McNair, 2012; Pattnaik, 2003). In particular, some immigrant parents collect books from their home countries "as a means to maintain and preserve their culture and language, and to document the history of exodus" and "to continue cultural work and to educate the next generation — their children" (Lukas, Kubilius, & Dundzila, 2002, p. 22). Although I acknowledge that fathers also play a role in educating their children, in Korean families, Korean mothers are usually responsible for their children's education (Sohn & Wang, 2006). Thus, the books selected and provided by Korean mothers in the U.S. not only develop their children's attitudes toward learning, but also help shape their own language use, values, and identities.

Koreans are the seventh largest immigrant group in the U.S., with a population of approximately 1.7 million (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). More than 95% of Korean Americans make up the immigrants who arrived after the Immigration Act of 1965 (Min, 2013). Compared to the past Korean immigrant workers in Hawaii, post-1965 immigrants have been well-educated and affluent and arrived in the U.S. with hopes for a better education and jobs (Yu & Choe, 2003-2004). According to Zong and Batalova (2014), 52% of Korean immigrants over age 25

have a bachelor's degree or higher, and the median Korean income is $55,800, an amount that is higher than that of native and other foreign-born populations, which is $53,000 and $48,100 respectively.

After the 1990s, one noticeable feature of Koreans is the increased number of Korean sojourners who temporarily reside in the U.S. and of status-adjusted Korean immigrants who initially came to the U.S. as temporary residents and changed their status to permanent residents. According to the 2013 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics (Department of Homeland Security), 444,056 were sojourners including students, temporary workers, exchange visitors, and their families. One main reason for the increased number of sojourners is that English and the U.S. university diploma are considered necessary in the global market and highly valued in Korea. Thus, some middle/upper-class Koreans have come to the U.S. to maintain their social class and to increase their upward mobility (Jeon, 2008; Kang, 2013; Song, 2010). Min (2013) further explained the reasons for this contemporary Korean immigrant trend: the Immigration Act of 1990, enacted to make U.S. corporations globally competitive, opened professional and managerial employment opportunities for foreigners. In contrast, there is difficulty in finding professional and managerial jobs in Korea. Within the employment situation in the U.S. and Korea, temporary Korean workers and Korean students who completed their degrees in the U.S. were more likely to change their temporary resident status, and more than 80% of status adjusted Korean immigrants came from the sojourners in 2009 (Min, 2013).

These new groups of Koreans bring heterogeneity to the Korean-American community in the U.S. in terms of language, literacy practices, and identity. With this new trend of immigration, few studies showed how Korean parents' residence status, length of residence, affiliation to Korea and/or in the U.S. affect their children's different linguistic and literacy

experiences. In Song's (2010) study, sojourner parents considered English a way to provide an opportunity for global citizenship and emphasized their children's communication skills in English, which are valued in the Korean context. At the same time, they valued the Korean language for their children's ethnic and national identity. In contrast, immigrant parents perceived English as a survival tool and Korean as a secondary language after mastering English. Han (2011) found some differences among short-term sojourners, long-term sojourners, and immigrants with three- to five-year-old children. While short-term sojourners prioritized their children's literacy development in Korean for their return to Korea, long-term sojourners and immigrants focused on Korean oral development to interact with Koreans in order to maintain Korean identity. In particular, immigrant parents focused more on English than Korean. The results of this study have shown that parents want the best for their children in relation to the current and future society in which their children will engage.

However, prior research on Koreans in the U.S. has mainly focused on language issues and compared sojourners who came to the U.S. for their children's English acquisition to immigrants who were born in the U.S. or migrated at an early age. There is still a lack of understanding of how contemporary Korean mothers with diverse immigrant status (e.g., sojourners, status-adjusted immigrants, and immigrants) support their children's language and learning experiences when they start formal schooling. Given the book use of Koreans with young children at home, addressing contemporary Korean mothers' book choices may illustrate their educational expectations, strategies, and concerns. This study may also give educators new insights into supporting the children's language and learning in school and improving parent and school partnerships to support the children.

To examine the book choices of middle-class Korean mothers in the U.S., several theoretical frameworks inform this study. First, the uses and gratification approach was adopted. In this approach, people are viewed as active and self-conscious media users, who choose media to meet their own diverse needs and purposes (Buckingham, 1993; Katz, Blumbler, & Gurevitch, 1974). This approach helped me focus on why Korean mothers use or do not use particular books and what they do with them to meet their educational goals. Second, Bourdieu's sociological theory is used as an analytical tool. According to Bourdieu (1990), the meaning of human activities is given within structured social spaces that he called *fields*. He defined fields as a relational and multidimensional space where people take up positions against others based on how much capital they have. In particular, certain languages are legitimate and have symbolic power within a field and are involved in subordinating other languages (Bourdieu, 1991). The amount of capital and the ability of the legitimate language use can determine an individual's social position. According to Bourdieu (1990), *habitus*, or personal dispositions, can limit possible choices of people within their fields. Drawing on Bourdieu's theory in this study, I explored how the seven middle-class Korean mothers' social and cultural capital and habitus influence their book selections in order to benefit their children's language acquisition and learning in their social fields where particular languages are dominant. Lastly, I used Norton's (1995, 1997) notion of investment in social identity. By using Bourdieu's cultural capital, Norton (1995) coined the term investment in relation to an individual's desire to change his/her social identity. This concept is used to understand what kinds of books the mothers invest in relation to their children's social identity. I provide a more detailed explanation about each of these frameworks in Chapter 2.

Drawing upon theoretical frameworks, I attempt to answer three research questions:

1. In what ways are Korean mothers with different immigrant status in the U.S. similar and different in their book choices?
2. What factors contribute to the mothers' book choices?
    - How do they perceive their children's Korean and English abilities in the U.S. and/or in Korea?
    - How does the mothers' social and cultural capital influence their book choices?

In order to gain insights and a more in-depth understanding of book choices of Korean mothers with different immigration status, I used the following terms to indicate three groups of Koreans in my study, which reflect contemporary Koreans in the U.S.

1.5 generation immigrants. The term refers to immigrants who immigrated in the U.S. as a child or an adolescent with their parents (Hurh, 1990; Rumbaut, 2004). Compared to the first generation, they spend a great portion of their developmental years in the U.S. These 1.5 generation immigrants have been highly involved in both the U.S. and Korean cultures and have fluency in both languages (Hurh, 1990).

Status-adjusted immigrants. This term is used to refer to people who arrived in the U.S. with non-immigrant status (e.g., international students, visiting scholars, temporary workers, and visitors) and change their immigrant status to permanent residents (Min, 2013).

Sojourners. This refers to people who temporarily reside in the U.S. with non-immigrant status and will eventually return to their country of origin (Song, 2010). Due to their temporary nature of residence in a new country, their cultural adjustment and adaptation to the host culture differ from those of immigrants (Sussman, 2002).

Literature Review

Scholars (e.g., Burgess, Hecht, & Lonigan, 2002; Bus, van IJzendoorn, & Pellegrini, 1995; Li, 2006a, 2006b; Reese & Gallimore, 2000; Sonnenschein et al., 1997) have well documented the roles and beliefs of parents with young children because they play an important role in shaping literacy practices at home and influence their children's language and literacy development. In what follows, I review the literature on parents' book selections as well as immigrant parents' beliefs on reading and their reading practices for their children at home.

Parents' Book Selections

Anderson, Anderson, Shapiro, and Lynch (2001) argued that researchers and educators need to learn about what types of books parents choose because they play a crucial role in providing books to their children from birth on. However, surprisingly, until now, limited studies have addressed the picture book choices of parents with young children.

Regarding genres of books, in Dickson, De Temple, Hirschler, and Smith's (1992) study, 25 low-income mothers with three- to four-year-old children read more diverse genres of books to their children than the teachers did at school. Also, they tended to read up to twice as many narratives (fictional stories) than other genres (e.g., fairy/folk tales, nursery rhymes, didactic non-narratives). Interestingly, the mothers with four-year-old children chose more didactic non-narratives that instruct readers on different topics, while the mothers with three-year-old children selected more narratives. Although the mothers did not express their reasons for their book selections in the study, Dickson et al. interpreted that the mothers seemed to challenge their older children intellectually through books. Likewise, Owens (1992) showed that the majority of mothers with first-grade children chose narratives. In addition, his study revealed that the mothers with a higher level of education commonly used more non-fiction books. Although

these studies showed that the mothers with younger children might tend to choose narratives, the researchers did not provide explanations for the mothers' book selections.

Several scholars (Anderson et al., 2001; Dzama & Gilstrap, 1985; Owens, 1992; Reese, 2000) have explored the reasons for parents' book selections. Anderson et al. (2001) asked 24 middle-class parents with four-year-old children to choose their most preferred and least preferred books among 14 selected books including diverse genres (e.g., informational books, narratives, poetry, rhymes) and to explain the reasons for their choices. In their study, the participating parents mainly considered the contents and aesthetics of books and their children's interest in their book selections. The parents matched their children with particular books that would help the children positively engage with the books and build new knowledge on their previous knowledge. Interestingly, they did not often select books for educational purposes, such as counting and alphabet books. Anderson et al. interpreted this finding to mean that the parents understood developmentally appropriate practices for their children rather than emphasizing literacy skills from an early age. In the same vein, in other studies (Dzama & Gilstrap, 1985; Owen, 1992), when parents with children under the second grade chose books, they mainly considered their children's interests and the contents and illustrations of books. Also, the participating parents in Dzama and Gilstrap's study sometimes considered the suggestions of others, for example, librarians, school staff, and friends, in their book selections.

Prior studies have shown that parents think about diverse factors, such as children's interests and age, and contents and illustrations of books in their book selections; the parents' educational level also influences their book choices. These studies showed that parents seemed to select books based on their awareness and beliefs about which books could be beneficial to their children (Anderson et al., 2001). However, most of the studies were conducted several

decades ago and did not fully provide in-depth reasons for the parents' book selections. Also, because these scholars tended to look at predominantly White parents, parents from other cultural and linguistic backgrounds were not considered in the previous studies. Researchers (e.g., Gillanders & Jiménez, 2004; Reese & Gallimore, 2000; Sonnenschein et al., 1997) have shown that based on their beliefs, parents provide reading resources and activities at home that influence their children's literacy development. Parents with other cultural backgrounds may have different beliefs about their children's literacy development and may choose different books. In order to understand the book selections of parents from other countries, I have looked at the previous literature on immigrant parents' beliefs on reading and their reading practices at home.

Immigrant Parental Beliefs on Reading and Reading Practices

In this section, I reviewed the literature addressing how immigrant parents understand reading and what they actually do with reading materials at home. Most scholars (e.g., Caspe, 2009; Li, 2006a, 2006b; Reese & Gallimore, 2000) have explored immigrant family literacy practices including both reading and writing practices. However, my study aims to explore the book selections of middle-class Korean mothers with different immigrant status in the U.S., so I have included only the relevant reading practices from the available prior research.

Previous studies have documented how immigrant parents have different beliefs on reading and utilized reading materials depending on their country of origin. For instance, in Reese and Gallimore's (2000) study, low-income Latino parents whose children were kindergartners believed that reading was something to learn through repeated practice after their children attended school. By doing so, the parents did not tend to consider their children's early experiences with books as real reading. Also, reading aloud was not a common practice in their

homes. However, when they wanted to pass down a moral message, they read books to their children. Both the cultural model of and the purpose for reading were based on the parents' experiences in their countries of origins. Other scholars have revealed that parents from different cultures valued specific reading materials and reading practices: for example, Vietnamese parents valued factual books over fiction (Dien, 2004); Chinese parents tended to emphasize traditional skill-based and school-related readings, such as child independent reading and reciting stories (Li, 2006a); and Latino parents preferred fantasy stories and focused their attention on the illustrations of the books mainly related to their own experiences (Boyce et al., 2004; Caspe, 2009). Throughout the research, scholars argued that the beliefs and reading practices of immigrant parents are different from those of schools. These different practices can act as a barrier between home and school because schools assume that middle-class White practices are normal and have not entirely considered the differences (McCarthey, 2000).

However, some immigrant parents are willing to adopt the new reading practice to their repertories if this is meaningful for their children's success in school (Reese & Gallimore, 2000). For example, researchers (e.g., Delgado-Gaitan, 1991; Gillanders & Jiménez, 2004; Reese & Gallimore, 2000) found that Latino immigrant parents learned and adopted how to read books to their children at home, such as reading aloud, as the teachers requested them to do or they were involved in schools as teachers' aids. Li (2006a) also illustrated that although middle-class Chinese immigrant parents still valued Chinese traditional skill-based reading practices, they adopted reading aloud with their children and provided a variety of readings for pleasure, as a result of the influence of the U.S. mainstream educational values. These studies showed that some immigrant parents modified their reading practices based on their views on what was

worthwhile for their children to learn as they were exposed to the new cultural environment and had a strong desire for their children's success in school (Gillanders & Jiménez, 2004).

Some scholars (e.g., Hsin, 2011, Li, 2006b; Yu, 1999) have explored how immigrant parents view the reading skills in their heritage language and have also examined what reading materials they use and how they provide them to their children. For example, Hsin (2011) explored 13 Vietnamese mothers with four- to six-year-old children in Taiwan. The mothers viewed Vietnamese as their children's potential cultural resources, so they actively acquired storybooks for their children's reading skills in Vietnamese from their family members and friends in Taiwan and Vietnam. On the other hand, Xu (1999) and Li (2006b) showed that different beliefs and reading practices existed among the same ethnic group. In Xu's (1999) study, some of the six Chinese parents with children ranging in age from five to six exposed their children to diverse written Chinese materials, such as calendars, books, restaurant logos, and menus in their everyday lives as their children showed their interest in Chinese. Interestingly, three parents read English books in Chinese in order to foster their children's interest and love of books. Li (2006b) found that three Chinese immigrant parents whose children were in the first and second grade in Canada had different beliefs on their children's Chinese reading development and encouraged their children to engage in different reading resources. The two children's parents, who perceived racial discrimination or felt they were strangers in the Canadian society, invested more time and effort in their children's English development. Also, they believed that learning two languages was ideal. Thus, they helped their children to be more engaged in English reading resources. In contrast, one child's parents who believed their status and the Chinese language and culture were assets in this society supported their child's Chinese reading development. They believed that learning Chinese would help their child's English

development. In doing so, they provided many Chinese reading resources, for example, Chinese books and textbooks. The previous studies have revealed that depending on the parents' beliefs about reading and the pragmatic and symbolic values of their heritage language in the host country, their children had divergent reading experiences in relation to their heritage language.

In summary, previous literature has shown that immigrant parents play an active role in forming reading practices for their children at home by maintaining their cultural beliefs on reading and/or adopting those of the host country. At the same time, their reading beliefs and practices have been influenced by the host society as they have been exposed to the culture. The studies have also revealed that depending on immigrant parents' values and beliefs on heritage language, as a result of their views on their relationship to the host society, they invest differently in their children's reading development in the language. However, little research has explored what beliefs and values parents with different immigrant status have in relation to reading and how they create reading practices for their children at home by using their social and cultural capital for reading materials. Parents with different immigrant status may consider their relationships with the host country differently, and they may have different views on valuable reading materials and practices for their children. Also, as a result of globalization, scholars (e.g., Lam & Warriner, 2012; Waters, 2005; Song, 2010) have shown that people are involved in diverse border-crossing economic activities and strategically learn languages, literacies, and cultures to maintain their social position within and/or across nations. Thus, by investigating the book choices of middle-class contemporary Korean mothers in the U.S., this study attempts to address the gaps in the literature.

Methodology

A Multiple-case Study

This study aimed at understanding how and why seven middle-class Korean mothers chose books for their children. In order to gain an in-depth understanding of the book selections of the mothers with different immigrant status, a multiple case study design was used. A case study usually examines a phenomenon in depth in order to understand it within the context of its daily life (Stake, 1995; Yin, 2003). A multiple-case study enables studying coordinated cases with possibilities for more than a single result and a better understanding of the dynamics and patterns across cases (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998; Yin, 2003). Miles and Huberman (1994) highlighted the strengths of a multiple-case study:

> By looking at a range of similar and contrasting cases, we can understand a single-case finding, grounding it by specifying how and where and, if possible, why it carries on as it does. We can strengthen the precision, the validity, and the stability of the findings. (p. 29)

By using a multiple case study, researchers can examine similarities and differences across cases. As one of my research questions is to see the similarities and differences among the book selections of middle-class Korean mothers with different status, utilizing a multiple case study helped me answer my research question. This was also beneficial to clarify the different factors that weigh on the Korean immigrant mothers' book choices within the same ethnic groups, increase validity, and support the findings.

A qualitative case study requires thick description and multiple data sources of a phenomenon without simplification (Shields, 2007). Stake (1981) argued that unknown relationships and many variables can emerge through the thick description of a case study and

may lead to rethinking the studied phenomenon. In order to create thick descriptions, researchers draw on multiple data sources, such as interviews, observations, archival records, and artifacts. These data sources can enhance data credibility (Patton, 2000) and function as a piece of the puzzle contributing to an understanding of the whole phenomenon (Baxter & Jack, 2008). These elements of the qualitative multiple case study enabled me to investigate the complexity of the book selections of the seven middle-class Korean mothers, as well as deeply understand their beliefs and values in educating their children in the U.S.

Participant Selection Criteria and Recruitment

For this study, I decided to focus on middle-class Korean mothers in the U.S., whose children were four to five years old. Before recruiting participants, I limited some categories for possible participants. First, in order to define *middle-class* for this study, I adopted Lareau's (1987) and Posey's (2012) characteristics of middle-class parents. Lareau and Posey considered middle-class parents as people who are employed in a professional and managerial position and/or have a college degree and who are less likely to change their economic status. Based on these considerations, the following criteria were used for participation in this study: 1) the mothers and/or their spouses are in a professional or managerial position, such as a professor, researcher, or business owner; 2) the mothers and/or their spouses have at least a bachelor's degree in Korea or in the U.S.; and 3) the mothers are not required to work to maintain economic security and they play an important role in their children's education. Also, by reflecting on current Korean immigrants in the U.S., I decided to recruit participants from three groups based on the following criteria: 1) sojourner mothers who temporarily reside in the U.S., but eventually plan to return to Korea; 2) status-adjusted immigrant mothers who came as temporary residents

but plan to remain in the U.S.; and 3) 1.5 generation immigrant mothers who immigrated to the U.S. when they were young or adolescent.

Based on the above criteria, I used purposive sampling (see Patton, 2002). To find potential participants, I sent a recruitment flyer to parents of children aged four to five in a Korean language classroom at a Korean Catholic church in Duluth. I was a teacher in a Korean class and Sunday school in the church. Along with passing out an introduction letter about the study, I asked the priest, the Sunday school director, and my acquaintances who live in this area for assistance in identifying and meeting potential participants. Through this process, I was able to meet with the potential participants and to ask for their consent for interviews, observations, and photographs of information related to their picture book choices.

Research Site and Participants

The participants lived in Georgia, where the population of Koreans was about 60,836 in 2010, but has increased by about 86% since 2000 (Min, 2013). As the number of Koreans has increased in this area, Korean is the third most spoken language behind English and Spanish (Blatt, 2014). Some public middle and high schools in Georgia have provided a Korean language class since 2007 and about 47 Korean language schools have existed in the state (Kim, 2009). In addition, there is a rapidly developing Korea town in Duluth, which is located in a metropolitan area of Georgia. This town has many Korean restaurants, large supermarkets, churches, and afterschool program institutions that assist Koreans in adjusting, building social networks, and educating their children in the U.S.

The focal participants were seven middle-class Korean mothers with four- to five-year-old children. The participants included three sojourner mothers (Jinhee, Sunhwa, and Jungeun), who were currently living in the U.S. with the possibility of returning to Korea; two status-

adjusted immigrant mothers (Miyoung and Yunjeong), who were in the process of becoming permanent residents and had lived in the U.S. for 10 years; and two 1.5 generation immigrant mothers (Emily and Jessica), who had arrived in the U.S. during their early childhood. All of the participants' names and their children's names are pseudonyms based on the language origin of their real names. In other words, when a participant used a Korean name, a Korean pseudonym was used; when a participant used an English name, such as Emily, an English pseudonym was used. Table 1 provides a brief description of the participating mothers.

Table 1

The Participants' Profiles

Immigration status	Name	Year of Arrival	Child(ren)	Occupation	Education	Spoken Language
Sojourners	Jinhee	Migrated in 2010	7-year-old girl (Jihyun) 4-year-old girl (Junghyun) 2-year-old boy (Hanjun)	Stay-at-home mother	B.A. from Korea	Korean
	Sunhwa	Migrated in 2010	5-year-old boy (Seungwoo) 1-year-old boy (Jungwoo)	Stay-at-home mother	B.A from Korea	
	Jungeun	Migrated in 2003	5-year-old boy (Jinwoo/Sam)	Stay-at-home mother	B.A. from Korea	
Status-adjusted immigrants	Miyoung	Immigrated in 2002	7-year-old boy (Jaeho/ David) 5-year-old girl (Haemin) 1-year-old girl (Haesoo)	Part-time college instructor	M.A. from the U.S.	A mixture of Korean and English
	Yunjeong	Immigrated in 2003	5-year-old boy (Taehwan)	Stay-at-home mother	M.A. from the U.S.	
1.5 generation immigrants	Emily	Immigrated in 1980	4-year-old boy (Jiwan/Matthew)	Part-time accountant	B.A. from the U.S.	Mainly Korean with some English
	Jessica	Immigrated in 1990	5-year-old boy (Chris) 3-year-old boy (Daniel)	Part-time Translator	B.A. from the U.S.	English

Jinhee. Jinhee's husband took a postdoctoral position at a university in the U.S. in 2010. In Korea, Jinhee was a teacher in a preschool and taught English in a kindergarten after earning her bachelor's degree. She was the mother of three children: a 7-year-old girl, a 4-year-old girl, and a 2-year-old boy. She lived in an apartment complex located close to the university, so she usually interacted with Korean mothers who were in similar circumstances, such as the wives of postdoctoral scholars or those who attended the same church. Jinhee cared for her son at home, so her only interaction time with Americans was when she went to her daughters' classes or when her elder daughter had a play date with American friends. Although she often volunteered for school activities, Jinhee described herself as lacking English language skills and tended to avoid participating in activities which require speaking English. She usually spoke Korean and read Korean books to her children at home. Also, the children spoke only Korean to each other at home because their father had encouraged them to use Korean at home. Junghyun, her second daughter, who was four years old, attended preschool from 7:30 a.m. to 2 p.m. After school, except for attending ballet class on Mondays, she spent her time playing with her younger brother, watching Korean television programs, drawing, reading Korean books, and practicing to write Korean words until dinner. Before going to bed, Jinhee read Korean books aloud to her second daughter and son.

Sunhwa. Sunhwa came to the U.S. in 2010 because of her husband's postdoctoral position at a university. She, her husband, and their two sons had originally planned to stay in the U.S. for one year, but their residency duration was prolonged. She held an office worker position in a company and was a private reading and writing instructor for young children after obtaining her bachelor's degree in Korea. She was a stay-at-home mother of two sons, a 5-year-old, who attended school, and a 1-year-old, whom she cared for her at home. The elder son was

born in Korea, and the younger son was born in the U.S. She lived in the same apartment complex as Jinhee, another participating mother, and usually interacted with Korean mothers in the same apartment complex. She felt comfortable speaking Korean, so she only talked with Americans when she met at school. Most of the time, she spoke Korean to her children, except when she read books and gave instructions to them for completing worksheets in English. Her elder son, Seungwoo, went to school from 7:30 a.m. to 3 p.m. After school, he ate a snack and did his homework for an hour. He played with his friends or brother, watched PBS children's programming three times a week, or read books in English before dinner. He went to bed around 7:30 p.m., and Sunhwa read books to Seungwoo in Korean until he fell asleep, which was their ritual at bedtime. Seungwoo also went to Korean language school on Saturday with Jinwoo, Jungeun's son.

Jungeun. Jungeun accompanied her husband to the U.S. in 2003 because her husband wanted to pursue a doctoral degree in the U.S. Since the completion of his doctoral degree, her husband had worked as a postdoctoral scholar. She, her husband, and their child had lived in the U.S. for 10 years. Although they did not have any specific plan for returning, she believed that her family would eventually go back to Korea. In Korea, Jungeun received a bachelor's degree and worked as a bank officer, but she was a stay-at-home mother with a 5-year-old boy who was born in the U.S. Jungeun lived in an apartment complex close to a university, about five minutes walking distance, so many international students and Korean sojourners (e.g., visiting scholars, postdoctoral scholars) lived in the same apartment complex. She usually interacted with Koreans who lived in the same apartment complex and who were the parents of her son's friends. Jungeun sometimes talked with Americans, such as her son's teacher and his classmates' parents, and with her classmates and teacher in an ESL class she had been taking since 2010. Her son

had a Korean name, Jinwoo, and an English name, Sam, for school purposes; and she often used both names at home. Jungeun usually spoke Korean to her son at home. Jinwoo attended a kindergarten where there were 23 children, half of whom were from other countries, such as China, Korea, and India. As part of his routine, Jinwoo went to school from 7:30 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. After school, he usually played with his Korean friends who lived in the same apartment complex for one or one-and-a-half hours. He did his work or read books in both Korean and English until dinner, except when he attended swimming lessons on Monday. Before going to bed, Jungeun read books aloud to Jinwoo in Korean. On Saturday, he went to Korean language school from 9 a.m. to 12 p.m.

Miyoung. Miyoung came to the U.S. in 2002 because her husband planned to pursue a Ph.D. degree. While her husband was a doctoral student, she also earned two master's degrees in Arts and Digital Media in the U.S. She and her husband decided to live in the U.S. because there are more job opportunities for her husband, and they had not experienced any difficulties living in the U.S. Miyoung taught several courses three times a week at a community college as a part-time instructor, and she was fluent in English. She lived in a house in an area where her neighbors were all middle-class Americans. However, except for at her workplace, she usually interacted with the Koreans she had met in her Korean church and in her previous apartment complex. She had three children who were born in the U.S.: 7-year-old Jaeho, 5-year-old Haemin, and 1-year-old Haesoo. This study focused on Miyong's picture book choices for Haemin because of her age. After school, Haemin, who was in kindergarten, did her reading homework every day, participated in the Girl Scouts, went to swimming class, and had a piano and math lesson once a week. These activities usually concluded before 6 p.m. In most of her activities, Haemin used English. Tuesday and Thursday were TV days, so the children could

choose whatever programs they wanted. Haemin preferred to watch television programs in English rather than Korean, and Miyoung allowed her to watch television because she thought that watching TV was relaxing for her children. Before bed, Haemin usually read books by herself. Due to the number of children and Haemin's high reading skills, Miyoung let Haemin pick her own reading materials, so she was more exposed to English books. When Miyoung read books in Korean to her youngest daughter Haesoo, Haemin sometimes sat near them and listened to the stories. At home, Miyong used a mixture of two languages, Korean and English, with her children. However, her older children, Jaeho and Haemin, preferred to use English and to talk with each other in English at home. For Haemin's Korean language skills, she did her Korean language school homework on Friday and attended the language school on Saturday.

Yunjeong. Yunjeong came to the U.S. in 2003 because her husband wanted to pursue a Ph.D. degree. After earning a master's degree in the U.S., she became a stay-at-home mother. She lived in a house in an area where a majority of the residents were middle-class Americans. She volunteered for school activities on a regular basis, at least once a week, and actively communicated with the mothers of her son's friends when he had play dates. In this sense, she spent almost half of her time with Americans and the rest of the time with Koreans. She talked with her son, Taehwan, in Korean most of the time, but they often spoke in English with each other. Even though her English was fluent, Yunjeong preferred to read Korean books to her son. In particular, as a bedtime ritual, she read several Korean books before her son fell asleep. Also, in order to help her son learn Korean words, she put some Korean word cards on his wall. As part of his routine, after school, which was from 7:30 a.m. to 3:00 p.m., Taehwan went to sports activities, such as baseball and martial arts, twice a week. The sports activities that Taehwan participated in had no Korean-speaking members. Except for these activities, he spent most of

his time at home doing homework, using the computer, and watching television shows in English.

Emily. Emily was born in Germany, and when she was seven months old in 1980, her family came to the U.S. to follow her father, who was transferred to Florida. Emily's father was a first-generation Korean immigrant and an American soldier. When he was stationed in Germany, he met Emily's mother, who was Korean. In the U.S., Emily attended private schools until high school and graduated from a university in the U.S. Before marriage, she was the only Asian in her schools and work places, so she usually interacted with Americans. She married a Korean, who immigrated to the U.S. to follow his family when he was 17 years old and ran several laundry stores. After marriage, her life changed in terms of personal relationships. She was a stay-at-home mother until her son was three years old. When her son, Jiwan, whose English name was Matthew, was able to go to preschool at four years old, she began to work as an assistant in an accounting office in a Korean community. Because she lived and worked with Koreans, she usually interacted with Koreans. She defined herself as a 1.5 generation Korean immigrant, while she viewed her son as Korean-American. She could communicate in both English and Korean, but she felt more comfortable and was more fluent in speaking English. However, she had conversed with her son in Korean from an early age because she believed that bilingualism was a gift for the children of immigrants. She started to use both Korean and English after her son began to attend preschool and daycare. With regard to reading, she preferred to read books to her son in English because she needed time to read Korean books in advance to understand the contents of the books. Her son went to preschool and daycare until 6 p.m. and participated in afterschool activities, such as Taekwondo and swimming, each weekday until 7 p.m. After dinner, he went to bed at about 9 p.m. Due to their hectic schedules, there was

no specific time for reading.

Jessica. Jessica and her family came to the U.S. when she was 14 years old because her uncle had invited her family for family reunification in 1990. She received a bachelor's degree in the U.S. and married a Korean immigrant who ran a business. Since her marriage, she lived and held a part time job as a translator in a Korean town. Jessica usually kept in touch with her family members and preferred to interact with Americans and Korean immigrants who, like her, had lived in the U.S. for a long time. She had two sons, 5-year-old Chris and 3-year-old Daniel. She was actively involved in her oldest son's school because her English was fluent. In addition, she volunteered to lead some centers twice a week in the school and often communicated with the lead teacher, so she was knowledgeable about the school curriculum and activities. Chris attended a private preschool run by a Korean church and went to a public kindergarten where half of the students were Koreans, so he often interacted with Korean children. However, Chris usually spoke English rather than Korean in his everyday life. Jessica thought that English was more important to Chris because he was a Korean-American who would live in the U.S. As a result, she felt that it was more natural and comfortable to use English at home. She wanted to teach him Korean when he was older, but she believed that her son should learn English and other subjects rather than Korean as a child. As part of his routine, after school, he went to extra-curricular activity classes including chess on Monday, arts on Wednesday, Gabe activities with Froebel Gifts on Thursday, and soccer on Friday. These activities usually finished between 6 p.m. and 7 p.m. After the activities, Chris had dinner and did homework in math, reading, and writing in English until he went to bed. Jessica thought that her son's schedule was hectic, so she tried to make him feel more comfortable and relaxed and allowed him to do what he wanted, such as watching video clips in English, before bedtime.

Data Collection

Interviews. I mainly conducted semi-structured interviews[1] with the seven mothers about their picture book choices. Interviews are necessary in qualitative research to discover how the participants organize their experiences and make sense of their worlds (Hatch, 2002). According to Patton (2002), interviews enable researchers to enter into the participants' points of view and help uncover things they cannot understand through direct observations. In particular, because this study had time limitations in observing participants in their everyday lives, interviewing was the best way to understand the participants and obtain information about their choices. I conducted a total of seven interviews per mother in Korean, once a month from October 2013 to May 2014. In the initial interview, I explained this study to the mothers, asked them to sign a consent form, and requested that they explain their backgrounds and their beliefs on maintaining the Korean language and educational goals. During the interviews, I asked the mothers about their picture book choices, about the reasons for their choices, and about the way they obtained the books (See Appendix B). Follow-up interviews were also conducted in November 2014 as "member-checks" (Maxwell, 2005). Through these interviews, participants were able to see patterns in their picture book selections according to my interpretations as well as to provide additional thoughts for understanding their perspectives (Merriam, 2009). The interviews were mainly conducted in their homes, but some of the meetings took place in libraries, in bookstores, at a coffee shop, or in a Korean-Catholic church classroom where the participants felt comfortable. Approximately 50-80 minutes were spent with each mother per interview. All interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed first in Korean and later selectively translated into English.

[1] See Appendix A for summary of corpus of data

Observation. According to Merriam (2009), observation is commonly used in qualitative research to gain insight into and understanding of the perspectives of those who are being observed, to comprehend the motivations that make participants act, and to determine what the actions of the participants mean. Also, she notes that observations can be used in conjunction with and to supplement the interviews to substantiate findings. In this sense, for *triangulation* purposes (Denzin, 1978), I observed each mother's book selections at least three times in their homes, during trips to their local libraries, and/or in bookstores with and without their children. Each observation took about 15-20 minutes. I noted the factors, such as genres, styles, and contents, which influenced their picture book choices; the ways that they obtained information about books; and when and where they bought and borrowed these books. After each observation, I wrote expanded field notes by thoroughly revisiting my abbreviated field notes. When I expanded the field notes, I kept reflexive journals to record my reactions, ideas, questions, and thoughts.

Documents. I also collected a variety of documents for "a confluence of evidence that breeds credibility" (Eisner, 1991, p. 110). Information included in such documents can elicit questions that need to be asked as a part of the research (Bowen, 2009) and can be a way for researchers to find meaning, to facilitate understanding, and to gain insights about research problems (Merriam, 2009). In this study, although I observed mothers' typical book choices in most instances, I could not capture all the possible situations. Thus, I documented everything that could help me understand the kinds of books the mothers actually chose and the factors influencing their choices. Whenever I met the mothers in their homes, I documented resources related to their book selections, including school brochures, recommended lists of books, photographs of their bookshelves, and the covers of the books and e-books (if participants used

e-books) that they read to their children. In addition, I asked the mothers to provide titles or to take pictures of the covers of the books that they read with their children at least twice a month. This helped me capture more complete lists of the books chosen by the mothers.

The Role of Researcher

Throughout the data collection period, I drew on my position as an insider and an outsider. Like the mothers, I am originally from South Korea and live in the same state where a large Korean community exists. As an international doctoral student, I experienced what it is like to live in another country with a Korean cultural background. The mothers or their husbands and I shared some similar experiences when we started living in the U.S. I also have a niece who experienced difficulty adjusting to a new preschool in Canada, and her age is similar to these mothers' children. In addition, I worked as a kindergarten teacher in Korea and as a Korean language teacher in the U.S. These positions allowed me to work with many Korean parents and to recognize their difficulties in supporting their children in the U.S. These experiences provided me with background knowledge for understanding their educational thoughts and decision-making in books within Korean and/or U.S. contexts. This also made the mothers feel comfortable sharing their experiences with me, and sometimes they asked for my advice about their children's education and information about school.

While I received benefits from sharing the same culture and similar experiences with my study participants, there was a possibility that I would take something for granted or make exaggerated interpretations of the mothers' book choices without deeper consideration due to my insider's familiarity (Mercer, 2007). I consciously looked at the data several times to check whether I had assumed that I understood their situations based on my previous knowledge. Also, my outsider position as an international student, an early childhood educator, and a single

woman made me question the reasons for their book selections. Likewise, the mothers were aware that my position that was not exactly the same as theirs, so they provided me with more detailed descriptions of the reasons for and processes involved in their book selections.

I tried to minimize the effects of my presence during the data collection. Specifically, during the interviews, the mothers seemed to worry whether I judged what they were saying, because they viewed me as an expert in early childhood education. In addition, during the observations of the mothers' book selections at home, public libraries, and/or bookstores, some of them asked my opinion and wanted to check to see if their selections were good. In order to resolve their concerns, when I listened to the mothers, I assured them that I sought their opinions about educating their children and informed them that I wanted to observe their usual book selections. I let them narrate their own stories rather than simply answer my questions. This enabled the mothers to present "culturally specific images of self as well as the ways in which those are conveyed and evaluated" (Miller et al., 1990, p. 295). Also, I tried not to interrupt their book selections by keeping a certain distance from the mothers when I observed them and asked their reasons after they completed their book selections.

Other challenging moments occurred when some of the mothers sometimes asked me to share how the other mothers chose books for their children, because they wanted to check whether they fully supported their children as compared to others. I assured them that the purpose of this study was not to check whether their selections were good, but to show how each mother's choice could be different or similar depending on the situations. In the last interview, I shared other mothers' selections with their detailed contexts, such as children's needs and school and their returning to Korea. This seemed to address the mothers' curiosity and concerns about whether their support for their children's education was legitimate.

Data Analysis

Because qualitative research is not linear (Merriam, 2009), I analyzed interviews, observations, and documents while collecting data. In order to analyze the multiple genres of data, I used multilayered analytical approaches: First, I used document analysis (Bowen, 2009) for the books that the mothers actually chose and read in order to verify the findings and to see the patterns among their selections. I organized the information of the books into categories in terms of genre, characters' race and social class, and language, which are discussed in Chapter 3[2]. Next, I re-read and reviewed the data to uncover themes in the books that an individual mother or several mothers commonly preferred to read. Through this process, for example, I found that mothers usually read the books with middle-class White and/or Asian characters. The findings were used to generate new interview questions for the mothers.

I also adopted the constant comparative method (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) to find commonalities and differences in the data within the three groups and across the seven mothers. The constant comparative method, as developed in grounded theory, is an inductive method of analysis to classify data. However, according to Fram (2013), the constant comparative method does not need to be linked specifically to grounded theory but can be adapted and used according to the researcher's inquiry. Because the data were collected over eight months, this method was also useful to compare data from the same mother at different times (Charmaz, 2006).

In order to facilitate the coding process, I used the ATLAS. ti 7 software program. After importing the data from interviews, field notes, and document analysis into the program, I reread the data to see the big picture and to have a sense of direction for analysis. First, I conducted open coding. In the process of open coding, I labeled each incident in each mother's data with an appropriate code to conceptualize the incidents, using title words or phrases mentioned in the

[2] The more detailed analysis is provided in the Chapter 3.

interviews and field notes, and grouped those concepts together into categories (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). After completing the coding for each mother's case, I made an index to effectively locate coded data within each case and created case summaries in order to find themes across the mothers. I sought connections among categories (axial coding) to hypothesize about patterns and types. In this process, because this study is a multiple-case study, I conducted different levels of analysis: I compared each mother with the other mother(s) within a group and analyzed across groups (cross-case analysis) to determine both the uniqueness and similarities of the choices of the mothers. Through the analysis, the emerging themes related to the research questions allowed me to develop a more sophisticated description of their book selections.

Organization of this Dissertation

This study aims to explore how the seven middle-class Korean mothers with different immigrant status selected Korean and/or English books for their children's language development and learning, while they navigated and advocated for their children's positions in the U.S. and/or in Korea. Through this study, I hope that readers will consider the diverse issues of the Korean mothers in the U.S. and deem their issues as pertinent to the educational field, rather than relegating them to the personal aspirations of families from other countries, disconnected from and irrelevant to their children's experiences in school.

This dissertation consists of six chapters: Chapter 2 explains the theoretical frameworks, such as uses and gratifications theory, Bourdieu's sociological theory, and Norton's notion of investment. Chapter 3 investigates what books the seven middle-class Korean mothers considered valuable for their children. This chapter mainly focuses on the languages, genres, and main characters' race and social class of the books chosen by the mothers in order to understand what values they transmit to their children. Chapter 4 explores the factors

influencing the mothers' preferences for Korean and/or English books. This chapter specifically pays attention to how their beliefs and values on languages influenced their choice of language(s) in books in relation to their own ideologies about language and their actual language use. I also describe how the mothers utilized their social and cultural capital to access Korean and/or English books. Chapter 5 examines the reasons why the mothers use e-books and what aspects of e-books fulfill their needs for their children's English acquisition and learning. Overall, Chapters 3, 4, and 5 discuss the seven middle-class Korean mothers' beliefs and values reflected in their book selections. In the epilogue, I share the reasons why the mothers chose certain books to donate to the schools and I close with a summary and discussions of this dissertation as well as some implications for future research.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS FOR UNDERSTANDING KOREAN TRANSNATIONAL AND IMMIGRANT MOTHERS' BOOK CHOICES

The purpose of this chapter is to explain and to discuss the theoretical frameworks that undergird this study. In order to explore the book choices of the seven middle-class Korean mothers in the U.S., I used several theoretical frameworks: (1) uses and gratifications theory; (2) Bourdieu's concepts of field, habitus, and capital, and the legitimate language; and (3) Norton's idea of investment. Each framework helped me understand the mothers' book selections that took into account their conscious choices; at the same time, they assisted me in viewing their book selections in relation to societies that are unequally structured.

Uses and Gratifications Theory

The uses and gratifications approach began with a more functionalist perspective on media use in the 1940s (Ruggiero, 2000). This approach is grounded in traditional mass media, for example, TV, radio, books, and newspapers, in order to understand people's media use. By focusing on individuals' media use, this approach shifted from viewing people as passive and powerless victims of all media effects to viewing them as active, self-conscious, and goal-directed in their media use.

According to this approach, people purposely choose certain media to fulfill their diverse needs (Buckingham, 1993; Katz, Blumbler, & Gurevitch, 1974; McQuail, 1994). This approach assumes that people are active media users; they are sufficiently aware of and report their

interests and motives about their use of media. By doing so, methodologically, scholars rely on people's responses in order to understand their media use (Katz et al., 1974). Another assumption is that people have diverse needs and some media compete with other forms of media (e.g., radio vs. television, books vs. e-books, online news vs. traditional news media) to satisfy the individuals' specific needs (Mondi, Woods, & Rafi, 2008). Based on these assumptions, researchers have addressed the questions of why people use particular media and what they do with the media with the uses and gratifications approach.

In early research on the uses and gratifications approach, scholars focused on identifying the types of motives for media consumption, such as enjoyment (e.g., fun, entertaining, boredom-relieving), relaxation, information seeking, and escape from reality (Katz & Foulkes, 1962; Klapper, 1963; Mendelsohn, 1964). However, these early studies have been criticized in that scholars considered people in isolation and did not include their socio-cultural backgrounds. In a study of social integration and media use, Johnstone (1974) argued, "Members of mass audience do not experience the media as anonymous and isolated individuals, but rather as members of organized social groups and as participants in a cultural milieu" (p. 35). The majority of researchers (e.g., Blumler, 1979; Katz et al., 1974; McQuail, 1983; Resengren, 1974) shared Johnstone's view. They asserted that people use media in relation to (1) normative values, (e.g., sex, life-cycle position, social roles); (2) communication with other social members; (3) social integration; (4) compensation for lack of social opportunities (e.g., lack of friends, lack of opportunities for leisure); and (5) escape from realities (Palmgreen, 2012). In this line of research, scholars considered the needs of people in relation to their social and psychological origins and insisted that people use media to complement or substitute for aspects of their environment with which they are not satisfied (Papacharissi, 2008).

Recently, as new media have appeared, scholars (e.g., Dimmick, Kline, & Stafford, 2000; Papacharissi & Rubin, 2000; Shin, 2011) have expanded their scope to apply this approach to account for people's use of newer media, including Internet, mobile phones, email, and e-books. However, people seek a new medium as an alternative tool when an old medium cannot satisfy their needs (Lin & Jeffres, 1998) or as a supplement of the old medium in that the newer medium provides more effectiveness (Jung, Chan-Olmsted, Park, & Kim, 2011). Despite the different uses of this theory with different media, the common frame of analysis in the uses and gratifications theory focuses on motivations, variables influencing motivations, and consequences of media use (Papacharissi, 2008).

The uses and gratifications approach draws attentions to the motivations of people's specific media use. This approach suggests that people are active users of media in order to satisfy their specific gratifications and they are able to recognize their reasons for making media choices. In this sense, this approach helped me see that the seven middle-class Korean mothers in the U.S. actively and purposely chose books for their children. Also, framed by the ideas that focus on people's motivations, this approach inspired me to explore specific reasons why the Korean mothers use particular types of books or e-books and what they do with them.

According to scholars (e.g., Jewkes, 2002; Papacharissi, 2008; Sieter, 2007), this approach can be incorporated with other perspectives because particular uses of media can be linked to the acquisition of cultural capital and the negotiation of identity and power. In the same vein, in *Distinction*, Bourdieu (1984) showed that people's taste in books is different depending on their social class. The important argument in the book was that people with different social class distinguish themselves from others according to their taste preferences. Also, Bourdieu (1990) viewed that choices are considered and restrained as probable based on

the perceptions of what is most appropriate within an individual's and family's history and the history of those who share the same social class. Bourdieu's perspective on book taste and choice helped me conceptualize the book selections of these Korean mothers in relation to their social class position. In what follows, I explain Bourdieu's theory and discuss how his theory helped in understanding how complex factors influenced the mothers' book selections in educating their children within their social fields.

Bourdieu's Sociological Theory

Bourdieu (1977, 1986/2002, 1990, 1991) viewed that the social world consists of diverse stratified fields with their own institutional logic. In these fields, different exchange rates occur for the different types of capital, and agents are engaged in struggles for their social advantage. Because he considered that power is dispersed in everyday practices of society and people are constrained by these practices, his notions of *fields*, *habitus*, *capital,* and *legitimate language* help in understanding power and its mode of operation in the mothers' book selections.

Field, Habitus, and Capital.

Bourdieu (1990; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) asserted that human activities are understood and given meaning within structured social spaces, which he refers to as *fields*. Fields are defined as

> a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation (*situs*) in the structure of distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective

> relation to other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc.). (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 97)

Bourdieu described fields as objectively defined, relational, and multidimensional spaces where operate based on the specific rules and determine people's positions and relations among the positions. Due to the unequal distribution of resources, a field is a space in which people struggle to take a position against others. A field is often analogized with a card game to explain how the field functions. In a card game, rules are objectively regulated and players participate in the game to compete with each other in order to win. Players may win or lose according to what cards they have, which are valued in the game. However, unlike in a game, people are not conscious of the rules of the field, but they strategically compete against each other for positions, resources, and opportunities (Compton-Lilly, 2014). According to Bourdieu (1990), winning the game is easier if "one is born into the game" (p. 67) and has embodied ways of being and if he/she possesses and accumulates various forms of capital valued in the field.

Embodied ways of being can be explained by habitus. Bourdieu (1990) described *habitus* as "a system of lasting transposable dispositions to a certain practice" (p. 54) and "embodied history, internalized as a second nature and so forgotten as history–is the active presence of the whole past of which it is the product" (p. 56). Habitus initially constructed in early childhood is generally durable and transposable in that it functions across diverse contexts, situations, and time (Compton-Lilly, 2014). Habitus is a structure of dispositions in which people tend to act in certain ways in a certain environment as a result of past experiences and social training in the course of everyday activity. Although an individual's behavior cannot be explained by only habitus, it is "an infinite capacity for generating products—thoughts, perceptions, expressions, and actions—whose limits are set by the historically and socially situated conditions of its

production" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 55). That is, habitus reflects an individual's understanding of what is possible or not within their social world. Thus, the concept of habitus explains what people take for granted of how the world works and how they understand and enact certain social conventions and rules in unconscious ways.

In addition, people struggle within fields that are competitive and that involve unequal distribution of capital; individuals' positions are determined in relation to the amount of capital that they have, and a particular capital has value only in relation to the ideological dynamics and the rule of practice of a field (Bourdieu, 1990). That is, amounts and types of capital valued in a field that individuals possess influence their success and struggles within the field. Bourdieu (1986/2002) characterized three forms of capital: *economic, cultural*, and *social capital*.

Economic capital is "immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights" (Bourdieu, 1986/2002, p. 281). That is, it consists of material goods that can quantify financial value, such as money, property, and resources. According to Bourdieu (1986/2002), economic capital is the root of social and cultural capital. In addition, all diverse forms of capital are related to each other. Although it takes time for one to transform into another, eventually, the other forms of capital—social and cultural capital— are potentially conducive to economic capital. Therefore, all forms of capital are involved in producing and reproducing themselves or expanding profits.

Another type of capital is *social capital*, "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition—in other words, to membership in a group" (Bourdieu, 1986/2002, p. 286). Bourdieu (1986/2002) explained that social capital is related to the resources that individuals can gain through personal networks, such as membership in a

family, an ethnic community, elite clubs, or other solidarity groups. Through social networks, individuals can have access to economic resources (e.g., investment tips, job opportunities) and increase cultural capital (e.g., knowledge, skills) and, thus, secure material and symbolic profit. According to Portes (1998), Bourdieu treated social capital as instrumental in relation to its benefits to individuals and creation of resources through their networks. In this sense, Bourdieu focused on the amount and quality of resources through social capital, which determines individuals' benefits. That is, the different social capital of individuals may lead to their different academic performances and later job opportunities. In addition, social capital makes it possible for individuals to have access to the resources that are possessed by other members, not by themselves. Drawing on this idea, some studies (e.g., Kim, 2002; Lew, 2006; Shin, 2009; Wang, 2008) revealed that for immigrants, social capital functions as compensation for their other limited forms of capital; as a result, it leads to a higher level of academic success for some immigrant children.

Bourdieu (1986/2002) identified three forms of cultural capital: *embodied, objectified,* and *institutional cultural capital. Embodied cultural capital* means "the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body" (p. 282). This consists of skills, knowledge, practices, and dispositions, which individuals gradually gain by exposure to the environment for a long period of time. *Objectified cultural capital* refers to material objects because usage of objects is related to a certain amount of embodied cultural capital. This objectified cultural capital includes books, dictionaries, and machines. This Lastly, *institutional cultural capital* means qualifications, certifications, or credentials that are given to individuals by authorized institutions (e.g., school, college). This type of capital provides legal guarantees for the holder in the labor market and

thus, it has marketable value. Examples are diplomas, transcripts, and standardized test scores that show as evidence of education.

Cultural capital is mainly related to "linguistic and cultural competence" and "relationships of familiarity of culture which can only be produced by family upbringing when it transmits the dominant culture" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 494). In other words, cultural capital is connected to familiarity with the dominant culture (Sullivan, 2002). Familiarity with the dominant culture is important in providing advantages to students in the educational system (Bourdieu & Passeron; 1977). People in the dominant culture legitimate their culture through educational systems:

> it [education] is in fact one of the most effective means of perpetuating the existing social pattern, as it both provides an apparent justification for social inequalities and gives recognition to the culture heritage, that is, to a social gift treated as a natural one. (Bourdieu, 1974, p. 32)

From Bourdieu's perspective, cultural capital enables students to gain higher educational credentials. In relation to Bourdieu's cultural capital and education, scholars (e.g., Chao, 2013; Lareau & Harvot, 1999; Lareau, 2003; Reay, 1998) have explored how parental cultural capital influenced their children's learning. Despite some differences in the definition of parental cultural capital (see Lareau & Weininger, 2003), they showed that middle-class parents' cultural capital (e.g., educational knowledge, language abilities, ability to compensate for perceived deficits in children's schooling) provide their children with benefits that help them become familiar with the educational system and become successful in school.

Working from Bourdieu's notions of field and capital, this dissertation study explored how the seven middle-class Korean mothers in the U.S. utilized their social and cultural capital

to achieve their educational goals in the U.S. and/or in Korea. Also, Bourdieu's notion of habitus facilitated the understanding of their dispositions in their book selections, which developed from their social positioning and experiences within Korea and/or the U.S.

Legitimate Language

Bourdieu (1991) criticized scholars, such as Comte, Saussure, and Chomsky, who approached language within an objective and universal domain. He did not accept Comte's "inner treasure" (p. 43)—the sum of individual treasure imprinted in the brain, which is accumulated by the practices of a community with a common language. Bourdieu insisted that Comte's argument provided an example of the illusions of linguistic homogeneity. Along the same lines, he also criticized Saussure's perspective of language as an object of study and Chomsky's view of linguistics with an "ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogenous speech-community, who knows its language perfectly" (p. 44). Bourdieu insisted that these scholars had proposed a homogenous language and speech that all members of society shared and to which all members were equally and freely exposed. He further argued that the scholars failed to consider the acquisition of a particular language within social, historical, and political conditions in which the language was established as dominant and legitimate.

According to Bourdieu (1991), a particular language and a set of linguistic practices have been dominant and legitimate and have provided benefits to a certain group of people through a complex historical process. As an example, he showed that the French Revolutionary policy of linguistic unification made the members of the bourgeoisie gain benefits by adapting their language as an official language. In relation to the power obtained in linguistic markets, which are defined as social domains, Bourdieu argued, "the more formal the market is, the more practically congruent with the norms of the legitimate language, the more it is dominated by the

dominant" (p. 69). That is, in the linguistic market, social expectations are higher that the legitimate language will be used, and people who can use that language are preferred. In addition, the legitimate language contributes to devaluing other forms of languages.

> In order for one mode of expression among others (a particular language in the case of bilingualism, a particular use of language in the case of a society divided into classes) to impose itself as the only legitimate one, the linguistic market has to be unified and the different dialects (of class, region or ethnic group) have to be measured practically against the legitimate language or usage. (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 45)

The legitimate language in the name of normalization is involved in the elimination and subordination of other languages and deviations from the language. For example, the English-only policy in the U.S. creates and maintains a unified linguistic market in which Standard English is recognized as legitimate and appropriate in official settings. Thus, Standard English has been viewed as providing economic and social power in the U.S., while other languages and deviations from Standard English are seen as having less social value (see Collins, 1991; Obgu, 1995). From Bourdieu's (1991) point of view, institutions play an important role in the reproduction of the legitimate language by imposing recognition of the language. In particular, schools play a crucial role in the reproduction in that school pedagogy not only represents the dominant language, but also tries to correct language variations. Additionally, the legitimate language accompanies the unification of cultural production and circulation, such as dictionaries and grammar books.

While the legitimate language suppresses variations of language, it also results in hierarchical relationships between people using that language and people using other languages. Bourdieu (1977) focused on the relationships between speakers. According to him, when people

speak, they expect to be understood, believed, and respected. However, the speech of some speakers is accepted, while that of others is not because the legitimate language has authority in a society and imposes the authority of the speaker who can use the legitimate language. In other words, the legitimate language is considered a speaker's competence—"the capacity to command a listener" and "right to speech" (p. 648). Bourdieu further explained that the competence of speakers is related not only to the mastery of the usage of language, but also to the mastery of situations in which the language is socially acceptable. Therefore, a person who does not master the legitimate language and the social context may not feel competent and secure in speaking and cannot be viewed as a "legitimate speaker" (p. 650) in the context.

Furthermore, the distinction of people involves "concealing the function of division beneath the function of communication" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 167). People in subcultural groups may unconsciously and uncritically accept the distinctions created by the legitimate language. They do this because they misrecognize symbolic power, which is defined as "invisible power which can be exercised only with the complicity of those who do not want to know that they are subject to it, or even that they themselves exercise it" (p. 164). The complicity is the heart of people's practice (Hanks, 2005). In particular, people who believe that the legitimate language brings them to social mobility tend to employ more self-supervision and corrections and to use the most recondite forms (Bourdieu, 1977). Therefore, they can be involved in self-production and reproduction of the legitimate language.

By using Bourdieu's notion of legitimate language, in this dissertation study, I attempted to illuminate what particular language is considered legitimate and how this language is related to the social positions in the Korean mothers' social fields. Also, I wanted to look at how the legitimate language practices corresponded to the mothers' values and expectations of their

children's language and literacy acquisition. Lastly, I explored how the mothers' values and expectations influenced their book choices.

Norton's Notion of Investment

As an extension of the uses and gratifications theory and Bourdieu's theory, I draw upon Norton's idea of investment for my study. Norton Peirce[3] (1995) coined the notion of investment of individuals in second language learning in relation to their social identity. Norton argued that the dominant view on individuals in the second language acquisition research was fixed, unitary, and ahistorical. She also argued that the scholars with this dominant perspective had not fully considered individuals in their learning contexts; that is, they failed to consider learners as having a complex social identity in relation to unequal social structures that are reproduced in everyday life social interactions.

Norton (1997) defined social identity as "how people understand their relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how people understand their possibilities for the future" (p. 410). She characterized social identity as multiple, dynamic, and even contradictory because it is produced within a variety of social sites which are structured by relations of power and where people take up different social positions. For example, when an individual has diverse social positions, such as teacher, mother, and critic, her social identity is different at home, in the workplace, and in the community and can be contradictory to each other. Although she stated that she adopted Bourdieu's (1977) idea about identity and symbolic power, she emphasized that her perspective on human agency is greater than that of Bourdieu. In this manner, she argued, "the subject is not conceived of as passive; he/she is conceived of as both subject of and subject to relations of power within a particular site, community, and society:

[3] Norton used her last name Peirce on her work published in 1995 and then changed her name to Norton after 1997. In subsequent citations, I use only Norton when I indicate her work.

The subject has human agency" (Norton, 1995, p. 15).

Norton's (1995) perspective on human agency is consistent with that of the uses and gratifications theory. Both Norton and other scholars who espouse the uses and gratifications approach view that people are not passive but rather active beings. From the uses and gratifications approach, people seek particular media to satisfy their needs. In the same vein, Norton (1997) insisted that social identity is relevant to people's desire –"the desire for recognition, the desire for affiliation, and the desire for security and safety" (p. 408). When people do not fulfill their desires, they may seek to construct a social identity that can enable them to gain legitimacy in a society in which they are engaged. From this point of view, she considered that social identity is changeable. Her view on social identity helped me see the mothers as active agents in their book selections in relation to shaping their children's social identity, but at the same time, they are influenced by the existing power in the U.S. society.

In particular, Norton (1995) perceived that language is crucial in relation to constructing social identity. Through language, people negotiate who they are within and across different sites at different times and they gain or are denied access to social networks that allow them to be a social member. Thus, people's desire of language learning is understood within the socially and historically constructed relationship between learners and language (Norton, 1997). By utilizing Bourdieu's (1977) idea of cultural capital, Norton explained the investment in second language learning as follows:

> 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. As the value of their cultural capital increases, so learners' sense of themselves and their desire for the future are reassured. (Norton & Toohey,

2002, p. 122)

By using investment, Norton argued that people learn and practice a second language by expecting that they would have a good return on access to inaccessible resources that make it possible for them to change their social identity. Thus, an investment in learning a language is related to their investment in social identity. Although Norton used the idea of investment related to learning a second language, I wanted to expand her notion into learning in general because investment in learning can be a way to invest in social identity. By drawing upon Norton's investment, I explore what the seven Korean mothers in the U.S. did for their children's language learning and what particular genres of books the mothers selected in relation to their children's learning (Chapters 3 and 5). By doing so, I expect to understand how the mothers perceived their children's social identity and what they did to change it for their children's current and future lives.

Conclusion

For this dissertation study, I have drawn upon several theoretical frameworks. These frameworks allowed me to see the mothers as active individuals as well as human beings influenced by society. Specifically, the uses and gratifications theory helped me understand that the seven middle-class mothers in the U.S. recognized their children's educational needs and then actively selected and utilized books for this purpose. With Bourdieu's notions of field, I viewed the mothers' book selections as a result of a struggle to support their children to perform well in school and to attain a particular position within and across nations (Korea and the U.S.). Also, Bourdieu's notions of habitus and capital provided me with an analytical tool to examine how the mothers' capital and habitus enhanced or restrained their book selections. Bourdieu's idea of legitimate language (here Standard English) aided me in exploring how the mothers

perceived an ideal model of spoken English and how their perception of Standard English influenced their book selections. Lastly, Norton's concept of investment helped me reconcile the uses and gratifications theory with Bourdieu's ideas and understand the mothers' efforts in book purchases as an investment in their children's social identity.

CHAPTER 3

WHAT BOOKS DO THE MOTHERS CONSIDER VALUABLE TO THEIR CHILDREN?

> "Stories do matter to children. They influence the ways in which children think about themselves and their place in the world as well as the ways in which they think about other cultural perspectives and peoples."
>
> - Fox and Short in *Stories Matter*

On the cover of Fox and Short's (2003) book, illustrated by Susan Guevara, an old woman is reading a book to a little girl sitting beside her on a small sofa. The little girl is looking at the book and seems to be paying attention to the story. Some ancient Aztec symbols—representations of culture—surround the old woman and girl. This illustration presents that an adult who is the influential one in the child's life passes down values and norms to the child through books. Fox and Short argued that through the value-laden books children can see the world around them and construct their own views of self and the world. Also, children can shape their views on others reflected in the books. That is, books can help young children develop their identities and see others in relation to the world in which they live. From this perspective, I wondered how the seven middle-class Korean immigrant mothers in this study wanted their children to see themselves, others, and society through books.

Scholars (e.g., Bourdieu, 1984; Kraaykamp & Dijkstra, 1999) have shown that people's preferences for certain types of books are related to social class in that each genre with its

specific characteristics has different social value. For example, in Bourdieu's (1984) study, the upper class preferred more complex and prestigious genres, such as poetry or books written by modern authors, while the working class preferred to read love stories and thrillers. People tend to choose books that reflect their own social position and/or that of others close to them. Also, Norton (1997) argued that if individuals invest time and effort in learning[4], they do so with the understanding that they will acquire social identity, "the relationship between the individual and the larger social world" (p. 420). Because parents choose material goods with the desire to provide social opportunities to their children (Schor, 1993) and books are an important tool for their children's learning, parents' book selections can be viewed as their investment for their children's social identity.

In this chapter, I focus on what books the seven Korean mothers in the U.S. chose for their children and why they chose those particular books. For a deeper understanding of these mothers' book choices, I draw upon the uses and gratifications theory, Norton's (1995,1997) social identity and investment, and Bourdieu's (1984, 1986, 1990) habitus.[5] Based on these frameworks, this study attempts to answer the following three research questions: In what ways are Korean mothers with different immigrant status in the U.S. similar to and different from each other in their book choices? What factors contribute to the mothers' book choices? What do the mothers want their children to achieve through books?

Data Collection and Analysis

This chapter focuses on examining the books that the seven mothers chose. I gathered photos of their home bookshelves at the beginning and the end of data collection. Photos of the covers of the books that they read to their children were also collected at least every other week.

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[4] In Norton's study, she was referring to language learning. For this study, I extended her language learning to learning in general.

[5] See the detailed discussion about each theoretical framework in Chapter 2.

In addition, when I visited their homes, I recorded the books that they showed to me as their book selections. After each meeting, I classified and counted the books according to genre and the characters' race and social class. I recognize that social class, gender, and race are intertwined with each other. However, I decided not to address gender issues in this dissertation because only two of the seven mothers had daughters and they tended to select books that they could share with older or younger brothers. Thus, most of the books that they chose were targeted to both girls and boys. For this reason, I focused only on race and social class depicted in each book.

To understand the mothers' book selections by genre, based on Galda and Cullinan's (2002) definition of children's literature, I classified the books into five genres: 1) biography, an account of an actual person's life; 2) informational books (nonfiction), designed to provide information; 3) folklore, a traditional story passed down from generation to generation; 4) fantasy, including one or more imaginary elements, such as magical power or imaginary events; and 5) realistic fiction, an illusion of a story in which events could happen in the contemporary world. I counted books written Korean or English, which the mothers purchased and selected for their children. Also, I classified Korean books separately because I wanted to see how the seven mothers used them to shape their children's national and ethnic identity.

To see the mothers' book choices in relation to race, I only focused on the main characters of the books that the mothers shared with me rather than including all of the books on their bookshelves. This decision was based on the fact that the three sojourner mothers (Jinhee, Sunhwa, and Jungeun) and the two status-adjusted immigrant mothers (Yunjeong and Miyoung) tended to purchase sets of Korean books, consisting of more than 30 books, selected by

publishers based on genres or topics. I think the books in a set did not necessarily reflect the mothers' preference in terms of race and social class.

To understand the mothers' book selections in relation to social class, I checked if the books that the mothers shared with me included stories about working-class people. Considering that all participating mothers were from the middle class, I wanted to see whether they read books depicting people from a different social class. After classifying the books, I developed interview questions to understand the reasons for the mothers' book choices.

I interviewed each mother and asked her reason for choosing the specific genres. I also showed the book cover photos and asked each mother whether the books addressed people from different race and social class because my view could be different from that of each mother. For example, when I asked one mother if race was a factor in choosing the *Magic School Bus*, she responded no. Like this case, when a mother did not consider a race or a class different than their own to be the reason for their book selection, I did not count that book. All interview transcripts were analyzed in order to explore what factors influenced the mothers' book choices in relation to genre, race, and social class.

The Mothers' Book Choices: Shaping Their Children's Cultural and Social Identity and Reflecting Their Middle-Class Values

In each mother's home were bookshelves for children's books in their living room and/or the children's room. On the bookshelves were various genres of books, such as biography, folklore, fiction, and informational books in both Korean and English. Not only did the mothers purchase books, but they also checked out books from libraries at least every other week. They wanted their children to be exposed to many books and explained their reason why they chose books for their children,

Emily (a 1.5 immigrant mother): "The purpose of reading is for fun. I want Jiwan [her son] to enjoy reading . . . because he can learn many things when he reads books. He can learn about social relationships and gain knowledge. This will help him to know how to live with others and be smart, so he will have a better life in the future" (Interview, 2/23/2014).

Miyoung (a status-adjusted immigrant): "For leisure, I read books to my children because there are lots of interesting pictures and stories in books. If children like reading, they will be curious and acquire information and knowledge. (Interview, 9/30/2013).

Jinhee (a sojourner): "I read books to Junghyun [her daughter] for fun. I think that reading is important for Junhyun's life. If she enjoys reading, she will have good reading habits. I believe that people who read many books can succeed in society. Based on my experiences, if people read a lot, most of them can usually speak well and continue to study well in the long run" (Interview, 11/7/2013).

As shown in the above interview excerpts, theses mothers read books to their children for entertainment. The mothers believed that reading books would ultimately help their children gain knowledge and achieve a better life. In order to help their children enjoy reading, they tried to expose their children to many books by reading to them, purchasing books, visiting libraries or bookstores, and attending book fairs in school on a regular basis. When I asked the mothers how they chose books, for example, Jessica, Yunjeong, and Sunhwa replied,

Jessica (a 1.5 generation immigrant): I pick up the books in which Chris [her son] shows interest. Or I consider books that fit into his age and are popular, such as the *Curious George* series and *Clifford the Big Red Dog*. These days, I try to read

books that have scientific information for him. (Interview, 12/8/2013)

Yunjeong (a status-adjusted immigrant): When I select books, I consider Taehwan [her son]'s age. And then I decide what topics fit into his interest. Because he is energetic, I prefer a dynamic story line: for example, books including monsters or trucks. Also, recently, I have been looking at the topics that Taehwan shows an interest in on that day or I think that it is important for him. For example, if we pick apples, I show books about apples to reflect what he has done or if he does not want to share toys with others, I choose books about sharing. (Interview, 10/15/2013).

Sunhwa (a sojourner mother): I think that because Seungwoo [her son] is interested in books, he reads them. I consider his interests . . . And I prefer to read Korean books because Korean culture and thinking are different from those of Americans. (Interview, 10/17/2013).

As Yunjeong, Sunhwa, and Jessica stated, they chose books based their children's interests, appropriate age level, personality, and their desire to maintain their culture. Also, they had specific reasons for choosing specific genres and languages of the books. Likewise, I found that the seven mothers had particular preferences and purposes for their selections. In the following, I describe how and why they made their choices about certain types of books.

To Learn Who They Are and What They Need To Know

Scholars (e.g., Elias & Lemish, 2008; Lee & Tse, 1994; Portes & Zhou, 1993; Portes & Rumbaut, 1996) have shown that immigrant parents utilized the media of the host country and that of their country of origin differently in order to maintain their native culture and/or to adopt the host culture. Some immigrant parents in the previous studies used diverse types of media

from the country of origin, such as children's books, films, and television programs, to improve their children's heritage language skills, to impart their heritage culture, and to maintain family unity. Likewise, the three sojourner mothers (Jinhee, Sunhwa, and Jungeun) and the two status-adjusted immigrant mothers (Yunjeong and Miyoung) in this study invested finances, time, and effort in acquiring books mainly from Korea to teach their children about the Korean language and culture. Table 3.1 presents the genres and quantity of Korean books[6] that the five mothers possessed at home. These mothers used a variety of Korean books, such as informational books, biographies, and contemporary realistic fiction books, and each family possessed 120 to 920 Korean books. In the case of Jungeun, the number of Korean books that she possessed dramatically increased over the course of the data collection. Because Jungeun had a sister in Korea whose child's was older than her son, she asked her sister to send her popular Korean informational books and some other books that her nephew did not use. She received a large number of books (approximately 663 books) from her sister.

Table 3.1

The Genres and Quantity of Korean Books Owned by the Five Mothers

Immigrant status	Name	Biography	Informational books	Folklore	Fantasy	Realistic Fiction	Total
Sojourners	Jinhee	30	33	5	15	37	120
	Sunhwa	0 (50)	5 (55)	17	23	47	92 (192)
	Jungeun	50	80 (382)	45 (125)	32 (82)	50 (281)	257 (920)
Status-adjusted immigrants	Miyoung	30	152	50	77	232	541
	Yunjeong	0	197	9	52	262	520

Note. Over the period of this study, some mothers acquired additional Korean books. The numbers in parentheses indicate the total number of books that each mother possessed at the end of data collection.

[6] The examples of Korean books that the mothers chose were listed on Appendix C.

On the other hand, the two 1.5 generation immigrant mothers, Jessica and Emily, had Korean books at home. Because these mothers reported they did not use the Korean books, I did not include them in the table. In this section, I describe why the mothers used or did not use Korean books and why some mothers did not prefer certain types of Korean books.

The three sojourner mothers believed that Korean books were necessary for their children to maintain Korean culture and Korean identity. Each mother elaborated on her reasons for selecting Korean books as follows:

> Jinhee: Although my family live here [in the U.S.], we will return to Korea someday. I want my children not to forget about their Korean identity and Korea culture. (Interview, 11/7/2013)
>
> Sunhwa: Even though Seungwoo [her son] stayed in Korea for his first three years, he does not remember that time well. At home, I try to teach him about Korea because he is less exposed to Korean culture compared to other children living in Korea . . . The more he is exposed to Korean culture through books, the better he understands Korean culture. I think that this will help him adjust when we go back to Korea. (Interview, 10/17/2013)
>
> Jungeun: Although Jinwoo [her son] was born here [in the U.S.] and we are currently living here, because of my family situation, I feel like we do not belong here. I can tell that my family lifestyle is Korean by speaking Korean, getting along with Koreans, and eating Korean food. However, this is not enough. Korean books address famous Koreans and Korean history and lifestyles. So, through Korean books, Jinwoo can know more about Korea and who he is. (Interview, 11/7/2013)

As seen in the interview transcripts, Jinhee, Sunhwa, and Jungeun expressed a strong responsibility to teach their children about Korean culture due to the possibility of their family returning to Korea. This possibility drove them to help their children develop their Korean identity and learn Korean culture regardless of their length of residency in the U.S.—at the time of data collection, Jinhee and Sunhwa stayed in the U.S. for 3 years, while Jungeun lived for 10 years. According to McCarthey and Moje (2002), stories are related to people's identities and sense of belonging. They argued that many people search for the stories to construct their identities and that these identities can function as a gel to enter a relationship with others in a particular space. Likewise, Jinhee, Sunhwa, and Jungeun utilized Korean books to develop their children's national identity, which could facilitate their children's integration and adjustment to Korean society. Given that Korean books presented Korean people, events, lifestyle, and history, these books were considered a cultural medium to compensate for their children's limited experiences and knowledge about the country of origin and to help them learn the traditions and the cultural norms. In particular, the sojourner mothers tended to provide recent and popular Korean books by ordering them from Korea. They wanted their children to be exposed to the same books that other children in Korea might read. For example, Jungeun explained: "Best-selling books are those that many children have already read. Through these books, my child can know what the others know, so they can talk about the books when we go back to Korea" (Interview, 4/18/2014). These mothers expected that such books would be a key for their children to build relationships with their peers in Korea in the future.

Like the other sojourner mothers, Jinhee read Korean books for preparation for her family's return to Korea. However, she also used the Korean books for the possibility that her family would stay in the U.S. She explained her reasons:

> My husband and I will not mix well here [in the U.S.] even if we live here for a long period of time. If we do not teach our [three] children Korean language and culture at this time, when my children grow up, we cannot communicate well with each other. Then, the meaning of family would disappear. (Interview, 11/14/2014)

Jinhee worried whether raising her children in the U.S. might negatively affect family ties. As preparation for staying in the U.S., she believed that learning Korean culture through Korean books would facilitate intergenerational communication, thereby strengthening their family relationships. Her belief is in line with that of other immigrant parents, as shown in the previous studies (e.g., Doucet, 2011; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001; Tobin, Arzubiaga, & Adair, 2013). Many immigrant parents have concerns and fear of losing their relationship with their children and their authority over their children as they become Americanized. Thus, some immigrant parents try to avoid this potential problem by teaching their children about the culture of their home country. Similarly, Yunjeong, a status-adjusted immigrant mother, used Korean books as a tool to maintain Korean culture and eventually to shape her child's ethnic identity. In her interview, she spoke of the challenges that she faced and her purposes for reading Korean books:

> Our conversation is like, my husband and I talk to Taehwan [her son] in Korean, and he replies in English. Several months ago, we were concerned about his English, so we allowed him to use English at home. These days, he isn't willing to use Korean. Yesterday, I asked him how to say something in Korean, but he complained and asked why he had to learn Korean in America. We wanted him to learn Korean table manners, so I told him to wait until his elders started to eat. He replied, "Why should I wait?" He said, "Younger is first," and "I am here in America!" At that time, I thought that he was

> beginning to get confused about his identity. So, it was time to do something to help him learn Korean culture [and] help him know who he is. I decided to use Korean books again because I have many Korean books at home and he was accustomed to reading them from his early age. (Interview, 4/24/2014)

Yunjeong and her husband considered Taehwan, their son, Korean-American and wished him to adjust to the U.S. society because they expected him to live in the U.S. They allowed Taehwan to use English at home because they worried whether his lack of English skills might cause him to struggle in school. As he interacted more with English-speaking peers and spent more time speaking English, Taehwan seemed to have developed a strong affiliation with American culture. However, Yunjeong and her husband believed that even though their son was born in the U.S., he could not change who he was and how he should behave in the Korean community. Therefore, they expected Taehwan to develop his Korean ethnic identity and to adopt certain Korean values and attitudes. The parents' and their son's different views on his identity created tension at home and caused the parents to worry. Yungjeong thought that books would be useful in resolving this tension. Because her child was used to reading Korean books from an early age, she thought she could teach him about Korea with little resistance from him. For her, Korean books were considered a safe means to address her and her husband's concerns about their son's identity confusion and to circumvent the tension between them.

Dolby (2003) viewed that culture can serve as "social glue" and "social dividers" (p. 258). Treating books as a cultural medium, Yunjeong's and Jinhee's book selections revealed how they utilized Korean books to provide the cultural glue and to minimize the cultural division. However, as shown in Table 3.1, these two mothers did not use much of the Korean traditional literature, such as Korean folk tales. Yunjeong and Jinhee had nine and five Korean traditional

books respectively. They reported that the majority of information and messages in these types of books were excessively oriented toward Korean traditions and that these books would not be useful for their children attending U.S. schools, as indicated in their comments below:

> Yunjeong: Korean folk tales are only famous in Korea. American children would probably consider these stories as strange. So, if my child shares them with his American peers, they might think he is weird. (Interview, 11/5/2014)
>
> Jinhee: I usually don't like Korean folk tales because they are very different from American ones. However, I like these two books, *The Red Bean Porridge Grandma* and *The Tiger and the Rabbit*, because they have a good message about helping others. (Interview, 4/24/2014)

Yungeong worried that if her child talked about Korean folk tales to friends in the U.S., those stories might appear too exotic. Meanwhile, Jinhee selected some folk tales that delivered universal messages, such as encouraging good and punishing evil or emphasizing cooperation. Although they selected Korean books to help their children develop Korean identity, they also evaluated these books according to values beneficial for their children's integration into the U.S society.

Miyoung, the other status-adjusted immigrant mother, provided more than 100 Korean folklore books, history books, and biographies to her children. Also, when she came to the U.S., she brought more than 100 books that she had read when she was young. She thought that these books were culturally rich in that the texts informed about Korean culture and the illustrations presented unique Korean aesthetics. Specifically, she showed me two books, *Nukjum Ban* [It's half past four] and *Halmoni, Angduttarugayo* [Grandmother, let's pick up a cherry]. In Nukjum Ban, which was published in 1940, the story began with a mother sending a little girl on an

errand. Because clocks were rare at that time, the girl was supposed to ask people in a grocery store what time it was. In the illustrations showing the girl on her way back home, a Korean traditional house (a tile-roofed house), costumes (a traditional Korean cloth, Hanbok, and a school uniform), and other items (e.g., an embroidery frame, a thimble, rubber shoes) were depicted in detail. Showing the illustrations of these books to me, Miyoung shared her thoughts:

> Each picture book in every culture contains history, unique pictures, different colors, and techniques, . . . When illustrating an object, Korean and American illustrators might draw it differently. Exposure to books from different cultures can help children see things differently and become more open-minded to others and their cultures. These books have artistic values. They are children's art books. (Interview, 10/17/2013)

By reading Korean books, Miyoung expected her children to have access to unique Korean aesthetics and to develop artistic skills. She also thought that exposing her children to books depicting different cultures would help broaden their worldview and foster an appreciation for diversity. To her, Korean books were an asset to developing not only her children's art appreciation and skills, but also their pluralistic views: "Because my children live in a multicultural society, if they can see an object from a different perspective, this would be helpful" (Interview, 9/30/2013).

Unlike the sojourner and status-adjusted immigrant mothers, the two 1.5 generation immigrant mothers, Jessica and Emily, did not choose Korean books for their children. They had several Korean books from their relatives at home, but they chose these books less often. Emily and Jessica explained their reasons as follows:

> Emily: As a Korean-American, I think that Jiwan [her son] should know about Korean culture. He is exposed to Korean culture every day, such as talking with Koreans,

> eating Korean food, and visiting Korean bakeries or grocery stores, so it isn't necessary to teach him Korean culture through books . . . Illustrations [in the books] follow the Korean style too much. I rarely read Korean books when I was child. Compared to English books, Korean books seem to be more formal and not animated or lively. (Interview, 8/30/2014)

Jessica: From my perspective, Chris [her son] should know about Korean culture and he has enough exposure to Korean culture because we eat Korean food and live with his Korean grandmother, and my husband and I teach him Korean manners in his every day life . . . I read several Korean books to Chris when he was young. However, Korean books don't appeal to me. Many Korean mothers teach too much Korean culture and even provide [their children with Korean] comic books and children's television programs, even though they live here [in the U.S.]. (Interview, 7/12/2014)

Emily and Jessica thought that their children as Korean-Americans needed to know about Korean culture, so the children were exposed to the culture in some degree in their every day lives. However, they did not seem to place a high value on Korean books to teach Korean culture. In addition, Jessica explained that, in her opinion, emphasizing too much Korean culture in the U.S. was not desirable:

> Compared to other Koreans, I think that my family is more Americanized. However, Chris [her son] still needs to learn many things. Although we speak English, he cannot acquire all the knowledge that American children have acquired from birth. . . . He has such a lack of knowledge. When he studies at school, I feel that he is disadvantaged in this way. Because he lives in the U.S. and school does not address Korea, . . . I think that

> he needs to know about the U.S. first and then to learn about Korea later. (Interview, 8/30/2014)

As reported in the previous research (e.g., Christopoulou & de Leeuw, 2004; Elias & Lemish, 2008), when immigrant parents attempt to facilitate their children's incorporation into the host country, they prefer to use the media of that country. Likewise, even though Jessica and her child were U.S. citizens and pursued the American lifestyle, she still viewed her family as not equal to other members who were born and grew up in American families. Despite her child's outstanding performance in school, Jessica worried whether her son's lack of knowledge about the U.S. culture would hinder his further learning in school and would make him unable to compete with other children. She also stated: "Koreans have limitations [as a minority living in the U.S.]. I felt sorry for people who graduated from Georgia Tech and now run a small grocery or laundry store in a Korean town" (Interview, 7/12/2014). She thought that these Korean immigrants had decided to return to Korean communities because of their status as a cultural minority. Thus, she believed that if her child became accustomed to the U.S. culture through reading English books from an early age, he would easily blend into the mainstream U.S. society.

In summary, the different book selections of the seven middle-class Korean immigrant mothers in terms of genres and language reflected the mothers' consideration of their children's current and future wellbeing and success. The mothers consciously chose books based on the significance of values they placed on the books.

To Acquire Knowledge Helpful for Upward Social Mobility

Norton (1997) linked social identity to desire, "the desire for recognition, the desire for affiliation, and the desire for security and safety" (p. 410). She explained that people's desire is inseparable from social power and privilege, which affect how they understand their relationship

with a society and their possibilities for their future. According to Norton, people who do not fulfill their desire may invest in shifting their identity in accordance with the relationship between them and their society. Drawing on this framework, I describe in this section how the seven mothers' book choices can be viewed as their investment to help their children acquire better status in their school and in their future life.

Table 3.2 shows the genres and quantity of English and Korean books that the seven mothers selected and purchased during the data collection period. The data indicate that Sunwha, Jungeun, Miyoung, and Yunjeong preferred informational books to the other genres. And this genre ranks as the second preference among the other three mothers (Jinhee, Jessica, and Emily), who preferred realistic fiction books.

Table 3.2

The Genres and Quantity of the Selected Books

Immigrant status	Genre / Name	Biography		Informational books		Folklore		Fantasy		Realistic Fiction		Total
		N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	
Sojourners	Jinhee	2	3.0	21	31.8	4	6.1	7	10.6	32	48.5	66
	Sunhwa	57	34.1	69	41.3	8	4.8	10	6.0	23	13.8	167
	Jungeun	7	1.0	302	43.1	82	11.7	66	9.4	251	35.8	701
Status-adjusted immigrants	Miyoung	0	0	24	41,4	3	5.2	8	13.8	23	39.7	58
	Yunjeong	4	5.5	28	38.4	5	6.8	11	15.1	25	34.2	73
1.5. generation immigrants	Jessica	3	7.3	15	36.6	2	4.9	4	9.8	17	41.5	42
	Emily	5	8.1	17	27.4	11	17.7	8	12.9	21	33.9	52

Note. N indicates the number of books while P represents the percentage of each genre.

When I asked their reasons for choosing informational books[7], the seven mothers responded that knowledge acquired through these books would be related to school curriculum,

[7] The examples of the books that the mothers chose were listed on Appendix D.

thereby giving their children an advantage in their learning in school. Miyoung articulated her reason why her child needed to be well equipped with this sort of knowledge:

> Immigrant children should show outstanding academic performance, compared to American children, in order to survive in this society . . . American teachers may not remember my [three] children. Jaeho's [her first son] teacher had not distinguished between him and a Chinese boy by the end of one year although the shapes of their eyes were quite different. I assumed that if he did well in school, the teacher would not confuse him with the other boy. When I teach minority students [in a community college], they seem lethargic in learning and in preparing for their future lives. I found that some of the students could have gone to a better college, if teachers had paid more attention to them in school. Because when I praise them, I can see how they are surprised by my praise and how this changed their attitude toward learning . . . They might have been invisible in their school classrooms due to their appearance. So, I think that immigrant children should make teachers distinguish them from others by showing outstanding performance. The more knowledge my children have, the better they can perform in school. Thus, teachers can easily remember them and try to teach them more. My children can have better experiences in school and society as a minority. (Interview, 5/14/2014)

According to previous studies (e.g., Louie, 2001; Luo, Tamis-LeMonda, & Song, 2013), when immigrant parents experience discrimination, they feel that their children need to perform better to receive rewards equal to those earned by their peers from the mainstream culture. Similarly, based on her experience, Miyoung was aware that minority status could cause students to receive less recognition from their teachers. She believed that academic achievement of minority

students would make others more aware of their existence in the society. From her perspective, teachers played an important role in students' achievement. However, she assumed that race might hinder teachers from seeing the strengths of immigrant children. Therefore, she believed that racial and cultural minority children should make a special effort to stand out academically in order to draw the teachers' attention. For Miyoung, her children's knowledge acquired from informational books was considered an indicator of their intelligence and capability, and this knowledge would help them gain attention from their teachers. In the same vein, Jessica shared her thoughts on the importance of her child's academic performance:

> I hope that Chris [her first son] can feel more confident. Well, people tend to ignore and tease Asians because they are a minority in the U.S. If children are bigger and stronger, or show good performance in school or sports, Americans cannot ignore them regardless of race. However, my son is not bigger and stronger. And I think that he has no special athletic skills and does not do well in sports. So, he needs to show outstanding academic performance in school to stand out and to be respected by his peers. (Interview, 7/12/2014)

As shown in this interview transcript, Jessica assumed that her son's cultural and racial minority status might cause him to feel less confident and to be disadvantaged in his school life. Moreover, because he was smaller than his peers, she worried that this might negatively affect his peer relationships. She believed that showing strong academic performance was a way to gain respect from others.

Likewise, the other mothers reported that if their children had more knowledge, they would be able to show their intelligence and be better equipped to defend themselves when confronted by others. For example, Jungeun said: "If someone bothers Jinwoo [her son], he can

say, 'Do you know this and that? I know more than you.' He can argue with others" (Interview, 3/20/2014). Bourdieu (1984; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977) argued that people of high status benefit from having the knowledge considered valuable and legitimate. The participating mothers seem to think that acquired knowledge from informational books would provide their children with social rewards. Therefore, these immigrant mothers' book selections were affected by "status motivation" (Kraaykamp & Dijkstra, 1999, p. 209). Providing informational books to their children, the mothers hoped to equip their children with the knowledge valued in school and society and to help their children claim better status in school.

Miyoung, Yunjeong, Jessica, and Emily thought that studying hard was the only way their children could succeed in the U.S. For example, Yunjeong said:

> Although Taehwan [her son] plays baseball, he does this for exercise. Honestly, African American children do well in sports because of their better physical condition. If Taehwan does individual sports, such as golf, it is possible for him to become famous. However, it takes a lot of money. Also, I have rarely seen Asian celebrities in entertainment in the U.S. This means that there are few opportunities for Asians like my son [in that area]. (Interview, 2/27/2014)

According to Yunjeong, compared to Whites and African Americans who could excel in sports and entertainment areas, her son has only education as a means of his successful future life. As evidenced by previous studies (e.g., Louie, 2001; Schneider & Lee, 1990; Sue & Okazaki, 1990), Asian-American parents, who experience and perceive blocked social mobility in non-educational fields, tend to invest in their children's education as a way to provide them with secure future job opportunities.

Interestingly, the three sojourner mothers, Sunwha, Jinhee, and Jungeun, believed that,

for acquiring knowledge, it did not matter which language was used in the books. To some degree, these mothers seemed to think that choosing the language (Korean or English) most effective for their children's conceptual understanding about certain subject areas, such as science, was more important than just being able to read about those areas in English: "I thought that [my son] might be confused about different terminology in Korean and English. However, he understands the information presented in English books better after reading about it in Korean books" (Jungeun's interview, 1/21/2014). Jungeun had the series of *The Magic School Bus* in Korean and in English. After reading the Korean books, she read the English versions to her son. Because her son was able to understand the Korean books better, Jungeun thought that her son's familiarity with the contents of the books would help him understand the same books in English.

Similarly, even though Sunhwa had reduced the time her son spent on reading Korean books in order for him to spend more time on improving his English skills, she continued to purchase Korean informational books. She explained her reasons as follows:

> When Seungwoo [her son] reads books in English, sometimes it is hard for him to understand them. I also have difficulty in explaining some English words to him. Although my husband is a scientist, his major area is biology. When my child asks about space science, my husband and I do not know some of the English terms in that area. If our son reads Korean books, we can easily explain complex concepts to him. When he understands the concepts, I assume that he will be able to translate them into English. It is not necessary for him to use the exact terms in English at his age. Also, the knowledge that he acquires could be useful in school when we go back to Korea. (Interview, 3/20/2014)

Sunhwa's response clearly indicated that, especially for science, understanding concepts was

more important than being able to read in English. Because both she and her husband were familiar with science terms in Korean, they could explain the concepts to Seungwoo better in Korean than in English. Because her son was able to express his thoughts with simple English vocabulary, she expected him to be able to apply his knowledge gained at home to what he learned in school. Considering her family's possible return to Korea, Sunhwa believed that understanding some science concepts in Korean would be beneficial for her child's successful learning in the Korean school.

In summary, the mothers thought that knowledge gained from informational books would be not only valued in U.S. schools but also useful for overcoming their children's minority status. They believed that such knowledge would help their children acquire higher status in the U.S. or succeed in Korean schools. Thus, these mothers made an effort to provide more informational books as an investment for their children from an early age.

Representation of Middle-class Value

Bourdieu (1990) refers to habitus as "a system of dispositions to a certain practice" and "an objective basis for regular modes of behavior" (p. 77). He sees habitus as internal laws of people, which enable them to take possible actions and restrain their actions. Based on this idea, Griffin, del Pilar, McIntosh, and Griffin (2012) suggested that choices are restrained by what is most appropriate on the basis of the history of an individual, family, and people who have the same social class standing. Scholars (e.g., Archer et al., 2007; Compton-Lilly, 2014; Reay, 2004) argued that researchers need to consider how habitus is constructed over time through the integration of past experiences and ongoing events, and how it mediates current and future engagement with the social world. In this section, I describe what forces shaped the seven

middle-class Korean immigrant mothers' habitus relevant to race and social class and how their habitus influenced their book selections.

Although their preferences differed, the seven mothers tended to choose books in which the main characters were middle-class Whites and Asians. Table 3.3 shows the race and social class of the main characters in the books[8] that the mothers shared with me.

Table 3.3

Main Characters' Race and Social Class in the Selected Books

Immigrant status	Category / Name	Race										Social class		Total number
		African American		Asian		Latino		Native American		White		Working class		
		N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	
Sojourners	Jinhee	0	0	7	33.3	2	9.5	0	0	12	57.1	5	23.8	21
	Sunhwa	5	13.9	12	33.3	3	8.3	0	0	16	44.4	4	11.1	36
	Jungeun	0	0	16	47.1	0	0	0	0	18	52.9	2	5.8	34
Status-adjusted immigrants	Miyoung	3	15.8	6	31.6	2	0	0	0	8	42.1	1	5.3	19
	Yunjeong	3	7.1	8	19	0	0	0	0	31	73.8	3	7.1	42
1.5. generation immigrants	Jessica	2	11.8	4	23.5	0	0	0	0	11	64.7	0	0	17
	Emily	3	14.3	8	25.0	0	0	2	6.3	19	59.4	4	12.5	32
Total		16	3.0	61	30.3	7	3.5	2	1.0	115	57.2	4	8.5	201

Note. This data is based only on the books that the mothers shared with me. N indicates the number of books while P represents the percentage of each genre.

As shown, the mothers selected, on average, only about 8.5% of the books addressing stories about working-class people. The books addressing Asians and Whites accounted for approximately 30% and 57% respectively. In the case of Jungeun and Jessica, based on their shared books, they tended to choose more classic and famous children's English books, such as *Charlotte's Web* and *Where the Wild Things Are*, and Korean folklore, most of whose authors are

[8] The examples of the books that the mothers chose were listed on Appendix E.

Europeans, Americans, and Asians. Although the six mothers selected stories about low-income families, most of the stories came from world famous children's literature, such as *Hansel and Gretel* and *Jack and the Beanstalk*. When asked their book choices, the mothers replied that they wanted to show a positive future to their children: "They are stories with happy endings. The main characters eventually become rich" (Jinhee's interview, 11/5/2014).

After sharing the data presented in Table 3.3 with each mother, I posed a question about selecting books about people from diverse racial and class backgrounds. The following interview transcripts reflect some shared thoughts among the seven mothers:

> Emily (1.5 generation immigrant): I never thought about those kinds of books. Although I received education here [in the U.S.], I rarely read those books in school. Someday, my child needs to know about other cultures. I did not know the books that could teach my child about other cultures. (Interview, 8/30/2014)
>
> Miyoung (a status-adjusted immigrant): Well, I don't think that I intentionally search for books addressing diversity. I rarely read those kinds of books. Aren't most of the characters White? In addition, I think that those kinds of books are not included in school curriculum. (Interview, 5/14/2014)
>
> Jungeun (a sojourner): I think that I have not made an effort for selecting books about other races and low-income people. I think that I am not familiar with those kinds of books. And I have rarely seen those books in libraries or bookstores. (Interview, 4/24/2014)

Regardless of whether the mothers read Korean or English books, they mentioned that they had rarely been exposed to books addressing other race and cultures. As expressed in her comments above, Emily, who had lived in the U.S. for 35 years, said that she had rarely read English

picture books presenting people from diverse racial and class backgrounds when she was in school.

These mothers' responses were not surprising, given that the current children's literature and school literacy practices are still limited in terms of the use of multicultural literature. Multicultural literature is defined as books that reflect "the racial, ethnic, and social diversity that is characteristic of our pluralistic society and of the world" (Bishop, 1997, p. 3). After the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in 1965, multicultural literature has received attention from schools and publishers, and its use has increased in the U.S. (Texel, 2002). However, according to the University of Wisconsin's Cooperative Children's Book Center (CCBC), multicultural literature regarding race accounted only for 9% of 3,500 new books in 2014. Still, children's literature is skewed toward the White European middle-class stories (Boteho & Rudman, 2009). In addition, researchers (e.g., Ketter & Lewis, 2001; Mendoza & Reese, 2001; McNair, 2012) argued that little multicultural literature is available in schools and libraries and that teachers oftentimes avoid reading those books and discussing diversity issues in their classrooms. In this context, the mothers might have limited access to such books and may not even be aware of the importance of using these books.

In particular, the three sojourner mothers (Jinhee, Sunhwa, and Jungeun) and the two status-adjusted immigrant mothers (Yunjeong and Jungeun), who arrived in the U.S. in their late 20s, were not familiar with multicultural literature and education in terms of race. For instance, Yunjeong and Sunhwa said:

> Yunjeong: When I was in school [in Korea], I did not read those kinds of [multicultural] books. Well, except for Uncle Tom's Cabin, I cannot remember. (Interview, 4/24/2014).

> Sunhwa: Because we live here [in the U.S.], my child learns about other races. In Korea, I have never seen teachers teach about this sort of literature in school. Also, Koreans rarely meet people of other races. (Interview, 11/5/2014)

Although Korea has been increasingly multicultural as a nation, according to the Korea immigration service, still only 3% of the Korean population was foreign-born in 2013. In addition, many Koreans still adhere to mono-cultural nationalism, and multicultural education has been often neglected in the school curriculum (Kang, 2010). In this context, these mothers may not see the need to read multicultural literature. In addition, as Sunhwa mentioned, for sojourners planning to return to Korea, teaching children about other races did not appear important. As Reay (2004) described habitus, "improbable practices are rejected as unthinkable" (p. 245); thus, the sojourner mothers did not consider multicultural literature necessary.

On the contrary, except for Emily (1.5 generation immigrant), the six mothers' perceptions of Whites influenced their book choices. For example, when I asked Jinhee and Miyoung about why they preferred the books depicting White characters, they responded as follows:

> Jinhee: I don't know why I chose those books. However, I think, because the representative people in America are White, and because we live here [in the U.S.], it would be better to fit into and to learn about the culture of Whites. English, television, and the topics that other people talk about are related to Whites. (Interview, 11/5/2014)

> Miyoung: I know that there is no difference among races . . . [People of other races] are smart, but their lifestyle and their lack of money and education may cause their current situations. Also, culture makes people behave in a certain way, and others

judge them based on their own culture. If I must choose, I would like to choose White culture and show it to my children. (Interview, 5/15/2014)

Jessica: I want Chris to be able to enter the mainstream culture. In order to do this, it might be better to learn that culture. And, I prefer Chris to hang out with Whites rather than people of another race. (Interview, 7/12/2014)

Reay, Crizier, and James (2011) argued that the idealized view of the middle-class Whites has been historically constructed by the academic and political discourses and that people in other racial and working-class groups tend to aspire to it. In particular, some immigrants tend to make an effort to identify with the dominant culture (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). The comments of Jinhee, Miyoung, and Jessica reflect this tendency. Linking English, famous people, and main topics for conversations to Whites, these mothers showed their awareness of power and privilege of middle-class Whites. Treating middle-class White culture as an ideal, they seemed to support their children's assimilation and belonging to this dominant culture through their book selections.

Bourdieu (1990) argued that the operation of the habitus excludes certain practices that are not familiar to a cultural group. Previous studies (e.g., Griffin et al., 2012; Reay, 1997, 1998) have shown that class habitus influences human relationships and often results in the exclusion of others from different social class backgrounds. Other researchers (e.g., Fecho, 1998; Moje, 2000; Rice, 2005) also reported that when the experiences and backgrounds of the characters in books are too different and distant from those of readers, the readers might reject those books. Likewise, the book selections of the middle-class Korean immigrant mothers, except for Emily, showed how their habitus prevented them from considering books about people outside their cultural and class boundaries. This was evident in Jessica's comments:

> Reflecting on my book choices, I do not consider those books including diverse people at all. Just looking at the covers of books, if there are African Americans, I just put the books back. I think that the books depicting African Americans and working class people are not relevant to me and my child. Their appearance is very different from ours, and we have few chances to meet them in my neighborhood. In particular, most of the students in Chris's school are Whites, Koreans, and Asians. Maybe, African Americans would be about 10%. I have rarely seen Latinos . . . In my nephew's school, around 70% of the students are Latinos. Maybe, students in that school can benefit from reading those kinds of books. (Interview, 8/30/2014)

From Jessica's perspective, the books addressing diversity issues were not appropriate for her child. Although she found such books in public libraries, she considered them irrelevant to her child. Her rejection of books depicting people of races other than White and Asian and people of working-class backgrounds revealed the boundary she had built between these people and her child. She reported that her social relationships had been limited to middle-class Whites and Asians, mainly Koreans, after she migrated to the U.S. Considering her neighborhood and her son's school population, Jessica seemed to think that her family only belonged to White and Asian cultures. Other mothers also made similar comments: "Jinwoo [Jungeun's son] and I mainly interact with Koreans in this apartment complex. If we go back to Korea, we will have less possibility to meet Whites or African Americans. So, because it is not realistic, it is not necessary to teach Jinwoo about people of other races" (Jungeun's interview, 4/24/2014). Miyoung expressed: "There is a slim chance to meet other races. The majority of students in Jaeho and Haemin's school are White, and people in my neighborhood are mostly White as well. I usually hang out with Koreans. These relationships will not be dramatically changing in the

future" (Interview, 5/14/2014). Thus, even though they live in a country where people with diverse racial and class backgrounds reside, these mothers selected books about people with whom they and their children might frequently interact in their daily lives. Interestingly, in the discussions on multicultural literature, these mothers seemed to have little recognition of their own identity as a racial minority.

A similar tendency was also found in the mothers' attitudes toward working-class people. Although the mothers felt that their children needed to learn about people from different socioeconomic backgrounds, they actually distinguished themselves from working-class people. For example, Sunhwa and Emily explained:

> Sunhwa: I like the low-income family's story because it is about how some people actually live . . . Seungwoo [her son] and I watched a television about poor children, actually about people in Africa. They searched for food in a trashcan. Seungwoo asked me, "Why don't they buy hamburgers?" I said, "Because their parents don't have money to buy food. If people are poor, they don't have money." Since Seungwoo is young, he does not seem to know about being poor. Later, he will learn how pitiful it is. (Interview, 11/4/2014)
>
> Emily: When I attended high school, I volunteered to help low-income families. At that time, I was embarrassed because their home environment was very different from mine. I learned a lot from the experiences—especially that I should not discriminate against others. They do not want to live like that, either. They just have a lack of fortune. So, I want Jiwan [her son] to volunteer to help them from an early age. (Interview, 7/22/2014)

As expressed in their interviews, Sunhwa and Emily shared that they did not necessarily interact

with working-class people in their daily lives. Using words, such as "people in Africa," "pity," "lack of fortune," and "volunteer to help," the mothers wanted their children to have sympathy toward the people in economically disadvantaged circumstances while simultaneously distancing themselves from these poor and unfortunate people.

During the interviews, all of the mothers reported that their children needed to learn about people from other cultures. However, they thought that issues, such as racism and prejudice toward low-income families, were difficult to discuss with their children. Yunjeong shared her thoughts on these issues:

> Racism is too difficult for young children to understand. I have never thought about talking about that issue with children. Because I have not learned about how to address the issue, it is hard to explain it to Taehwan [her son]. I am not sure whether I need to let him know at his young age that he is different. It will be better to explain this when something related to the issue happens or when Taehwan becomes curious about the issue. (Interview, 3/30/2014)

Emily also expressed similar thoughts:

> I think that Jiwan [her son] should know that different people exist. However, I wonder whether I need to bring this issue early to him. He seems not to recognize racial differences and seems to get along with his African American friends. (Interview, 7/22/2014)

As shown, Yungjoeng and Emily that discussing diversity issues with their young children was developmentally inappropriate—Yunjeong's and Emily's children were five and four years old, respectively. Justifying their children's ignorance about racial differences, they questioned whether reading books about racial and social differences and about social discrimination at an

early age would be useful for their children. Therefore, instead of being proactive, these mothers preferred being reactive in their approach to diversity issues by delaying their children's access to multicultural literature.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter is to understand what books the seven middle-class Korean mothers in the U.S. considered valuable in order to shape their children's views on who they are and how they see others. Through the uses and gratifications theory, the findings of this study revealed that the middle-class Korean immigrant mothers actively selected particular books, such as Korean books or informational books, depending on their needs in relation to their children's cultural and social identity. In particular, as Norton (1995, 1997) argued in her theory on social identity and investment, the mothers' informational book selections showed their investment for their children's social identity. Also, the findings showed that their middle-class habitus influenced their book selections in relation to social class and race.

I examined how all the mothers purposefully used Korean books in relation to maintaining Korean culture and identity. The three sojourner mothers (Jinhee, Sunhwa, and Jungeun) wanted their children to maintain their Korean identity and culture because it is crucial for their successful integration into society when they return to Korea in the future. For the two status-adjusted immigrant mothers (Miyoung and Yunjeong), maintaining Korean identity and culture was important for family ties. As they perceived Korean books as cultural goods to achieve their goals, these five mothers had a large number of Korean books and exposed their children to the books at home. On the other hand, in the case of the two 1.5 generation mothers (Emily and Jessica), although they highlighted the importance of Korean culture in their children's lives, they thought that it was not necessary to use Korean books at home. They

preferred English books, as they were more accustomed to English books or they wanted their children to be better equipped with American culture in order to live in the U.S.

These results were in line with the previous research (e.g., Christopoulou & de Leeuw, 2004; Elias & Lemish, 2008; Lee & Tse, 1994) that found immigrants used the media of the country of origin to maintain their cultural identity or utilized the media of the host country to acculturate to the host society. Furthermore, the portraits of the seven mothers' Korean book use reflected their different needs in teaching culture from their disaggregate experiences in the U.S. and/or preparation for the future society. These findings highlighted the importance of considering diverse factors, such as their immigrant status, belief on teaching the host culture or culture of origin, and exposure to media among the same ethnicity in relation to immigrants' use of media.

Another finding of this chapter showed that the seven mothers tended to invest in informational books for their children's social identity. Norton's (1995, 1997) view on social identity, constructed in relation to society and changeable, helps understand the mothers' information book preferences as their active investment to change their children's social identity as a minority. The mothers selected books for their children's entertainment, but at the same time, they read books to their children to seek information, which they perceived as improving their upward social mobility. The mothers' discourse about books was related to social status by linking intellectuals and "bartering tools to gain positions of status and power" (Graff, 2010, p. 184). Their belief on reading books related to class status fit into their needs for achieving social identity and influenced their book selections for informational books.

One interesting finding was that the three sojourner mothers utilized Korean informational books to help their children gain knowledge. They believed that regardless of

language, if children acquired knowledge, they would be able to apply this knowledge to learning in the U.S. schools. In Xu's (1999) study, some Chinese parents used Chinese to help their children comprehend English books. They translated English books into Chinese to help their children's understanding of the contents of the books. The results of Xu's study and this dissertation study showed that some immigrant parents believed that their heritage language was useful to facilitate their children's understanding of the contents of English books.

Lastly, while all the seven mothers had a desire for their children to be free from social limitations as minorities in the U.S., they implicitly wanted their children to distinguish themselves from other minorities based on social class and race. The mothers' limited book selections on social class and race revealed their middle-class habitus. According to Bourdieu (1990), habitus is initially constructed from early childhood and it is generally durable and transposable in that it functions across diverse contexts, situations, and time. These mothers' limited experiences about other races and class through school curriculum, books, and their everyday lives shaped their disposition to live as middle-class members. Thus, for the mothers, books addressing other races and social classes were not considered viable options within the context of their habitus. In doing so, the mothers' middle-class habitus guided their limited book choices and reproduced their middle-class values.

CHAPTER 4

LANGUAGE MATTERS WHEN CHOOSING BOOKS

"As a Korean, for Korean language development, I thought that I needed to do something for Taehwan." - Yunjeong (a status-adjusted immigrant mother)

"Because we live in the U.S., English is first for Chris. To develop his English skills, I have read English books to him." - Jessica (a 1.5 generation immigrant mother)

When immigrants move to the U.S., they experience different cultural norms, values, and expectations from those of their home countries. These experiences make them constantly reevaluate the community to which they belong and reconstruct a sense of who they are and how they relate to society (Norton, 2000). The experiences also lead immigrant parents to consider who their children are and how they raise and support their children to help them to be successful in the new country by juggling between maintaining their home culture and adapting to the culture of the host country. In particular, when they migrate to a new nation in which a totally different language is used, supporting their children's heritage language and second language learning becomes a major concern among these parents.

Many studies have shown that some immigrant parents expressed strong beliefs and positive attitudes toward maintaining their heritage language. These immigrant parents believe that their heritage language is closely related to their children's ethnic identity and helps to transmit their cultural heritage and facilitate communication across generations. Thus, to these

parents, their heritage language functions as a way to support and strengthen family ties (Kim, 2011; Lee, 2013; Monzo, 2005). In addition, recent immigrant parents consider their heritage language an asset for both better employment opportunities in the U.S. and efficient communication within their own ethnic community (Dixon & Wu, 2014; Jeon, 2008; Kang, 2012; Lee, 2013; Valdés, 2005). As a result, immigrant parents support their children's heritage language use by employing diverse strategies, such as teaching the language at home, providing reading resources, sending their children to heritage language or bilingual schools, and frequently visiting their home country (Kang, 2012; Li, 2006b, 2007; Shin, 2010).

Although immigrant parents wish for their children to maintain their heritage language, many of them face a dilemma in choosing between English and their heritage language due to the different social values placed on those languages. According to Bourdieu (1991), when a dominant language is legitimized, it becomes more valued and leads people using that language to wield power in society, while other languages are devalued. In the U.S., immigrants are socially and politically pushed to use English (Baker, 2001; Fillmore, 1991). In particular, school values English over other languages. Oftentimes, this negatively influences heritage language use when children of immigrants enter school. Fillmore (1991) argued that emphasizing English makes young children learn the new language faster at the expense of their heritage language. Her study showed that about 51% of 609 immigrant parents shifted their language from their heritage language to English after their children started attending preschool. Moreover, *No Child Left Behind Act* of 2001 and English Only legislation, such as *Proposition 227* in California and *Proposition 203* in Arizona, officially place a higher value on English and ban bilingual education programs in public schools.

As a consequence of the social value and political emphasis on English, immigrant parents fear that their heritage language might negatively influence their children's learning of English and lead to academic difficulties in school (Jeon, 2008; Li, 2006b; Martínez-Roldán & Malavé, 2004; Tse, 2001). That is, lacking social power in their heritage language makes parents value the dominant language and literacy learning in that language (Compton-Lilly, 2007). For this reason, immigrant parents may reduce efforts and investments in their children's heritage language development at home in order to provide more support for their English acquisition (Brown & Souto-Manning, 2008).

However, recent advances in technology have impacted immigrant parents' beliefs on and support for their children's language development beyond their national boundaries. Some people directly and indirectly engage in economic, cultural, and/or political activities and maintain their social networks in their country of origin while residing in the new country (Levitt & Schiller, 2004). This enables them and their children to access resources and to be involved in the activities of their heritage language use (Lam & Warriner, 2012; Vertovec, 2007). In addition, globalization has influenced language value. Some heritage languages of immigrants have increased in economic value in the host country, providing more career opportunities. At the same time, the influence of dominant and universal languages, such as English, has spread across many nations (Baynham, 2004). As the language ability produces different social, cultural, and economic consequences, some middle-class parents strategically take transnational migration to support both their children's first and second language acquisition in order to help them acquire a higher social position in the global society (Kang, 2012; Song, 2010).

In summary, the previous research discussed above shows that immigrant parents evaluate which languages are important in their children's lives. They assess each language in

relation to their children's social, ethnic, and national identity and support their children's language acquisition accordingly. Likewise, when the seven middle-class Korean immigrant mothers in this study talked about their book choices for their children, their evaluation of the children's Korean and English development was critical to choosing books the mothers considered beneficial to their children's success now and in the future.

To understand how the seven mothers used books in relation to their beliefs and supported their children's language development, in this chapter I draw upon Bourdieu's notions (1986/2002, 1990, 1991) of *field* and *social* and *cultural capital.* Bourdieu (1990) argued that human activities are understood in fields, in other words, the social arena of struggle to seek desirable resources and social positions. The amount of social capital and cultural capital is crucial for individuals' educational success and social positions in their fields. Bourdieu's concepts help understand how the mothers in this study selected books to support their children's language development for their educational achievement and social positions. Also, his notions explain to what extent these immigrant mothers' social and cultural capital both enhance and restrain their English book choices.

Drawing on these theoretical perspectives, this chapter addresses the first two research questions of this study:

1. In what ways are the seven middle-class Korean mothers with diverse immigrant status similar to and different from each other in their Korean and/or English book choices?
2. What factors influence the mothers' book choices?
    1) How do their views on their children's Korean and English abilities influence their book choices?

2) How does the mothers' social and cultural capital in the U.S. and/or Korea influence their book selections?

My analysis of the data[9] revealed that the seven middle-class Korean mothers with different immigrant status (classified as sojourners, status-adjusted immigrants, or 1.5 generation immigrants) had different views of using Korean books. However, all the mothers valued and selected English books. In what follows, I discuss factors influencing the mothers' book selections in Korean and in English.

The Mothers' Korean Book Preference

Benefits of Reading Korean Books

The three sojourner mothers (Jinhee, Sunhwa, and Jungeun) and the two status-adjusted immigrant mothers (Miyoung and Yunjeong) preferred to read Korean books rather than English books to their children at the beginning of the data collection. These mothers reported that they wanted their children to develop their Korean language while living in the U.S. However, the particular reasons for wanting their children to maintain their heritage language differed among the mothers.

The three sojourner mothers, Jinhee, Sunhwa, and Jungeun, viewed the Korean language as a necessity for their children's current and future life. These mothers reported that their children usually spoke Korean at home and interacted with Koreans in their apartment complex after school. In particular, considering the possibility of returning to Korea, the mothers thought that their children needed to develop their Korean language ability:

[9] Although this dissertation is organized in a publishable manuscript format, I deleted the method section to avoid redundancy. The research methods are described in Chapter 1.

Jinhee: Although my family lives in America, my [three] children are Korean. If we lived in Korea, Junghyun [her middle child] would definitely read Korean books at this age. (Interview, 12/10/2013)

Sunhwa: Seungwoo [her son] should learn Korean more than English . . . When my family goes back to Korea someday, I don't want Seungwoo to struggle in school as he did here because of his English. In order to prevent him from suffering in school, I think that Seungwoo should learn as much Korean as other children living in Korea. (Interview, 10/17/2013)

Jungeun: As a Korean, speaking and listening in Korean is just not enough. My son also needs to read and write in Korean. And, if he develops his Korean language skills, he will be able to adjust to life in Korea and to [Korean] school well. (Interview, 10/18/2013)

As shown in the above interview transcripts, Jinhee, Sunhwa, and Jungeun viewed their children as Koreans who lived in the U.S. but would settle down in Korea. For this reason, they believed that their children needed to learn the Korean language regardless of their length of residence in the U.S. (Jinhee and Sunhwa had lived in the U.S. for 3 years and Jungeun for 10 years). Korea is one of the most linguistically homogenous countries due to "the ideology of *danil minchok*, the unified people" (S. Park, 2009, p. 30). In order to adjust to Korean society in the future, for the sojourner mothers, Korean language ability and competency was as important as cultural capital for their children's successful learning and their social integration. Sunhwa also mentioned that in Korea she did not want her son to struggle in the way he had struggled in the U.S. due to language. Therefore, the possibility of returning to Korea led these mothers to think that their children belonged to Korea and that learning Korean would be beneficial to their children.

Unlike the sojourner mothers, the two status-adjusted immigrant mothers, Yungjeong and Miyoung, reported that they used a mixture of English and Korean at home and that the majority of people in their community were White. Nonetheless, the status-adjusted immigrant mothers considered Korean language necessary as an ethnic identity marker and as a tool for communication with grandparents in Korea: "The ability to speak the Korean language indicates who Haemin [her daughter] is" (Miyoung's interview, 9/30/2013). "I want Taehwan [her son] to talk with his grandparents" (Yunjeong's interview, 11/14/2013). They also thought that learning Korean would be valuable for their children's success in the U.S., as illustrated in the following interview with Yunjeong:

> For me, if someone is bilingual, he or she is able to speak, listen, read, and write in two languages. Now, communication skills are most important for my child to speak with his grandparents, but Taehwan [her son] should also develop all aspects of Korean . . . When he goes to high school, he could choose Korean as a foreign language on the SAT. And the SAT would test his reading and writing skills. (Interview, 4/24/2014)

Yunjeong wanted her son to fully develop his Korean language abilities. She believed that Korean reading and writing skills could grant additional benefits to him by making him the privileged owner of bilingual resources. According to Sung (2010), Korean was included as a foreign language subject on the SAT (Scholastic Aptitude Test) after 1997, and this encouraged more Korean parents to teach the language to their children. To increase her son's future opportunities in the U.S., Yunjeong helped him develop his Korean reading and writing skills through his exposure to Korean books from an early age.

Likewise, another status-adjusted immigrant mother, Miyoung, used Korean books to help her children become bilingual, in particular for oral language development. She explained her reason as follows:

> I think that being bilingual is gaining more than losing in this society to get a job. In order to keep Korean, I send her to a Korean language school on Saturday. The teachers [at the language school] told me that Haemin's [her daughter] and Jaeho's [her son] Korean pronunciation isn't good. So, I plan to make a schedule for reading Korean books to them [to develop their speaking skills]. (Interview, 5/14/2014)

Haemin and Jaeho (preschooler and 2nd grader, respectively) preferred to use English rather than Korean at home, as they used English at school. Although Miyoung wanted her children to learn Korean, she let her children speak English at home and often communicated with them in a mixture of English and Korean. Recognizing her children's limitations from the comments of their Korean language school teachers, Miyoung decided to let her children read Korean books on a regular basis in order to compensate for their lack of Korean speaking skills. As shown, these status-adjusted immigrant mothers believed that being bilingual could provide benefits to their children in the U.S. and that their children needed to be fluent in all aspects of Korean.

Interestingly, the three sojourner mothers (Jinhee, Sunhwa, and Jungeun) and the two status-adjusted immigrant mothers (Miyoung and Yunjeong) expected that reading Korean books would have positive effects on reading English books. They shared: "When I read Korean books [to my children], I can read the stories in a more expressive and animated way so that they can enjoy them" (Jinhee's interview, 11/7/2013). "When reading books, I can explain better in Korean, so my children can understand more" (Miyoung's interview, 10/15/2013). These mothers believed that these experiences from reading Korean books would help their children

enjoy reading by themselves and shape their reading habits. This belief was articulated by Sunhwa:

> Seungwoo [her son] enjoys reading Korean books with me and has started to read Korean books by himself. So, even if he feels uncomfortable using English, I believe he will easily learn how to read English books at school because he likes to read books. (Interview, 10/17/2013)

Through having positive experiences with Korean books, Sunhwa expected that her son would develop his reading habit and naturally engage in English books and school readings. This view reflects the notion of "embodied reading cultural capital" (Compton-Lilly, 2007, p. 77), which refers to the dispositions in mind and body. Drawing upon Bourdieu's cultural capital, Compton-Lilly specified embodied reading cultural capital. According to her, this type of capital includes mannerisms, gestures, and participation in ways that are acceptable at school. For example, reading the books that the school provides, showing positive attitudes toward books, decoding words, and reading silently by themselves. This type of cultural capital is acquired by the investment of time by individuals (Bourdieu, 1986/2002). In this sense, Sunhwa seemed to recognize the school-valued ways of being with regard to reading and made an effort to shape her child's embodied cultural capital from an early age through reading Korean books. Utilizing her strengths in reading Korean books to her child, she expected her child to do well in his reading and learning in U.S. schools.

Korean Language is Important, But Not for Reading and Writing Skills

The 1.5 generation immigrant mothers, Emily and Jessica, also valued the Korean language in that they believed it benefited their children living in the U.S. Jessica and Emily articulated their views on the Korean language:

> Jessica: Chris [her son] is a Korean-American, so he needs to learn Korean. Language is important for people to know who they are. Although Korean children are born here, when they grow up, they will be [racially] divided. Koreans hang out with Koreans, just as Whites and African Americans hang out with others of their own races. If Chris cannot speak Korean, he will have difficulties in joining a Korean group. Also, language is powerful. In this global era, if Chris is able to speak Korean and foreign languages, such as Spanish and Chinese, that would be a big advantage for his career. Knowing only English is not enough to be competitive. (Interview, 8/30/2014)
>
> Emily: Teaching Korean to Jiwan [her son] is necessary for him to know who he is and to communicate. Also, Korean helps me in my work [in a Korean company] now. So, if Jiwan learns Korean, it will also be good for him to get a good job. Although I don't like the idea that he might live in a Korean community, if he cannot adjust to American society, then a Korean community would be a safe place for him. (Interview, 2/23/2014)

As shown in the interviews, Jessica and Emily believed that learning Korean was essential for their children's identity construction, communication, and future careers. In particular, as Korea has become economically competitive, Korean immigrants have begun to perceive Korean as not only an ethnic identity marker, but also a marketable commodity (Kang, 2012; Lee, 2013; Song, 2010). Likewise, Jessica and Emily perceived that the Korean language would provide better career opportunities and financial advantages for their children. They also believed that Korean language could function as protection for their children. Based on their own experiences, Jessica and Emily assumed that their children might usually interact with Koreans and/or eventually

return to a Korean community where the Korean language is mainly used. Thus, for future preparation, these mothers wanted their children to learn Korean.

However, these 1.5 generation immigrant mothers did not think that their children needed to fully develop all aspects of the Korean language. They considered it unnecessary for their children to develop Korean reading and writing skills through books from early years.

> Jessica: Although Chris's [her son] Korean pronunciation is not good, he can communicate with his grandmother at home [in Korean]. I want to let him learn the Korean language when he is ready, as many Koreans learn so fast when they need to. Since schoolwork is first, I want Chris to focus more on English than developing Korean reading and writing skills. (Interview, 8/30/2014)
>
> Emily: Because I want him to be able to communicate with his grandparents, I talk with Jiwan [her son] in Korean at home. He doesn't have any problems communicating in Korean because he has good speaking and listening skills. It is natural that he cannot read and write in Korean at his age. I also improved my Korean skills after working in a Korean company. When he needs to, he will learn the language. (Interview, 4/27/2014)

Considering their son's need to use Korean mainly for communication with grandparents, Jessica and Emily believed that Korean speaking and listening skills are important for their children. Also, they believed that if their children ever wanted to acquire other Korean skills, such as reading and writing, they would be able to do so fairly easily and quickly. For these reasons, from their perspectives, it was not necessary for their children to develop Korean reading and writing skills through books early on.

The Mothers' Cultural and Social Capital to Korean Book Access

The seven mothers' cultural and social capital in the U.S. and in Korea influenced their access to Korean books. Cultural capital has generally been defined in relation to the dominant groups and institutions (Compton-Lilly, 2007). Because books are considered objective cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984/2006) that include the Korean language and culture valued in Korea, I used the term of cultural capital to indicate the mothers' abilities, skills, or knowledge to access Korean books. Table 4.1 showed the mothers' resources and social capital that the mothers used to acquire Korean books and information about the books.

Table 4.1

Resources and Social Capital for Acquiring Korean Books and Information

Immigrant status	Name	Resources	Social capital
Sojourners	Jinhee	• Korean online bookstore • Local library	• Grandparents in Korea • Korean friends in the U.S.
	Sunhwa	• Korean search engines • Korean online bookstore • Korean website in the U.S. • Local library	• Sister & sister-in-law in Korea • Korean friends in the U.S
	Jungeun	• Korean website in the U.S.	• Sister in Korea • Korean friends in the U.S.
Status-adjusted immigrants	Miyoung	• Korean bookstores when visiting Korea • Korean online bookstore • Korean website in the U.S.	• Grandparents in Korea • Korean friends and/or neighborhood in the U.S.
	Yunjeong		• Korean friends in the U.S.
1.5. generation immigrants	Emily	• None	• Family members and other relatives in the U.S.
	Jessica		

The sojourner mothers (Jinhee, Sunhwa, and Jungeun) and the status-adjusted immigrant mothers (Miyoung and Yunjeong) actively made a considerable investment in exposing their

children to diverse Korean books[10] based on their belief about Korean language. Each of these mothers possessed many Korean books at home (ranging from 120 to 920 each; see Table 3.1 in Chapter 3). The mothers tended to acquire Korean books and information about the books by themselves. For example, when visiting Korea, they purchased books from local bookstores or they ordered books through Korean online bookstores providing international delivery services. They also searched information about Korean books through Korean search engines (e.g., Naver, Daum) and used an online website for Koreans in the U.S. In particular, on the website for Korean-Americans, some Korean mothers living in the U.S. posted information about Korean bookstores and their reviews on Korean children's books. Through this website, Miyoung and Sunwha not only acquired information about books, but also they bought books in bulk from Korea to save on the shipping fees. The two sojourner mothers, Jinhee and Sunhwa, used local libraries for Korean books at least every other month. In their community where many international people live, a local library possessed picture books in seven different languages. One of them was Korean, and the library had more than 100 Korean picture books placed in the children's book section. By visiting the library, which was located within 30 minutes from their houses, the two mothers provided Korean books for their children.

In relation to their social capital to acquire Korean books, the mothers' parents and siblings in Korea sent Korean books to them. Although it was rare, the mothers reported that they sometimes exchanged Korean books with their Korean friends and neighbors and purchased some books from garage sales in the Korean community. Interestingly, although the majority of the mothers usually interacted with Koreans, they rarely shared information about Korean books and seldom exchanged them, but relied more on online resources.

[10] Some Korean books that the mothers selected in common presented in Appendix C.

The 1.5 generation immigrant mothers, Jessica and Emily, had social capital only in the U.S., and thus, had limited access to Korean books (see Table 3.1). They reported that their family members and other relatives living in the U.S. were the only people who provided Korean books. However, these Korean books were outdated because most of them were brought to the U.S. when their family members and relatives migrated in the 1980s. Regarding these books, Jessica said: "Some expressions were awkward and illustrations were not good, compared to contemporary books" (Interview, 12/8/2013). She reported that these features made her not read Korean books to her child. In addition, these mothers' family members, relatives, and friends were mostly first generation or 1.5 generation Korean immigrants. Through their network, these mothers usually shared issues of child support in relation to learning in U.S. rather than the issues of Korean language. Emily stated: "I think that we usually talk about what to teach, where to send our kids, and who the best teachers are. We rarely talk about Korean books" (Interview, 4/27/2014).

Besides, the 1.5 generation immigrant mothers' inadequate experiences with Korean books seemed to be linked to their limited access to Korean book information. When asked where they could acquire Korean books and book information, these mothers responded that they did not know much about Korean books. Emily said: "Well, I have never thought about buying Korean books because I have rarely purchased and read Korean books" (Interview, 2/23/2014). Jessica also stated: "Korean books are expensive here [in the U.S.]. After I came to America, I read only several Korean books" (Interview, 12/8/2013). Due to the lack of Korean books in the U.S. when they were growing up, they were not familiar with Korean children's books and they might not have thought about seeking resources for Korean books for themselves.

The Mothers' Value on English Books and Change in Their Book Preferences

Importance of English

All the seven mothers supported their children's English reading. They saw learning English as necessary for their children's life. These mothers' view of English was aligned with how society and school place the value on that language:

> Jungeun (a sojourner mother): English is important not only here [in the U.S.] but also in Korea and other countries. Not only does English help connect with other people in the world, but also it guarantees Jiwoo's [her son] successful school life and job security in the future. If Jinwoo learns English from an early age, this will bring more benefits to him. (Interview, 11/7/2013)
>
> Miyoung (a status-adjusted immigrant): Without learning English, it is hard to succeed in this global society. When Jaeho [her son] and Haemin [her daughter] are willing to learn English, it is a good time to support them. (Interview, 10/17/2013)
>
> Jessica (1.5 generation immigrant): Wherever you go in the world, English is number one. English should be first rather than Korean . . . English is everything in relation to doing well in school, to attending a university, and to getting a good job. I would like to support this more if Chris [her son] could advance in English. (Interview, 12/8/2013)

As shown in the interview excerpts, these mothers considered English a global language and the dominant language in the U.S. For them, English was not only a communication tool, but also linguistic capital, which "can be cashed in for educational qualifications or cultural capital, which, in turn, can be cashed in for lucrative jobs or economic capital" (Goldstein, 2003, p. 252). In this sense, they wanted their children to be equipped with better English skills by exposing

them to diverse types of English books, such as realistic fiction, informational books, and folktales, from an early age as shown in Table 3.2. The 1.5 generation immigrant mothers, Jessica and Emily, read only English books. The three sojourner mothers and the two status-adjusted mothers, who preferred to read Korean books, shared some English books before their children attended Kindergarten.

The Effects of School

Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) described fields as "fields of forces" (as cited in Compton-Lilly, 2007, p. 76), which are arenas of individuals' struggle. Schools as fields led the seven mothers to value English, and all but Jessica experienced struggles. The six mothers, who used Korean with their children at home, now had to choose English over Korean. As their children started to attend kindergarten, the mothers reported that they spent more time helping their children learn English, in particular, for developing reading abilities. Accordingly, because this study continued over a span of one year, all the seven mothers preferred English books to Korean books particularly when their children started kindergarten. Their attitude was closely related to school policies and practices on language and reading.

When the mothers' children entered kindergarten, regardless of their birth in the U.S., all of the children received ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) tests. Even if Jessica's (1.5 generation immigrant mother) son used English at home, he needed to take a test because his parents were Korean. After receiving the results of the ESOL test, the four mothers (Jinhee, Sunhwa, and Jungeun, who used Korean at home; and Emily, who mainly used Korean with her son) were concerned about their children's English. In the following interview transcripts, Jungeun and Emily expressed their concerns:

> Jungeun (a sojourner mother): When Jinwoo [her son] was assigned to the ESOL class in school, I was embarrassed. I had a higher expectation on his English skills because he had attended preschool. So, I visited the school to ask whether he really needed ESOL. His teacher suggested making a decision after he spends some times in the class. She also said that I needed to help him develop his English skills. I feel that I have not done well supporting Jinwoo and worry whether he will feel less confident in school. So, I have started to spend more time helping him to develop his English skills by reading more English books. (Interview, 1/21/2014)
>
> Emily (a 1.5 generation immigrant mother): Jiwan [her son] received 4.0 [and the ESOL scores are from 1.0 to 6.0], so his teacher recommended taking the class. I was a little shocked about his ESOL class recommendation. Jiwan was in preschool and childcare until 6 p.m., so he had to speak only English and knew enough to speak with me in English. Now, I realize that he is doing well in English for communication, but not in his studies. Before starting kindergarten, I decided to spend more time on his English development. (Interview, 8/30/2014)

The ESOL test was the first time these mothers could know their children's English skills. The mothers expected that their children would do well in school because their children had been exposed to the preschool environment of speaking only English. The results of the ESOL tests made them feel that they did not fully support their children's English skills at home. In addition, the other mothers worried whether their children would fall behind in school: "ESOL means that Seungwoo's English skills are not equal to those of other children" (Sunhwa's Interview, 1/21/2014). "I didn't take English very seriously, so I used only Korean with Junghyun"

(Jinhee's interview, 11/8/2014). Thus, the mothers' guilt about their support and worries about their children's English ability caused them to invest more in their children's English development.

More importantly, the four mothers (Sunhwa, Jungeun, Yunjeong, and Jessica), who had kindergartners, prioritized developing their children's reading skills for school. Their emphasis on reading was articulated further by Sunhwa and Jessica:

> Sunwha: Learning in school is related to how well Seungwoo [her son] reads. Even in math, children need to read in order to solve problems. (Interview, 1/21/2014)
>
> Jessica: When I volunteered for school activities, children were divided into groups depending on their English reading levels. The more advanced the children were in reading, the more they learned. The children with lower reading levels would not be able to catch up with the others. In particular, in kindergarten, children are very young, so reading takes up a big proportion of the testing. (Interview, 12/8/2013)

As shown in the interview, Sunwha and Jessica thought that reading skills were crucial to learn other subjects and to determine their children's abilities. They wanted to develop their children's reading skills, as expected by their school. In particular, based on her experiences from the U.S. school, Jessica thought that a high reading level at an early age was important to receive advantages at school. She believed that her son needed to develop English reading skills from an early age.

In addition, the two sojourner mothers (Sunhwa and Jungeun) and the two status-adjusted immigrant mothers (Miyoung and Yunjeong) reported that they were busy helping their children engage in the school readings and rarely found time to read Korean books.

> Miyoung: After school, Haemin [her daughter] and I read English books sent by her teacher. The books are not long and complicated, but it takes time for her to read them. Although she reads books by herself, she often asks me how to pronounce words and practice them until she remembers. As I help her through these books, she likes reading English books more. Since I can see her progress in English, I want to support her English skills more. (Interview, 12/10/2013)
>
> Yunjeong: Although I read both Korean and English books, I cannot include the Korean books in the list, because the school only counts English books. It is not easy to fill out 25 books in the list every month. (Interview, 11/14/2013).

The schools provided five English picture books to take home once a week. The four mothers valued the books and set a time to read them at least 30 minutes every day. As a result of reading practice at home, they reported that their children's English reading skills were enhanced and that the children also preferred to read English books. Because they saw their children's progress and preference for English valued by the school, they wanted to invest time and effort in reading English books. In addition, regarding the reading list, Sunhwa, Jungeun, and Yunjeong, whose children were kindergartners, needed to have their children read at least 25 different books each month. For the list, the school counted only English books, as shown in Yunjeong's interview. According to these mothers, although the schools did not officially prevent their children from reading Korean books, they did not positively support the Korean language: "They [teachers] do not say not to teach Korean, but they do not do anything about the Korean language at school" (Jungeun's interview, 1/21/2014). "I feel that I stress Seoungwoo out to learn Korean, which they do not use in school. First and foremost, school work is first, so I have temporarily stopped reading Korean books" (Sunhwa's interview, 1/21/2014). Thus, the

value placed on English by schools seemed to lead the mothers to downplay their children's learning Korean.

Value Placed on English in Korea

According to Levitt and Schiller (2004), when people are involved in two countries, they contact the hegemonic power of more than one nation and their actions can be shaped by the power. The two sojourner mothers (Sunhwa and Jungeun, whose children were kindergartners) emphasized English not only for its power in their children's U.S. school, but also for its value in Korea. These mothers articulated their views on English in Korea.

Sunhwa: Korean children perform well in school. Most children in Korea attend extracurricular activities after school. Here [in the U.S.] I cannot support Seungwoo's [her son] extracurricular activities as many Korean children do in the U.S. because of lack of money and cram institutions. The people who returned to Korea said, "Be sure to develop his English skills. If not, he will not be able to catch up with other children [in Korea]." They said that Seungwoo needs to develop not only speaking and listening, but also reading and writing skills. If he has advanced English skills, he might save time learning English, so he could focus on other subjects to catch up with other Korean children. (Interview, 1/21/2014)

Jungeun: Through Kakao story [a Korean online social networking service], my friends in Korea posted how their children were doing well at school. I was surprised by their children's English skills. Although they are 1st graders [in Korea], they can write in English and even read high-level texts that Jinwoo [her son] cannot read. Because we live in the U.S., which is the best place to learn English, I want

> Jinwoo to develop his English as much as possible so that he can compete with others in Korea. And, at least, if people do well in English in Korea, they have a better chance to enter a university and to acquire a decent job. (Interview, 1/21/2014)

According to the Statistics of Korea (2013), Korean parents spend $335.86 a month for their elementary school-age children's after-school education. In addition, under "Globalization," a Korean national project in the mid-1990s, the educational goal focused on raising "global" and "international" individuals, and English was taught from the third grade starting in 1997 (J. Park, 2009). Since then, English proficiency has been considered a key for academic success and upward social mobility (Park & Abelmann, 2004). For this reason, some middle-class mothers spend around $1,000 a month to send their 5- and 6-year-old children to English-immersion schools (Kim, 2007). Considering the education and English fever in Korea, Sunhwa and Jungeun reported that their children studied less, compared to other children in Korea. These mothers worried whether their children might not be able to compete with other children when they return to Korea. Given that English is one of the most important subjects in school, they believed that if their children's English were improved, this would reduce gaps between their children and others and could guarantee their children's future success in Korea. In this sense, the mothers wanted their children's English learning as efficient and profitable as possible while living in the U.S.

The Mothers' Cultural and Social Capital to English Book Access

As they wanted their children to develop English skills, the seven middle-class Korean immigrant mothers actively utilized their cultural and social capital to provide English books[11] to

[11] The examples of English books that the mothers had were listed on Appendix F.

their children. Table 4.2 shows how the mothers acquired English books and information through their social capital and resources.

In order to provide English books for their children, the mothers relied on the books and resources received from schools; they not only read books from schools, but also checked out information from school reading resources including booklists, book brochures, and e-books. After sharing the information with their children, the mothers purchased some of the books on the lists or brochures.

Table 4.2.

Resources and Social Capital for Acquiring English Books and Information

Immigrant status	Name	Resources	Social capital
Sojourners	Jinhee	• School booklist/book fair/ brochure • Korean website in the U.S. • Online and local bookstore • Local library • E-books	• Korean church member • Korean neighborhood
	Sunhwa		• Korean neighborhood
	Jungeun		• Sister in Korea • Korean neighborhood
Status-adjusted immigrants	Miyoung	• School booklist/book fair/ brochure • Local library • Online and local bookstore • E-books	• Korean neighborhood • Korean church member • Korean friends
	Yunjeong	• School booklist/book fair/ brochure • Korean website in the U.S. • Local library • Online and local bookstore • E-books	• Korean neighborhood
1.5. generation immigrants	Emily	• School book fair/booklist • Local library/bookstore • Recommended books in newspapers • E-books	• Teacher • Family members in the U.S. • Korean friends
	Jessica	• School book fair/booklist • Local library • Local bookstore • E-books	• Teacher • Sister in the U.S. • Korean friends

Use of school information. The seven mothers reported that they wanted to provide books recommended by the school: "Because I didn't grow up here [in the U.S.], I don't have any information which books are good. So, I trust teachers' recommendation" (Jinhee's interview, 11/7/2013). "As a parent, I try to read the books that school provides because they are educational. In some ways, they will help for school performance" (Emily's interview, 8/30/2014). However, there were some differences among the mothers in their acquisition of the books or book information from the schools. The 1.5 generation immigrant mothers (Emily and Jessica) directly acquired book information from their children's teachers. They felt comfortable communicating with the teachers and often contacted them. For example, Emily said: "I often text Jiwan's teacher and also talk with her when I pick him up. While talking with the teacher, I ask her about books" (Interview, 7/22/2014). Jessica's shared: "When I volunteer for Chris's class, his teachers show books that she acquired for the class or I can learn about books while observing her class" (Interview, 3/16/2014).

However, the two status-adjusted immigrants (Miyoung and Yunjeong) and the three sojourner mothers (Jinhee, Sunhwa, and Jungeun) did not directly contact their children's teachers to ask for book information. Instead, they tended to rely on school brochures: "Because I need to take care of Jungwoo [her youngest son] at home and feel uncomfortable speaking English, I prefer to use the information sent by school" (Sunhwa's interview, 10/29/2013). Yunjeong also shared her tip: "When I volunteer in the school library, I check the reshelve books. Those books mean that other American children have read them" (Interview, 11/4/2013). Although these mothers were reluctant to directly contact the teachers due to their housework or limited English, they still made an effort to provide books sanctioned by the schools at home.

Use of libraries and bookstores. The seven mothers reported using local and online bookstores and local libraries at least every other week to acquire English books. When they did, they tended to search age-appropriate books first and then to consider popularity, gender, and their children's interest. Before checking out or purchasing the books, the mothers usually read the books in local libraries or bookstores or read customers' reviews on online bookstore websites to determine whether the books were appropriate for their children. They also checked best-selling books and the books displayed on the shelves in libraries or bookstores.

> Emily (1.5 generation immigrant mother): I am not familiar with what books are famous these days. Since experts have already selected good books for young children, I trust them. (Interview, 8/30/2014)
>
> Yunjeong (a status-adjusted immigrant mother): Because I did not grow up here [in the U.S.], I don't know what the famous books are as well as American parents do. (Interview, 10/17/2013)

Although these mothers felt unfamiliar with English books, they wanted to provide the same books that native English speaking children might read. When Yunjeong went to a local library, she looked at the bookshelves reserved for returned books and then checked the other bookshelves for worn-out books or books that had many copies. She considered these to be evidence that many American children and parents had selected the books. Using these strategies, she said: "I can find out what Americans usually read depending on the season, holiday celebrations, and classics with which I am not familiar" (Interview, 12/9/2013). Doing so, she believed that her child was equipped with knowledge that American children might learn from their parents.

Other ways of acquiring resources. The seven mothers tended to acquire books and information about book by themselves as they did with Korean books. However, they sometimes acquired English books and resources from their family members, friends, neighbors, and community members in the U.S. In the case of the two 1.5 generation immigrant mothers (Jessica and Emily), their family members living in the U.S. helped them learn about and acquire expert-recommended books. For example, when talking with Korean immigrant parents whose children were in the upper grades in elementary school, Jessica's sibling shared recommended booklists with Jessica. When Emily's mother and mother-in-law found booklists in the newspapers, they provided this information to Emily.

In contrast, the three sojourn mothers (Jinhee, Sunhwa, and Jungeun) and the two status-adjusted mothers (Miyoung and Yunjeong) frequently visited Korean online community websites in the U.S. On the websites, people posted recommended English booklists and their reviews on children's books, according to age, gender, and reading levels. Utilizing the websites, the mothers were able to gain helpful information about books in the U.S. Although rare, they sometimes exchanged English books and information about books through their close Korean friends living in the same apartment complex or attending the same Korean church. When I asked the mothers whether they sought more information from people through the Internet rather than close friends or neighbors, they said,

> Jinhee: I know how to search for books by myself. If I search through the Internet, I can get a lot of useful information and the information is well organized by children's age, interest, and genres. (Interview, 4/11/2014)
>
> Sunhwa: Without asking people, I can access book information about what other children read in a lot of ways, such as bookstores, libraries, and the Internet. And I don't

like to compare Seungwoo's [her son] English skills to others. While Korean mothers talk about books, they always talk about their children's reading levels. If I hear about an outstanding reading level, I worry whether I have taught him well enough. (Interview, 4/18/2014)

Jessica: Reading books can be competitive because how many books he reads, which his school requires can influence his school performance. From a mother's perspective, I would like Chris to do better than others. I think that other Korean mothers think this way too. Rather than sharing information about books with Korean mothers whose children can compete with him, I'd rather get information from people I don't know. (Interview, 4/27/2014)

As shown in the interview excerpts, these mothers had many resources where they could acquire books. In addition, the information on the Internet was perceived as well organized and trustworthy, and their English skills and knowledge about books, that is their cultural capital, facilitated them in acquiring books by themselves. In turn, they felt that it was not necessary to share or to exchange books with others. Also, as Sunhwa and Jessica said, competition among Korean mothers appeared to give them pressure about themselves in relation to their children's reading abilities. Thus, rather than sharing book information with people whom they were close to, these mothers seemed to feel comfortable seeking information from anonymous people whom they did not know and whose children might not compete with their own children.

To sum up, the seven mothers utilized cultural and social capital in selecting English books, and their capital facilitated their book selections in order to provide English books that aligned with school expectations and that typical American parents might select. In their social and cultural capital use, although they acquired books and information about books from the

people they were close to, by using their English skills and knowledge about book resources, some mothers tended to rely on book selections through the Internet.

Conclusion

This chapter aimed to explore the seven middle-class Korean immigrant mothers' Korean and/or English book selections. By using Bourdieu's notions of field and cultural and social capital, the mothers' book selections were examined in terms of their beliefs about the two languages, Korean and English, and their social and cultural capital to access Korean and/or English books. The results showed that the mothers made similar and different decisions in relation to their book selections as they evaluated the value of each language for their children's academic and social success in the U.S. and/or in Korea. The findings also revealed that the mothers' different amounts of cultural and social capital enhanced or restrained their access to Korean and/or English books.

At the beginning of this data collection, the three sojourner mothers (Jinhee, Sunhwa, and Jungeun) and the two status-adjusted immigrant mothers (Miyoung and Yunjeong) preferred Korean books to teach Korean to their children. For the sojourner mothers, the Korean language was necessary as cultural capital for their children's successful schooling and integration into Korean society in the future. For the status-adjusted immigrant mothers, Korean was perceived as important for their children's ethnic identity, future success, and family ties in the U.S. For the same reasons, 1.5 generation immigrant mothers valued the Korean language in their children's lives. However, the 1.5 generation mothers used only English books because they did not feel that it was necessary to develop Korean reading and writing skills through Korean books. That is, the mothers who had lived in the U.S. longer tended to give a lower priority to their children's Korean literacy development than the mothers in the other groups.

In addition, the mothers' different social and cultural capital in Korea and in the U.S. influenced their access to Korean books. Specifically, the 1.5 generation immigrant mothers' limited social capital (e.g., their dependence on relatives who were also Korean immigrants) and their lack of experience with reading Korean books in the U.S. constrained their access to Korean books. On the other hand, both the sojourner mothers and the status-adjusted immigrant mothers were actively involved in acquiring Korean books and information about books through using their cultural capital, such as knowledge about Korean books and book resources in both Korea and the U.S. The mothers sometimes acquired books through their social capital, such as family members, friends, and neighbors in Korea and in the U.S. Thus, depending on the mothers' social and cultural capital of Korean books, the children who had the same ethnicity were exposed to Korean books differently and were raised to develop Korean language skills in varying degrees at home.

However, when the seven mothers' children entered kindergarten, all the mothers preferred English books. Like the previous research (e.g., Jeon, 2008; Li, 2006b; Martínez-Roldán & Malavé, 2004; Tse, 2001) in which parents prioritized learning English for their children due to the schools' emphasis on English, the school and social values of English in both the U.S. and Korea undeniably led the mothers to perform a "conscious assessment of the chances immediately inscribed in the directly perceived situation" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 655). In particular, the English value of the U.S. schools as a field imposed a dilemma for the mothers in regard to reading English books to their children rather than Korean books. As their conscious evaluation of the value of English to their children's academic and social success took hold, these mothers strategically prioritized English books over Korean books to provide benefits to their children.

This study found that the seven mothers' cultural and social capital generated from their middle-class background enabled them to support their children in becoming familiar with English books. For example, their English proficiency and familiarity with books gave them an advantage of acquiring books and information about books from diverse resources and people. Interestingly, their cultural capital in accessing English books enabled the mothers to search for information by themselves rather than relying on people close to them. Also, some of the mothers' strong competitive attitudes tended to make them acquire books by themselves for their children.

The findings of this chapter revealed that the mothers differently and similarly selected books as a result of their decision-making on language learning based on their previous experiences, current life situations, and future plans for their children and themselves. Like other studies (e.g., Han, 2011; Song, 2010) on Korean immigrants, this study highlighted an awareness of the different beliefs and values of immigrant parents in the same ethnic group in developing their children's heritage language depending on their immigrant status. This awareness of their different beliefs and values is necessary to understand their actual reading practices at home and to address their different needs on language development in early childhood education.

CHAPTER 5

WHY DO THE MOTHERS USE E-BOOKS?

In her living room, when Jungeun (a sojourner mother) talked about her concern about Jinwoo's (her son) English, she delightfully showed an e-book website to me: "Oh, I found this e-book website. One of my Korean friends told me about this. This is so good for Jinwoo's English development" (Interview, 11/7/2013). That was the moment that I first learned that the mothers used e-books at home. As a kindergarten teacher in Korea, I had often shared e-books with the children but did not suggest that parents use e-books at home. I did not expect that the seven middle-class Korean mothers in this study would utilize e-books for their children when I began this study. However, while interviewing them, I heard that schools suggested using e-books at home, and the seven middle-class Korean mothers used e-books for their children's English acquisition and learning in school. This drew my curiosity to explore their reasons for e-book use and specific features of e-books they considered beneficial for their children.

Media Use for Children's Language Acquisition and Learning

In this digital era, with the growth of access to computers and diverse electronic devices, a wide range of e-books is available in people's everyday lives. E-books are defined as "text in digital form, a book converted into digital form, digital reading material, a book in a computer file format, or an electronic file of words and images" (Rao, 2003, pp. 86-87). Based on this definition, e-books broadly include CD-ROM storybooks, DVDs, computer books, and digital books (De Jong & Bus, 2003), which people can read on a computer or other electronic device,

and the texts can be accessed through the Internet. As technology develops, e-books have acquired different kinds of functions, such as music, audio, text highlighting, and text-to-speech (Parette, Blum, & Luthin, 2015), and they provide clear images on a screen, which traditional books cannot provide (Larson, 2010).

Aligned with the development of e-books, according to the *School Library Journal* (2013), around $73 million was used to purchase e-books in U.S. schools in 2012-2013. The increasing use of e-books reflects the integration of technology into schools' instruction starting in preschool (Jones & Brown, 2011), and some studies (e.g., Korat, Sharmir, & Heibal, 2013; Wood, Pillinger, & Jackson, 2010) have supported the advantages of e-book use in relation to early literacy development. Some studies have also shown that e-books have positive effects on children learning English as their second language (Verhallen & Bus, 2010; Yoon, 2013). Thus, as young children start formal school, they are more likely to have had experiences with e-books (Labbo & Reinking, 2006). While many studies have revealed the positive effects of e-books at school, there is a lack of research on parents' attitudes and perspectives on the use of e-books. Scholars (e.g., Lareau, 1989; Lew, 2006; Louie, 2001; Reay, 1998) have shown that parents' support in their children's learning greatly influences their achievement. Thus, it is necessary to understand parental attitudes and actual use of e-books.

To date, a few researchers have explored parents' perspectives and attitudes toward using media, such as television, cell phone, digital games, or Internet, in their children's learning activities. Scholars (e.g., Buckingham, 2000, 2011; Cohen, 1981; Kenway & Bullen, 2001) argued that parents have shown considerable concern about the potential harm of media and technology on young children's physical and social health and learning over the past 50 years. However, some middle-class parents strategically support their children's media use, such as

Internet, computer, or games, while restraining time, monitoring, or discussing the harm and benefits with children (Hollingworth, Allen, & Rose, 2011). The parents in these studies perceived learning from media as something their children should acquire to capitalize on learning and to open up their future career. In addition, studies (e.g., Li, 2006b; Leseman, Mayo, & Scheele, 2007; Xu, 1999) showed that immigrant parents with children under 2nd grade let their children use television or video games in the host country for acquiring a second language or learning about Western history. These studies have shown that although parents have concerns on media use, they purposefully and strategically use media to benefit their children's learning and successful future career.

Conceptualizing the Mothers' E-book Use

Based on the previous studies, in this chapter, I investigate why and how the seven middle-class Korean mothers used e-books. I draw upon uses and gratifications theory and Bourdieu's (1977, 1986/2002, 1991) notion of the legitimate language and cultural capital.[12] First, the uses and gratification theory views people as active and conscious users of media with their specific purposes (cite literature on this theory). As media are a form of objectified cultural capital, immigrants can use them to acquire cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986/2002) and to facilitate their or their children's integration into the host country (Lee & Tse, 1994; Yoon, Kim, & Eom, 2011). This perspective allows me to explore the seven mothers' motives to use e-books, as presented in this chapter. Second, Bourdieu's (1977) legitimate language helps understand the mothers' competence in their spoken English in relation to social relationships, many of which are unequally structured. Bourdieu argued that at the level of the relations between people, one language is dominant and used to evaluate deviations of the language. The

[12] See Chapter 2 for the theoretical frameworks for this study.

dominant language determines whose speech is worth being heard. People who have not mastered the language may not have competence in speaking and thus may have a strong desire to learn the language so that others will consider what they say worth listening to. Lastly, Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) insisted that the amount of cultural capital influences students' academic achievement. Parents play an important role in their children's accumulation of cultural capital. In particular, middle-class parents understand school expectations and prepare their children for school through daily practices (Lareau, 1989). Although middle-class immigrant parents may have limited cultural capital about school practices in the host country, their embodied middle-class cultural capital relevant to education still enables them to understand the expectation of school and support their children through access to institutional resources (Chao, 2013; Louie, 2001; Lew, 2006; Wang, 2008). From this point of view, I explore how the middle-class Korean immigrant mothers in this study utilized e-books to supplement their limited cultural capital and to support their children's learning.

In particular, this chapter attempts to answer the first and third research questions in this dissertation: In what ways are the seven middle-class Korean mothers with diverse immigrant status similar to and different from each other in their e-books use for their children's English acquisition and learning in school? Why do the mothers use e-books? In the following sections, first, I describe the data collection and data analysis for themes presented in this chapter. Second, I discuss the three themes related to the mothers' motivations to use e-books. Lastly, I end this chapter with the implications for schools and immigrant parents.

Data Collection and Analysis

After interviewing Jungeun on November 7, 2013, I asked the other mothers whether they had used e-books. When the mothers showed me the e-books that they had used, I asked

them how they started to use e-books, why they used them, and what functions they used. Specific functions that the mothers mentioned were separately recorded in my field notes. The conversation about e-books naturally led them to share their concerns about e-book use and their limited selections of English books. In order to check any changes in their e-book use over the course of the data collection, I asked them about the usability and frequency of e-book use every month. Next, when I visited the mothers' homes, I took photos of the e-books and websites that they shared with me. The photos were linked to the interview excerpts. Lastly, I visited each e-book website that the mothers mentioned and noted the common and specific features of all the websites for reference.

All relevant data about e-books were excerpted from all the transcribed interview data and placed in a separate file. The data were analyzed by the constant comparison method (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) to determine the similarities and differences in e-book use of the seven mothers with different immigrant status[13]. From this process of data analysis, I identified three major themes related to the purposes of the mothers' e-book use. These themes were connected more to the mothers' views of their English ability, knowledge about school reading materials and practices, and school support than to their immigrant status. In what follows, I discuss each theme.

The Mothers' E-book Use Based on Their Educational Expectations and Needs

The seven middle-class Korean mothers reported their experiences using e-books, such as CD-ROM storybooks, e-books on Internet websites, or applications for handheld devices (e.g., iPad, Tablet PCs). Table 5.1 indicates the types and functions of the e-books, and the frequency of use reported by the mothers. As shown, the mothers used more e-books on the websites than other types of e-books.

[13] The specific process of data analysis is described in Chapter 1.

Table 5.1

The Types, Functions, and Frequency of E-book Use

Immigrant status	Name	Child's grade	Types of e-books	Functions of e-books	Frequency of e-book use (time/week)
Sojourners	Jinhee	PreK	• CD-ROM storybooks • E-books on an online website	• Narration • Drawing • Game • Music	1~2/week
	Sunhwa	Kindergarten	• CD-ROM storybooks • E-books on an online website provided by school	• Narration • Quizzes • Dictionary	2/week
	Jungeun	Kindergarten	• E-books on the three online websites provided by school or acquaintance	• Narration • Quizzes • Dictionary • Video clips	2~3/week
Status-adjusted immigrants	Miyoung	PreK	• E-books on the two online websites provided by school	• Quizzes • Drawing • Music	1~2/week
	Yunjeong	Kindergarten	• E-books on the two online websites provided by school	• Narration • Quizzes	5/week
1.5 generation immigrants	Jessica	Kindergarten	• E-books on an online website provided by school	• Quizzes	5~6/week
	Emily	PreK	• CD-ROM storybooks • Apps on iPad	• Animation • Games	1~2/week

Note. Functions of e-books indicate the ones that the mothers often used.

Regarding their actual e-book use, Sunhwa (a sojourner mother) and Miyoung (a status-adjusted immigrant mother) reported that they minimized e-book use. These mothers worried about whether e-books would result in their children's media addiction, especially because their children had demonstrated addictive behavior with television or computer programs in the past: "When Seungwoo [Sunhwa's son] liked a television program, he was easily addicted to it" (Interview, 1/21/2014). "When Jaeho [Miyoung's son] was two years old, I often exposed him to watch Baby Einstein. At that time, it was so popular. He was not able to sleep without watching the program and often cried for me to turn it on" (Interview, 2/27/2014). Despite their

concern about the possible negative effects of e-books, these mothers still utilized e-books for approximately 30 minutes once or twice a week.

The seven mothers reported that they appreciated certain features unavailable to printed books, including "narrators [reading] books" (Jinhee's interview, 2/27/2014); "word definitions and pronunciations" (Sunhwa's interview, 1/21/2014); "convenient to use [on] an iPad" (Jessica's interview, 3/16/2014); "vivid animations and comfortableness" (Emily's interview, 2/23/2014); "[saving] space for books at home" (Jungeun's interview, 1/21/2014); and "diverse quizzes" (Yunjeong's interview, 12/9/2013). These perceived advantages of e-books were linked to the mothers' e-book use for their children's English acquisition and learning in schools.

To Help Their Children Learn How to Speak English

The three sojourner mothers, Jinhee, Sunhwa, and Jungeun, and one status-adjusted mother, Yunjeong, pointed out the narrator function as their main reason for using e-books. Jinhee explained: "Instead of me, a narrator reads the text, and the text is highlighted as the narrator reads it" (Interview, 2/27/2014). This function was considered helpful in that the mothers' children could become familiar with English pronunciation. In addition, Sunhwa explained the effectiveness of e-books as follows:

> Whenever I don't know how to pronounce some words while reading English books, I search for the words. Until Seungwoo [her son] is familiar with the words, he repeatedly listens to the words several times. Seungwoo's teacher said that reading books for 15 minutes a day is appropriate for his age, but sometimes it takes more than 30 minutes because of my [difficulty in English] pronunciation; we have to search for some words. Sometimes, this distracts Seungwoo and me from the stories and this becomes annoying. (Interview, 1/21/2014)

In order to teach accurate pronunciation, Sunhwa spent twice as much time as Seungwoo's teacher suggested. Searching for the pronunciation of the words often distracted the Sunhwa and her son from the stories. To help her son pay attention to the stories again after such distraction, Sunhwa repeated some parts that she had already read; therefore, it took more time to complete reading a book to her son. Given that e-books provide the narrator function, Sunhwa said that it saved time and helped her son focus on the books without distraction.

However, the four mothers were motivated to use e-books not only due to their difficulty in accurate English pronunciation but also because of their lack of competence in their spoken English. Sunhwa explained:

> I can understand English books, but I am not good at speaking English. When I speak English, I feel like I am getting smaller. If I express this feeling in front of Seoungwoo [her son], I worry he might also feel the same way when he speaks [English]. So, I pretend to be confident in [speaking] English. (Interview, 2/20/2014)

Similarly, Jinhee explained that her lack of competence in speaking English, with her Korean accent, made her use e-books:

> If I speak English, some people are not willing to listen to me or they, even my children, don't understand me because of my lack of English skills. E-books are better than me. Hyowon [her eldest child] often points out that my [English] pronunciation is bad. She said that she would marry an American, because she worries whether her English will change like mine if she marries a Korean. (Interview, 5/14/2014)

Jinhee reported that she had numerous negative experiences in which some Americans ignored or misunderstood her when she spoke in English. These experiences from social relationships made her perceive herself as not a "legitimate speaker" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 650) in English. In

particular, Hyowon, Jinhee's eldest child and a second grader, often pointed out how her mother's English with a Korean accent was "bad" and tried to correct her. Hyowon even thought that the Korean accent could be contagious to her if she had a Korean husband. Through these accumulated experiences, Jinhee admitted that she could not be a good model for her children's English learning and that electronic narrators of e-books would do a much better job.

Jungeun (a sojourner mother) and Yunjeong (a status-adjusted mother) also perceived themselves as "illegitimate speakers" regardless of their English skills and length of residence. Jungeun attended an advanced ESL class run by a local church, and Yunjeong had received a master's degree in the U.S. They had also resided in the U.S. for over 10 years, but they worried whether their spoken English would negatively affect their children's English acquisition and school life, as stated in the following interview transcripts:

> Jungeun: I have many concerns when I read books to Jinwoo [her son] because of my pronunciation and Korean accent . . . When I had a conference with my child's teacher, I asked the teacher whether it was okay for me to read English books [to her son]. She said that it was fine. However, my Korean friends and Jinwoo's preschool teachers told me that it might be better to show television programs or e-books to him rather than reading books to him. If he learns English in a wrong way, he may have problems learning in school. (Interview, 11/7/2013)
>
> Yunjeong: I worry whether Taehwan [her son] learns incorrect pronunciation as I read books to him. If he misunderstands teachers' directions, I feel that I caused this problem. He usually speaks English well, but he sometimes mispronounces some words or speaks incorrect sentences. He said that his classmates tease him

> when he makes mistakes in speaking. Because he is young, he seems to be fine. However, I worry whether these experiences will hurt him as he grows up . . . When I went to his school as a volunteer, some children were not willing to try to understand what I said because of my accent . . . how can I expect these children to treat Taehwan as an equal [when he speaks English] with a different accent? So, I want him to speak English like a native speaker. (Interview, 3/30/2014)

As shown in these excerpts, Jungeun and Yunjeong viewed themselves as inappropriate English-speaking models for their children. Even though Jinwoo's teacher supported Jungeun's sharing English books with her son, the majority of her acquaintances reinforced her belief that programs and e-books were better than she was. They also led her to believe that her spoken English might negatively influence Jinwoo's school learning. Similarly, Yunjeong thought that her poor spoken English caused some of Taewhan's school problems, such as misunderstanding teachers' directions and his peers' teasing. In particular, based on her experiences with young children at school, Yunjeong perceived that native English-speaking children could judge people according to their spoken English and show different attitudes. From her perspective, helping her son to be able to speak English without an accent was a way to help him to be treated equally and respected by his peers and other native English speakers.

As shown in the above interview excerpts, Sunhwa, Jinhee, Jungeun, and Yunjeong thought that they did not have competence in speaking English and considered e-books proper English-speaking models for their children. This was interesting in comparison with the response of the other mothers, Miyoung (a status-adjusted immigrant), Jessica, and Emily (1.5 generation immigrants). They did not use e-books for their children's development of English

speaking skills. Their fluent English skills definitely made them self-assured in teaching their children: "I am confident in teaching English and reading English books" (Emily's interview, 2/23/2014). Also, they were confident in having the "right to speak" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 648)—power to receive attention from native English speakers: "When I speak, if people say 'what?' I think that they just did not understand me as it happens among Koreans. So, I can say it again" (Jessica's interview, 8/30/2014). Their right to speak seemed to be caused by their repeated experiences respected by others. Miyoung, who is a college instructor, said, "Although I am not good at speaking English, my students pay attention to me. I think that what is important is how to communicate with people rather than how to speak" (Interview, 2/4/2014).

When I asked the four mothers, Jinhee, Sunhwa, Jungeun, and Yunjeong, about whom they considered a good English model, they mentioned people who could speak Standard English: "I want Junghyun [her second daughter] to learn standard English. If we see people who are well educated, they pronounce words correctly and speak without an accent. Regardless of race, many teachers in Junghyun's school speak Standard English" (Jinhee's interview, 11/5/2014). The mothers also mentioned that children learn and are tested on Standard English in school: "On school texts or tests, there are no Southern or African American expressions. Everything is related to standard English" (Jungeun's interview, 1/21/2014). These mothers distinguished people depending on how they speak English and considered Standard English an important trait for their children to acquire for their learning and assessment in school and as a symbol of higher education.

Aligned with the four mothers' views on the appropriate model of English, the pronunciation of the narrators of the e-books used by the mothers was limited to American English and/or British English only. Bourdieu (1991) argued that dictionaries and books are

symbolic goods of a dominant language. Likewise, in their best effort to help their children to become competent English speakers by utilizing e-books as symbolic goods, these immigrant mothers were also engaged in the reproduction of the social value of Standard English.

To Provide Children with Appropriate Books for Learning in School

Regardless of their immigrant status, the seven mothers reported that e-books helped them access appropriate books that reflected school reading practices and that could provide benefits to their children's learning at school. For example, Emily, Yunjeong, and Jungeun articulated their roles in providing resources to their children's learning:

> Emily: I think that teachers often use e-books. When I was young, there was no such book. Things are changed a lot. Since schools emphasize e-books, I would like to provide similar experiences to Jiwan [her son]. (Interview, 5/31/2014)
>
> Yunjeong: I encouraged Taehwan [her son] to use e-books every day. Some books [on e-book websites] are boring, so I don't like to choose these kinds of books for him. However, these books provide him with information or knowledge related to his learning in school that I might neglect because I usually pick books for fun and tend to check out fiction books. He can gain knowledge from the books, and this helps him do well in school. (Interview, 12/9/2013)
>
> Jungeun: Jinwoo [her son] said that his teacher uses this e-book website. She uses these e-books because, I assume, they are educational. And he is also familiar with the e-books on this website. If I review what he reads in school, he will be more familiar with the information and may have a positive attitude toward school texts. (Interview, 4/24/2014)

As shown in these interview transcripts, Emily, Yunjeong, and Jungeun took the responsibility to provide reading experiences to their children that were similar to those at school. They actively utilized e-book information acquired through diverse ways and set up a schedule for e-books in their children's routine at home. Emily and Yunjeong used e-book websites, which their children's school provided as additional resources. In the case of Jungeun, her acquaintance shared an e-book website for her son's English development. When she shared an e-book with her son, she learned from him that his teacher often used the same e-book website. His teacher's use led Jungeun to perceive the website as educational and to share the e-books with her son every night before going to bed. By using e-books, these mothers made an effort to align their reading at home and school in order to reinforce their children's learning at school. Some features of the e-books easily facilitated their efforts, as described below.

The six mothers, except for Emily (1.5 generation immigrant mother), particularly liked the fact that the e-books indicated reading levels. Most of these mothers were not familiar with reading levels until they came to the U.S.: "In Korea, students read the same books regardless of their individual reading ability" (Sunhwa's interview, 1/21/2014). Also, they had difficulties in figuring out the level of the books: "All books did not indicate the levels on their covers" (Jinhee's interview, 3/30/2014). Even, Jessica, who had educational experiences in the U.S. from middle school through college, was not sure how to identify reading levels among many books. She explained how e-books were effective in supporting her child's reading:

> On the website, books are already selected based on children's reading levels. Without putting a lot of effort into searching, lots of good books are available. While I supervise Chris when he uses e-books, I've also learned about differences among reading levels and understood where his level is and what I can do to support him. (Interview, 7/14/2014)

Jessica encouraged Chris to use e-books on a website that his teacher suggested. On the website, the books were classified according to the A to Z reading levels, and 50 fiction and non-fiction books had already been chosen for each level. From Jessica's point of view, the preselected e-books grouped by reading levels saved her time in searching for appropriate books for her son. She supported Chris in improving his reading skills through using e-books, and at the same time through monitoring his e-book use, she became familiar with school reading practices. This enabled her to provide additional printed books for her son.

The three sojourner mothers (Jinhee, Sunhwa, and Jungeun) and the two status-adjusted immigrant mothers (Miyoung and Yunjeong) reported that classified topics, such as animals, history, and science, were useful to supplement their children's learning in school. In particular, they used e-books to teach about U.S. history. Whenever their children posed questions related to the U.S., these mothers answered the questions based on their knowledge or provided relevant information by searching online or by checking out books from public libraries. However, they felt guilty that they could not fully support their children's learning at school due to their limited knowledge and book preference. For example, Jinhee said: "I don't know about the U.S., so I tend not to select many books about the U.S. Due to my preference, I felt that Junghyun [her daughter] does not seem to know about America well. I worry whether she will fall behind in learning as a result" (Interview, 4/11/2014). In addition, although these mothers wanted to locate the proper books for their children, they expressed their difficulty in searching for books: "Because I did not grow up here, I don't have any idea about which books I need to share with Taehwan. There are too many non-fiction books about the U.S., and I feel that those books are too broad and difficult to select" (Yunjeong's Interview, 12/9/2013).

Five mothers mentioned how a limited number of e-books helped them find books relevant to the U.S. history. For example, Jungeun shared an e-book website with me and explained how e-books facilitated her search for books:

> This [e-book] website is well organized . . . If I click on the history section . . . books are classified by experts [based on themes], such as presidents, events, or special days. Several days ago, Jinwoo [her son] and I selected some e-books about American presidents. In this section, many presidents whom I knew and some whom I did not know are listed. Through this list, I can have an idea about what Jinwoo does not know yet. Jinwoo and I selected a book about Washington about whom I learned in school. We also selected books about other presidents whom we didn't know. (Interview 2/20/2014)

As shown in this interview, classified information in e-books enabled Jungeun to easily find out what she wanted to read to Jinwoo. Also, this information helped her understand what her child needed to know about the U.S. history. Jungeun reported that she used the e-book website on a regular basis, selecting two topics under the history section each time she visited the website. In addition, knowing that "experts" had selected the books on the websites was reassuring to her. Similarly, the other four mothers commented how selections by the experts relieved their uncertainty about which books were worth reading: "Experts have already selected the books. They know what children of a certain age need to know and what teachers teach about the U.S. at that age" (Sunhwa's interview, 2/20/2014). "They know more about good quality of books for children" (Miyoung's interview, 12/10/2013). These interview excerpts revealed that due to their limited knowledge about the U.S. and its history, the mothers did not feel confident in

choosing books about the U.S. for their children. They tended to rely on the experts, such as publishers, teachers, and librarians who were written in e-book websites.

In addition, Yunjeong, Miyoung, and Sunhwa used e-books in order to compensate for limited support that they received from their children's schools. These mothers reported that schools did not fully provide enough book information for immigrant parents. For example, Yunjeong said: "E-books and brochures are the only book information resources that I can use. I think that there is no special support for immigrant parents. I just guess that's because the majority of students at school are White" (Interview, 2/27/2014). The other mothers expressed similar opinions about school support even though the students' population in their children's schools was diverse. Miyoung explained: "Almost one third of the students are from other countries, but I don't think that the school provides enough information to the parents" (Interview, 2/27/2014). More specifically, in the following interview, Miyoung and Sunhwa shared their thoughts on the book information provided by the schools:

> Miyoung: I can find book lists if I access Haemin's [her daughter] teacher's website. However, I don't have any idea about the books by just looking at book titles on the lists. Looking at the lists, American parents might remember these books because they may have read them when they were young. Searching for book information through Amazon is better because I can see images and read others' reviews, [This helps me] find out whether the books are useful for Haemin and whether she would like them or not. E-books are even easier [than printed books] in that they provide summaries of stories. (Interview, 2/4/2013).
>
> Sunhwa: Seungwoo's school sends book brochures to us each month or every other month. For the first several months, I used them because the books were

> classified according to popularity, topics, and gender, and the reading levels were also indicated. However, I still search for books because I cannot see inside the books and over 200 books are included in each brochure. I also found that the same books are listed in the brochures many times . . . In contrast, e-books provide specific information and diverse books without redundancy. (Interview, 1/21/2014)

Miyoung and Sunwha perceived that the book resources suggested by schools were too broad because of their unfamiliarity with English books, the limited book information, and the large number of available books. These resources still required them to search for information about which books were worth reading. On the other hand, specific information that came with e-books, such as the cover page and story summary, enabled the mothers not only to save time, but also to determine what stories were appropriate for their children's development or whether their children would like them. In addition, as Sunhwa mentioned, the diversity of e-books was appealing in that her child could be exposed to different types of books, which the mothers in this study often considered important for their children' learning.

The seven middle-class Korean immigrant mothers in this study understood that the greater familiarity with the school practices at home promotes their children's academic success as immigrant parents did in the previous studies (e.g., Chao, 2013; Lareau, 1989; Li, 2006a; Reese, Arauz, & Bazán, 2012). In order to provide benefits to their children's learning in U.S. schools, the mothers utilized e-books. In particular, the status-adjusted immigrant mothers (Miyoung and Yunjeong) and one sojourner mother (Sunhwa) used e-books to compensate for insufficient information about books given by their children's schools.

To Prepare for Tests

The four mothers with children in kindergarten, Sunhwa, Jungeun, Yunjeong, and Jessica, encouraged their children to use more e-books (2~5 times per week) compared to the mothers whose children were preschoolers (1~2 per week), as shown in Table 4.1. They reported that their children's school provided e-book websites. Although using e-books was not mandatory, these mothers used e-books because they perceived e-book quizzes as useful for developing their children's reading skills. Sunhwa and Yunjeong articulated their reasons.

> Sunhwa: When Seungwoo [her son] was four years old, I read books to him mainly for entertainment. Now, he is a kindergartner. He needs to comprehensively understand the contents of books. When I read [printed] books, I often ask him some questions relevant to [the contents of] the books to check whether he understands or not. I cannot always come up with quizzes for each book and I am not sure whether my quizzes are appropriate, so e-books are useful. (Interview, 2/20/2014)

> Yunjeong: Reading at the kindergarten level is not just reading words or stories. Taehwan [her son] needs to be able to understand the contents of books, to pick up important parts [of the books], and to remember them . . . I think that as he practices reading through e-books, he can figure out what will be questioned on quizzes and what he needs to focus on while reading them. (Interview, 12/9/2013)

As shown in these interview transcripts, Sunhwa and Yunjeong believed that kindergartners need to understand the contents of books and to solve problems based on their understanding. In this sense, these mothers appreciated the quizzes that came with the e-books in that they could gauge

their children's reading skills. In addition, Yunjeong thought that the quizzes were helpful in training her son to focus on certain facts in the books that might be important to remember. The mothers told me that this reading skill was imperative for their children's success in school.

Since the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act of 2001, high-stakes standardized tests have been emphasized in school. Although there have been heavy critiques of determining each child's progress based on single test scores, many parents recognize the significance of standardized test scores in their children's academic achievement (Rose & Gallup, 2006). Middle-class parents feel an urgency and anxiety to help their children perform well on tests, and the most dedicated parents invest in their children's mastery of early literacy to secure high scores (Lareau, 1989; Vincent & Ball, 2007). In Jessica's interview, she explained how she invested in her son's education by utilizing e-books to help him acquire better test scores:

> Frankly speaking, e-books are tools to prepare for tests . . . The CogAT [Cognitive Abilities Test] will be next month. From this year [2014-2015], the new assessment system [Georgia Milestones] starts. So, children have to take tests every year . . . [and] Chris's school sends us what he has done in school. From the 1st grade, all the work that children do will be graded. Everything is tested. I feel like "War begins." The earlier he prepares for tests, the better grades he will receive. (Interview, 8/30/2014)

As schools in Georgia have adopted the Georgia Milestones assessments, which will require students to take a test every year beginning in the 3rd grade, Chris's school had explicitly emphasized students' assessment and provided more test-oriented activities. Also, the school used the CogAT to determine the students' eligibility for placement in the gifted program. Jessica wanted her son to be in the gifted program in the first grade. She believed that "the gifted program would provide Chris a better education and would be a first step for acceptance in an

Ivy League university. This opportunity will make Chris succeed in the future" (Interview, 7/12/2014). In addition, Jessica explained that more than one third of the students in Chris's classroom were Koreans, who were highly competitive in order to enter the gifted program, and that only the top three children could be recommended by Chris's teacher. This situation made Jessica believe that getting good test scores was most important: "Although reading books can benefit Chris's school performance, test scores more clearly show how smart he is" (Interview, 8/30/2014). Thus, she wanted her son to become familiar with test-oriented readings through e-books beginning in kindergarten to develop testing skills and to do well on tests.

Additionally, as testing is increasingly conducted on computers in today's schools, Jungeun and Yungeong wanted to provide similar experiences for testing. For example, Jungeun explained: "Jinwoo [her son] likes to solve problems on paper, but his school uses computers for testing. So, I think that it is necessary to balance printed books and e-books" (Interview, 4/24/2014). Yunjeong also shared how exposing her son to e-book quizzes helped him prepare for tests: "Without highlighting texts, Taehwan is now able to remember important parts of texts and answer questions" (Interview, 3/30/2014). Utilizing e-books at home, these mothers expected that their children would be well prepared for tests.

Nonetheless, the two mothers, Jungeun and Yunjeong, did not always appreciate e-books or the quizzes available through the school's recommended e-book websites. They worried about the negative effects and low quality of e-books. For example, Yunjeong questioned whether e-books would increase competition among children and raised concerns about the types of quizzes. In particular, she expressed her concerns about one of the websites suggested by the school:

> If children answer correctly, they can get points. The problematic aspect of this website is that all students' records in the school are ranked based on their points and the results are available to everyone. Children compete to put their name higher than others on the list. Taehwan [her son] showed another child's record to me. He spent 8 hours on a section and a total 20 hours a week [on the e-book website] to acquire a higher ranking. . . . The more serious problem is that quizzes are simple, such as asking about the front cover, period . . . Taehwan can answer these questions rather easily. Also, regardless of his or her level, every child solves the same quizzes. Now, Taehwan seems to be bored and shows less interest in the e-book website. More challenging questions that can improve his creativity and thinking skills are needed for him to learn more. (Interview, 2/27/2014)

Yunjeong worried that with this e-book system, the school pushed the children into competing against each other and made some children become addicted to e-books by spending so many hours. In addition, while she wanted individualized quizzes for Taehwan, the questions on the website targeted all children in the same grade. These features of quizzes did not meet her expectation to provide individualized support for her child's reading level. Similarly, Jungeun discussed the contents of e-book quizzes:

> I think that the contents of e-books need to be more developed. In terms of quizzes, the same pattern is repeated. In the short term, e-book quizzes can motivate children to read texts and to take a test because they can receive immediate rewards. However, I think that this might prevent Jinwoo [her son] from thinking deeply as he becomes accustomed to the pattern . . . These days, society requires people to be creative and to see the world

> from different perspectives. People need more than just a college diploma. (Interview, 3/20/2014)

Jungeun evaluated the 10 e-book websites that her son's school provided. She thought that the quizzes of some e-book websites were not helpful for Jinwoo's thinking skills, which she considered essential for his future success. Based on her evaluation, she only used three of the 10 e-book websites. Both Jungeun and Yunjeong identified educational benefits of e-books while simultaneously recognizing disadvantages of e-books harmful to their children's learning.

However, Jungeun and Yunjeong were reluctant to share the perceived disadvantages of e-books with the school teachers. From Jungeun's experience, her son's teacher appeared unavailable even when Jungeun approached her. She shared the following example: "Although I signed up to volunteer, the school hasn't contacted me" (Interview, 3/20/2014). This incident led her to think that the school staff did not really want her to contact them. Similarly, Yunjeong was not sure whether she could share her concern with her son's teacher:

> I think that school provides more systematic ways than I can in terms of educating children. I do not know the U.S. school system well. Teachers know more about education than I do. In addition, I don't want Taehwan's teacher to think that I am an aggressive mom. If mothers are too aggressive, the teacher might have a negative impression on those mothers' children. (Interview, 3/30/2014)

As shown in the interview excerpt, Yunjeong respected the authority of the school. According to Sohn and Wang (2006), Korean parents tend to defer to teachers in terms of education matters and to avoid direct disagreement, which can be viewed as a threat to school authority. In addition, Yunjeong's lack of U.S. early school experiences made her less confident in challenging the school's e-book suggestion. Yunjeong worried about whether sharing her

concern with the school would put her son in a difficult situation at school. Due to these reasons, rather than directly expressing her opinions about the e-books with the teacher, Yunjeong stopped her son from using the e-book website at home. Instead, she purchased workbooks in bookstores, created some activities by herself, and brought her son to the local learning center.

In summary, the mothers used e-books to help their children develop reading skills that were oriented toward testing in the schools. According to Bourdieu (1990), people strategically compete for resources, positions, and opportunities and can become successful if they have cultural capital and embody ways of being that are valued within their fields. That is, the mothers helped their children become more equipped with school-valued practices to succeed in educational pursuits. However, they did not just passively adopt resources that the schools provided. Instead, they evaluated the resources and explored ways to move beyond the limitations of the resources.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter is to understand why and how the seven middle-class Korean mothers with different immigrant status used e-books for their children's English development and learning. The findings of this study showed that the mothers' English skills, their children's age, and school practices and support were the critical factors that motivated these immigrant mothers to use e-books rather than their immigrant status. Also, the results of this study showed that these mothers actively utilized e-books for their children's English and learning in school. These findings are in line with those of previous studies (Hollingworth, Allen, & Rose, 2011; Li, 2006b; Leseman, Mayo, & Scheele, 2007; Xu, 1999) that showed that the immigrant parents received the benefits of media use and then allowed their children to use media in relation to their children's English development and learning at school.

Drawing on the uses and gratifications theory, I was able to see that the mothers purposely utilized e-books to meet the expectations of school and society on their children's English development and to compensate for their limited English book experiences and a lack of school support in reading materials. Also, Bourdieu's (1977, 1991) notion of legitimate language provided an understanding of the mothers' perceptions on their spoken language and Standard English. In addition, his idea of cultural capital (1986/2002) allowed me to examine how the mothers' cultural capital in relation to school reading materials and practices influenced their e-book selections.

The four participating mothers (Sunhwa, Jinhee, Jungeun, and Yunjeong) who did not perceive themselves as "legitimate [English] speakers" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 650) used the narration of e-books to teach their children Standard English. They viewed Standard English as beneficial to their children's school life and social position. The value placed on Standard English can be explained by Bourdieu's (1991) discussion of legitimate language and its symbolic power. Bourdieu argued that valuing legitimate language often results in devaluing deviations of the language as well as those who speak such languages. He explained that symbolic power is the "invisible power which can be exercised only with the complicity of those who do not want to know that they are subject to it, or even that they themselves exercise it" (Bourdieu, p. 164). Likewise, while interacting with others, the mothers experienced that their spoken language was devalued, and these experiences led the mothers to perceive that their social position was lower than that of native English speakers. In turn, they uncritically believed that supporting their children to be familiar with Standard English would help the children take up a social position equal to that of native speakers. In doing so, they valued e-book narration more than their spoken English.

Bourdieu (1986/2002) argued that the amount of cultural capital from social class determines children's academic achievement. From his argument, scholars (e.g., Chao, 2009; Lareau, 1989; Reay, 1998) have shown that middle-class parents' cultural capital facilitated their children's English development and learning in school. Likewise, the seven Korean immigrant mothers' cultural capital enabled them to understand the U.S. school curriculum and their children's needs in order to perform well in school. For example, the mothers perceived the importance of providing reading materials similar to those of the schools. As schools used e-books and encouraged their use at home, the mothers provided e-books to their children on a regular basis. Also, the mothers were aware of their children's reading levels and their own limited knowledge in social studies and English books. When the mothers realized that e-books effectively provided a variety of books that included reading level, school subjects, and the information about English books that they needed, they purposely utilized e-books for their children's education.

One of the findings of this chapter was that some mothers had difficulties in seeking book information among a great deal of school resources, such as booklists and book brochures, because of their limited knowledge and experiences with English books. On the contrary, e-books provided specific information such as summaries of books, reading level, and the book covers. This information helped the immigrant mothers figure out what books could fit into their children's interests and learning. This finding revealed that it is important to consider immigrant parents' needs in providing reading resources.

Buckingham and Scanlon (2001) argued that the continuous emphasis on tests has created the growing competition among schools, parents, and children. In particular, reading practices in U.S. schools have focused on students' understanding of the texts and their ability to organize

and evaluate the information of the texts (Allington, 2001). In this atmosphere, because these mothers valued school reading practices, they wanted their children to become familiar with tests and skill-based reading through e-books for their children's academic success. However, some of the mothers expressed their concerns about simple quizzes that did not promote their children's "thoughtful literacy" (Allington, 2001, p. 278) and about the public announcement of scores that increased too much competition among the children. They were caught between valuing thoughtful literacy and skill-based reading; their concerns clearly reflected the current debate over good reading practices in school.

CHAPTER 6

EPILOGUE

This study aimed to explore how seven middle-class Korean mothers with different immigrant status in the U.S. selected books for their children's language development and learning. I addressed literature review, methodology, and theoretical frameworks in Chapters 1 and 2 in order to provide relevant perspectives on the seven mothers' choices of books and to lay a foundation for understanding their selections. In Chapter 3, I examined what books the mothers considered valuable for their children's cultural and social identity and how their middle-class habitus prevented their book choices with regard to other race and social class. Chapter 4 showed the mothers' different and similar book selections in relation to their children's Korean and/or English development. Also, the chapter explained what factors influenced the mothers to prefer English books as their children started kindergarten. In Chapter 5, I examined why the mothers used e-books and what features of e-books satisfied their needs to help their children's English development and learning. In this final chapter, I summarize the findings and discuss some issues in immigrant parent selections. At the end of chapter, I also state some limitations of this study and suggest some directions for future research. Before summarizing and discussing, I would like to share these mothers' book donation related to their involvement in school activities that I did not describe in the previous chapters.

Book Donations as a Way of Parent Involvement

Through interviews, I learned that the sojourner mothers and the status-adjusted immigrant mothers purchased some books on the teacher-recommended book lists even if those books did not meet their personal preferences. When asked why, these mothers explained that they selected those books to appear involved in the school activities:

Miyoung (a status-adjusted immigrant): I felt obliged to buy these books because Haemin's school recommended them. And . . . if I purchase a book [on a school brochure], the company [counts it as a donation and] sends the same book to the school. Because I work during the daytime and take care of Haesoo [her youngest daughter], I am not able to volunteer for school activities. So, I need to help the school at least in this way. (Interview, 10/17/2013)

Sunhwa (a sojourner): I think I don't fully participate in school activities perhaps from the school perspective because American schools request parents to volunteer. Instead, I have donated books by spending around $30 to $ 50 whenever the school asks. I hope I can contribute to the school to some extent. (Interview, 11/5/2014)

Jinhee (a sojourner): If schools need books, parents can donate. If I go to a book fair, I usually buy some books. There seems to be an assumption about Asian parents: "Asian parents aren't involved in and don't donate to school" and " [Asian parents] only think about their children." I don't like to give that kind of negative impression to the school. If I buy a book, Junghyun's [her daughter] name is written inside the book. I want to convey the message that I am interested in school activities and that I am not just sending my child to the school. I think that

> it [buying books as a way to make a donation] is the easiest way to send this message to the school. (Interview, 5/14/2014)

As shown in the above interview transcripts, these mothers demonstrated their willingness to meet and comply with school expectations on parent involvement by making donations of books to their child's school. In particular, Jinhee purchased books to challenge the negative perception about Asian parents who had been considered non-participating and indifferent. These mothers upheld the view of the ideal parenting promoted by middle-class White parents, who emphasize "being attentive to school and teachers" (Griffith & Smith, 2005, p. 40). The immigrant mothers in my study acknowledged the benefit of their involvement in their children's school activities, as articulated by Yunjeong: "If Taehwan's teacher knows about my participation, she will pay attention to him" (Interview, 11/14/2013).

However, the sojourner mothers and the status-adjusted immigrant mothers expressed difficulties in their direct involvement in school activities due to their "lack of English skills" (Sunhwa's interview, 1/21/2014); "[need to] take care of [a] young child" (Jinhee's interview, 12/10/2013); "lack of knowledge about school curriculum" (Yunjeong's interview, 11/14/2013); "work responsibility" (Miyoung's interview, 10/17/2013); and what they presumed to be the "teachers' indifferent attitudes" (Jungeun's interview, 2/20/2014). By facing these challenges, these middle-class immigrant mothers tried to compensate for their limited involvement by using their time and economic capital to donate books to school. They went to their children's schools whenever book fairs were held and looked at school brochures to select books they could donate to the school. This finding is somewhat different from what researchers have found about low-income immigrant parents, who experience difficulties in their participation in school events due to a variety of issues, such as transportation, inflexible work hours, and language barriers (e.g.,

Lightfoot, 2004; Louie, 2006; Turney & Kao, 2009). To some degree both groups of immigrant parents share difficulties in their direct participation in school events due to language barriers. However, the middle-class immigrant mothers in my study were able to utilize their economic capital to compensate for their limited involvement in their children's school activities.

Summary and Discussion

Anderson et al. (2001) argued that the more educators understand why parents select certain books, the better they can work collaboratively with parents to support their children's learning at home and school. In order to understand the seven middle-class Korean mothers' purpose and needs in educating their children in the U.S., this study highlighted the factors influencing the mothers' book selections and their reasons for choosing specific books.

All of the seven mothers valued the Korean language and culture because they perceived it as valuable for their children's lives now and in the future. For the sojourner mothers, the Korean language and culture were considered necessary for their children's successful schooling and integration into Korea when they return. In the case of the status-adjusted immigrant mothers, they valued the Korean language and culture for family ties and ethnic identity. In addition, they thought that developing all aspects of the Korean language, including speaking, listening, reading, and writing, could provide advantages for their children's successful admission to U.S. universities and their future careers. The sojourner mothers and the status-adjusted immigrant mothers believed that reading Korean books would help their children develop Korean language skills and understand Korean culture. The 1.5 generation immigrant mothers also valued their children's Korean oral language skills and knowledge of Korean culture in relation to their children's identity, family ties, and future careers in the U.S. However, these mothers had limited access to Korean books. They also believed that they did

not have to read Korean books because their children could learn Korean reading and writing skills, when necessary. Instead, these 1.5 generation immigrant mothers perceived that English and understanding of the U.S. culture would provide more valuable resources for their children's successful life in the U.S. Thus, they only read English books. These results showed that depending on their residence purpose, experiences, and accessibility to books in the U.S., immigrant parents may have different needs and views on the heritage language development and cultural value in relation to their children's early education.

Unlike the post-1965 Korean immigrants who lived close to a White middle-class community and were more likely to emphasize their children's English skills for their children's assimilation into the U.S. society (Kim & Min, 1992), the new generation of Korean immigrant mothers described in my study valued the Korean language and culture. The mothers' retention of the Korean language and culture reflects what Portes and his colleagues (Portes, Fernandez-Kelly, Haller, 2005; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Portes & Zhou, 1993) called selective acculturation, in which immigrant parents attempt to teach the cultural values of their country of origin to their children and gradually learn American ways. Because non-White immigrant children may not have opportunities to access the mainstream society due to the unequal social structure, selective acculturation is considered for immigrant parents as "the best strategy for capitalizing on otherwise unavailable material and moral resources" (Portes & Zhou, 1993, p. 96). Likewise, the mothers in this study perceived that their children's minority status could result in barriers to their children's social mobility and that the Korean language and culture could provide better opportunities for their children (e.g., keeping the Korean language for their children's SAT foreign language subject test, for their future careers, and for their future security when returning to the Korean community). For these reasons, they tried to maintain the Korean

language and culture. Particularly, as Portes and Zhou (1993) argued for the importance of understanding the social context of immigrants in their assimilation, these mothers lived close to Koreatown in Duluth, where most of the people speak Korean, share the Korean culture, and provide social and cultural resources. Because they mainly interacted with Koreans in the same ethnic community, this community seems to reinforce the mothers' efforts in emphasizing the Korean culture and language to their children.

Although the participating mothers valued the Korean language, as described in Chapter 4, when their children attended kindergarten, all the mothers exposed their children to more English books than Korean books in order to meet the schools' expectations of English reading skills. The mothers' English book preferences revealed their pragmatism. Tobin, Arzubiaga, and Adair (2013) argued that immigrant parents tend to be pragmatists. In their study, while immigrant parents with preschool children wanted their children to maintain the home language, they prioritized their children's English development in preschool in order to avoid the stigmatization of having insufficient English skills in the following year in English-only kindergartens. The parents wanted to reduce the risks of their children's failure in English development and made a decision based on their hierarchical needs regarding English. In this vein, the mothers in the current study understood that the children's English ability could lead to immediate advantages or disadvantages in school, so they preferred English books. In addition, their book preferences clearly showed the symbolic power of English. According to Bourdieu (1991), when a certain language is legitimate and authorized, it has symbolic power within a field and is involved in subordinating other languages. Thus, English as an official and global language undeniably influenced the middle-class mothers' book selections. Because these mothers understood the positive effects of English in their children's school and social success,

as middle-class and well-educated parents, by using their social and cultural capital (e.g., their English fluency), they actively supported their children's English skills at home by reading English books to them.

The results discussed above suggest that helping children become bilingual and biliterate and learn about their heritage culture is a dilemma for immigrant parents. Until now, scholars (e.g., Fillmore, 1991; Li, 2006b; Tse, 2001) have argued for school support for bilingualism because heritage language can play an important role in children's identity, family ties, academic performance, social relationships, and future careers. Although I am not arguing against support for bilingualism, as Tobin et al. (2013) suggested, I want to propose that schools consider immigrant parents' range of needs in relation to language. Immigrant parents may have different perspectives of what language their children should learn at home and school based on their consideration of the risks and priorities for their children's success. Thus, it is necessary to approach parents' needs with multiple perspectives rather than with only one answer on language.

The seven mothers tended to choose informational books and e-books to help their children acquire knowledge and develop reading skills. In particular, compared to the results of some previous studies (e.g., Anderson et al., 2001; Dzama & Gilstrap, 1985; Owens, 1992) showing that parents did not mainly consider seeking information from books in their selections, the mothers in this study emphasized this pursuit of information and the development of their children's reading skills in their book choices. Through their book selections, the mothers' emphasis calls attention to Rosenblatt's (1938/1976) aesthetic and efferent stance in reading. According to Rosenblatt, an aesthetic stance helps people have a virtual experience by being emotionally involved in and making a personal connection to stories. In contrast, when people

read texts from an efferent stance, they are associated with gathering information from texts to use in the real world. From Rosenblatt's perspective, in this study, the mothers' emphasis on seeking information and developing reading skills closely aligns with an efferent stance. Scholars (e.g., Cox & Many, 1992; Galda & Liang, 2003; Rosenblatt, 1991) have stated the importance of both an aesthetic and an efferent stance in children's engagement in reading and have highlighted an aesthetic stance because this is critical for further thinking about and responding to books. The mothers in this study considered an aesthetic stance in their book selections for their children to enjoy books and to make life connections to them. However, as a middle-class minority, they had concerns about their children's discrimination and barriers in relation to their school life and social success. In order to prevent perceived discrimination and barriers, the mothers emphasized the importance of their children being equipped with knowledge and becoming familiar with reading practices at school. Also, they were Korean mothers who valued education and tended to follow school practices with regard to the children's reading (Yu & McMullen, 2003). As schools emphasized an efferent stance toward literature (Zarillo & Cox, 1992), the mothers were oriented toward emphasizing this stance in guiding their children's reading. Thus, rather than criticizing their efferent stance, I suggest that we understand these mothers' book selections as a strategy to help their children overcome challenges that they might face as immigrants in the host society and as a cultural manifestation of supporting their children's reading development.

This study revealed that the sojourner mothers used informational books written in Korean. This result brings attention to debates over the use of the legitimate language for science instruction. Many administrators and teachers believed that students who are English language learners would fall behind in science if the students were not taught in English (Lee,

2004; Lee & Buxton, 2008). However, numerous researchers (e.g., Brown, 2006; Lee & Buxton, 2013; Luykx, Lee, & Edwards, 2013) have argued that the home language is useful because "use of students' home language in instruction can help them develop deeper understandings of science concepts and communicate their ideas in a nonformulaic manner" (Luykx, Lee, & Edwards, 2013 p. 645). The mothers participating in this dissertation study did not seem to be aware of the research literature on the effects of home language in learning scientific concepts. However, they believed that learning from books written in the Korean language would facilitate their children's understanding of such concepts. Based on this belief, they actually used these books at home to help their children gain scientific concepts.

The book choices of the middle-class mothers in this study reflected their ambivalent attitudes toward racial minority groups. As they experienced or worried about discrimination against them and their children due to their ethnicity and language, by utilizing Norton's (1997) notion of investment, I illustrated that the mothers actively invested in books to help change their children's social identity. However, from Bourdieu's idea of habitus, their book selections were constrained; while the mothers' habitus caused them to link themselves to White middle class and choose the books depicting them, it led them to distinguish themselves from other racial minorities presented in books and to seldom choose these books for their children. In particular, they tended to identify other racial minority groups (e.g., African Americans, Latino Americans) as low-income people. They had shaped this middle-class White habitus from their life experiences and literature experiences in Korea and the U.S. In particular, these mothers lived in Georgia, where the history of racial segregation has been prevalent, so their experiences and perceptions regarding races may be limited. Thus, their social class habitus shaped by their experiences caused the mothers unconsciously and consciously to contribute to the reproduction

of middle-class White values. This issue requires our attention to explore what values on race and social class parents share with their children and how their class habitus permeates their everyday practices.

Implications for Research on Multicultural Children's Literature

Conducting and writing this dissertation study, I have identified the following issues requiring additional studies:

First, more studies focusing on the interactions between parents and children during their actual reading will be needed. When I collected data in bookstores and libraries, I captured some moments when mothers talked and negotiated with their children for their book selections. When there was a disagreement between the mothers and the children, the mothers tended to ask their children why they wanted certain books, what features they liked, and whether they could select those books later. The mothers also explained the reasons why they did not like the books. Although momentary, these interactions helped me peek at how the mothers and their children negotiated with their different values and beliefs. Carefully observing how parents read a book to their children by paying attention to what messages are highlighted or neglected in their reading may well provide researchers with insights into what beliefs and values parents deliver to their children and how their children respond to them.

Second, in this study I was able to focus only on genres and on racial and class backgrounds of the main characters of books selected by the participating mothers. The future research can expand this study by examining the contents and themes of books chosen by the mothers. When collecting data, I found that two mothers, Sunhwa and Yunjeong, devalued some popular books containing television or movie characters, such as Star Wars and the Avengers. This might be related to the mothers' middle-class habitus. Bourdieu (1984) argued: "Taste

classifies, and it classifies the classifier. Social subjects, classified by their classifications, distinguish themselves by the distinctions" (p. 6). Based on their class taste, parents may distinguish between "good books" and "bad books." Therefore, examining how the contents of books selected by the mothers reflects their middle-class habitus will further inform us about parents' book choices. In addition, because my study focused only on mothers, it would be interesting to observe how fathers' book selections are similar to and different from mothers'. Therefore, considering the role of gender in parents' book choices is another area requiring further studies.

Finally, book choices of working-class immigrant parents and those of immigrant families living in isolated areas (e.g., a small town where few immigrants from the same racial/linguistic backgrounds live) deserve future studies. This dissertation study focused on middle-class Korean immigrant mothers living in a major city where their access to Korean books was available in some libraries and Korean bookstores. Therefore, many of the participating mothers took advantage of their middle-class background by having access to a variety of books through their residence in a suburb nearby a large Korean community. However, immigrant families living in small towns and working-class immigrant parents may well have different needs and challenges and thus require different strategies for their children's reading in general and their access to books written in their heritage language in particular. By exploring their book selections, we can enhance our understanding about the needs of diverse parents in supporting their children's education through reading.

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APPENDIX A

Summary of Corpus of Data

Data Sources	Collected Data
Interviews	7 times per mother for 50~80 minutes (Approximately 3180 min. of audio recordings)
Follow-up interview	1 per mother for 40~60 minutes (Approximately 350 min. of audio recordings)
Participant Observation (Field notes)	2 observations per mother 15~20 minutes per observation (in bookstores, libraries, and/or home) Titles and brief contents of books the mothers selected
Documents	Copies of book covers Booklists School brochures E-book websites Online bookstores Korean community online websites

APPENDIX B

Interview Questions

Questions about individuals' backgrounds

1. Tell me about you and your family? (e.g., How much education do you have? What kind of job do you have? How do you define yourself in terms of social class?)
2. Would you tell me about when you immigrated to the U.S.? (e.g., how long have you lived in the U.S.?)
3. Who do you usually hang out or work with? (e.g., ethnicity and race?)

Questions about picture book choices

4. What does reading mean to you for your children?
5. Did you bring books with you when they came to America?
6. How do you choose books for your child?
7. How and where do you get information about the picture books you select for your child? Whose information do you trust?
8. What do you focus on when you choose books?
9. What kinds or genres of stories do you usually read to your child? (What types of stories do you think are appropriate for your child?)
10. What are your favorite books that you read to your child? When you read these books, which parts do you discuss with your child? Why? What parts do you intentionally emphasize when you read the books or discuss them with your child?
11. Do you read books in Korean? Why do you read them to your children? How often do you read?

Questions about their children's education

12. What do you expect that your child might gain from books? Do you think that the books might help or guide your child according to your wishes? How?
13. What aspect do you focus on in your children's education?
14. What expectations do you have for your child's future? (i.e., What level of education or what occupation would you wish for your child?)

APPENDIX C

Examples of the Korean Books Provided at Home

1. **A Grandmother's Making a Big Dumpling (손 큰 할머니의 만두 만들기)**

   By Insun Chae; illustrated by Ukbae Lee; published in Gyeonggi-do, Korea; Jaimimage, 2001.

   Annotations: This book is about a grandmother and animals making a big dumpling together for the New Year. This story addresses cooperation, sharing, and wisdom to solve a problem. This book also illustrates the process of making Korean dumplings.

2. **A Grandmother and a Tiger (팥죽 할멈과 호랑이)**

   By YunKyu Park; illustrated by Heena Baek; published in Gyeonggi-do, Korea: Sigong Junior, 2006.

   Annotations: This is a Korean folktale about a grandmother and personified objects in the house that wisely beat a tiger away. This includes the theme that although people are weak, if they work together, they can overcome a difficulty.

3. **Breathing Pottery (숨쉬는 항아리)**

   By Byungrak Jung; illustrated by Wansook Park; published in Gyeonggi-do, Korea: Borim, 2005.

   Annotations: This book is about a piece of Korean pottery that realizes its own value through its use on food fermentation and preservation. This book illustrates the process of making Korean pottery and includes information of Korean traditions and the pottery.

4. **Cloud Bread (구름빵)**

   By Heena Baek; illustrated by Hangsoo Kim; published in Gyeonggi-do, Korea: Hansol Soobook, 2004.

   Annotations: This book sold more than 400,00 copies worldwide and was produced as a musical and TV animation. It addresses family love and fantasy through a cat family's bread making with clouds on a rainy day.

5. **Jiwon and Byung gwan** series **(지원이와 병관이 시리즈)**

   By Daeyoung Go; illustrated by Youngjin Kim; published in Gyeonggi-do, Korea: Gilbutkid, 2013.

   Annotations: This series of books illustrates children's everyday life episodes, such as taking the subway, riding bikes, getting an allowance, cleaning house, correcting bad habits, and telling a lie. Though these episodes, the nine books in the series detail children's achievements, satisfaction, concerns, anxieties, and competition which children may experience while they are growing up.

6. **Older Brother, Younger Brother** (흥부와 놀부)

   By Eunyoung Baek; illustrated by Seunghee Wei; published in Gyeonggi-do, Korea: Wongjin Think House, 2007.

   Annotations: This is a Korean folktale addressing a greedy elder brother and a kind younger brother. After helping a tiny injured swallow, the younger brother is rewarded with great prosperity. The elder seeks out the same fortune, but he is punished by evil. This story tells the universal message that goodness is rewarded and cruelty punished.

7. I Did This Because I was Bored (심심해서 그랬어)

By Gubyung Yun; illustrated by Taesoo Lee; published in Gyeonggi-do, Korea; Bori, 1999.

Annotations: This book illustrates an episode of a boy who feels bored and frees his house animals when his parents go to work. The illustration describing a rural area in summer time provides readers with information about rural life, Korean traditional houses, and farm implements.

8. It's All Right (괜찮아)

Written and illustrated by Heesook Choi; published in Gyeonggi-do, Korea: Wongjin Junior, 2009.

Annotations: This illustrates the weakness of each animal from a girl's perspective; however, the animals respond to the girl with their strengths. By emphasizing each animal's positive aspects, this book promotes children's self-esteem and provides information about animals.

9. The Sun Girl and the Moon Boy (해와 달이 된 오누이)

By Kyuhee Lee; illustrated by Mia Sim; published in Gyeonggi-do, Korea: Borim,1997.

Annotations: This is a Korean folktale about a boy and a girl who beat off a tiger that is disguised as their mother and who become the moon and the sun respectively. This story addresses the idea that if people brace themselves up when they face difficulties, they can overcome them.

APPENDIX D

Examples of the Informational Books Provided at Home

English Informational books

1. **Eyewitness Books** series

   Published in London, England: Dorling Kindersley, 1988.

   Annotations: This is a series of informational books for children. The first book was published in 1988 and the series has over one hundred topics including diverse scientific topics including pyramids, explorers, and the Arctic and Antarctic.

2. **The Magic School Bus** series[14]

   By Joanna Cole; illustrated by Bruce Degen; Published in New York, NY: Scholastic, 1986.

   Annotations: This book series illustrates science and adventure as Ms. Frizzle takes her class on some field trips. The first book was written in 1986 and this series of 12 books provides scientific facts, such as the solar system, clouds, and the human body. These books were made as a Canadian-American Saturday morning-animated children's television series.

[14] Some mothers selected this English book series translated into Korean.

Korean Informational books

1. **Little Scientist** series **(꼬마 과학자)**

   Published in Seoul, Korea: Arambook, 2008

   Annotations: This series of 71 books addresses science topics including the human body, animals, objects and materials, plants, machines and tools, and natural phenomena.

2. **Snail Scientific Books** series **(달팽이 과학동화)**

   Published in Gyeonggi-do, Korea: Bori, 2009

   Annotations: This series of 50 books includes scientific topics, such as insects, plants, animals, ecology, and human senses in relation to early childhood curriculum in Korea.

3. **Why** series

   Published in Seoul, Korea: Yearim, 2005

   Annotations: This series of books offers scientific information, such as plants, planets, animals, dinosaurs, the sea, and computers and viruses. There were 61 books in the series.

APPENDIX E

Examples of the Books Depicting Other Races and Social Class

1. **Abuela**

   By Arthur Dorros; illustrated by Elisa Kleven; published in London, England: Penguin Books, 1991.

   Annotations: This book describes a Latino girl's fantasy while riding a bus with her grandmother in New York City.

2. **A Chair for My Mother**

   Written and illustrated by Vera B. Williams; published in New York, NY: Greenwillow Books, 1982.

   Annotations: This book describes the efforts of a poor girl's family to save money to buy a comfortable chair after a fire destroys their home.

3. **Amazing Grace**

   By Mary Hoffman; illustrated by Caroline Binch; published in New York, NY: Dial Books for Young Readers, 1991.

   Annotations: This book shows the possibility of overcoming racial and gender barriers through an African American girl who wants to play Peter Pan in school.

4. **December**

   By Eve Bunting; illustrated by David Diaz; published in New York, NY; Harcourt Children's Books, 1997.

   Annotations: This story is about a homeless boy and his mother's Christmas Eve episode when they meet an angel. It ends a year later, when his family's economic situation has improved.

5. **Hansel and Gretel**

   Retold by Rika Lesser; illustrated by Paul O. Zelinsky; published in Auckland, New Zealand: Puffin Books, 1996.

   Annotations: This is a well-know fairy tale of German origin written by the Brothers Grimm and published in 1892. This story addresses a poor young brother and sister, who wisely save their own lives and take jewels from a witch. With the witch's wealth, they all live happily ever after.

6. **Jack and the Beanstalk**

   Retold by Carol Ottolenghi; illustrated by Guy Porfirio; published in Greensboro, NC: Brighter Child, 2001.

   Annotations: This is a world famous fairy tale about a poor boy's story after exchanging his cow for magic beans, which aid him in climbing to the home of a rich giant. After the boy steals money from the giant, he and his mother become rich.

7. **The Snowy Day**

   Written and illustrated by Ezra Jack, Keats; published in Hudson, NY: Penguin Books, 1962.

   Annotations: This book describes an African American boy named Peter, who explores his neighborhood after the first snowfall of the season.

APPENDIX F

Examples of the English Books Provided at Home

1. **Curious George series**

   By Margret Rey; illustrated by H.A. Rey; Published in New York, NY: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1939.

   Annotations: This series of books describes the adventures of a curious brown monkey named George. The books have been made into several television series and films.

2. **Don't Let the Pigeon Drive the Bus**

   Written and illustrated by Mo Willems; published in New York, NY: Hyperion Press, 2003.

   Annotations: This book is about a pigeon that wants to drive a bus when the bus driver has to leave. It has a repeated text and expects readers to respond.

3. **Knuffle Bunny** series

   Written by Mo Willems; published in New York, NY: Hyperion Books for Children, 2004.

   Annotations: This book illustrates the episodes of a girl who always carries a stuffed bunny. The first published book received the Caldecott Honor Award in 2005.

4. **Olivia**

   Written and illustrated by Ian Falconer; published in New York, NY: Ian Falconer, 2000.

   Annotations: This book describes one day in Olivia's life including dressing, singing songs, building sand castles, and napping. This book received the Caldecott Honor Award in 2001.

5. **Pete the Cat** series

   By Eric Litwin; illustrated by James Dean; published in New York, NY: HarperCollins Publishers, 2008.

   Annotations: This book illustrates a blue cat's diverse episodes that may be similar to children's experiences in their every day life.

6. **The Rainbow Fish**

   By Marcus Pfister; illustrated by J. Alison James; published in New York, NY: North-South Books, 1999.

   Annotations: This book describes a beautiful fish that learns to make friends by sharing his possessions. Through the story, this book addresses the universal message about sharing.

7. **We're Going on a Bear Hunt**

   By Helen Oxenbury; illustrated by Michael Rosen; published in New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 1997

   Annotations: This story is about a family's fantasy bear hunt. The book features predictable text and repeated rhyme.

8. **Where The Wild Things Are**

   Written and illustrated by Maurice Sendak; published in New York, NY: HarperCollins Publishers, 1963.

   Annotations: This book describes a boy's adventure to the land of the wild things where he becomes their king. The book received the Caldecott Medal Award in 1964.