

LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION
IN THE POST-COLONIAL KOREAN DIASPORA IN JAPAN:
LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES, IDENTITIES, AND LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

by

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ABSTRACT

This ethnographic research investigates Korean language socialization within the Korean resident (*Zainichi* Korean) community in Japan, particularly focusing on the community connected to Chongryun (pro-North Korean organization) schools. That is, this study seeks to find (1) how Korean children in the community of Chongryun schools are socialized to learn and use Korean and (2) how they are socialized through language to culturally significant values, beliefs, and identities that affect their Korean development. To this end, I collected data through participant observation in a Chongryun middle school and school-related events, audio and video-recorded family interactions, and interviews with schoolteachers, students, and parents. The study results show that the younger generation in this community were exposed and socialized into multiple language ideologies that linked the Korean language not only to Korean identity and the space of school, but also to morality (e.g., a good student, patriot), politeness, the status of Chongryun school students, and foreignness/outcast through participating in a variety of interactional practices. Also, in this study I paid attention to the agency of Chongryun school students and found that their socialization outcomes were partial, selective, and situational. In other words, not only did they play a part in reproducing and reinforcing the existing ideologies of language and ethnic boundaries (i.e., Japanese vs. Koreans) but they also contributed to redefining the relationship between the Korean language and Korean identity and reorganizing the evaluative order of Korean varieties. Lastly, I argue that the sociocultural phenomena engendered by globalization (e.g., Korean Wave and power of English) motivated some students to further improve their Korean proficiency on the one hand, but on the other hand, they demotivated others in continuing to study and maintain their Korean abilities in the future.

PREFACE

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*To My Parents,
Jae-bong Son and Ji-ae Hwang*

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Prologue

One day in 2003, I sat in a seminar room at the Japanese university where I was enrolled in a master's program. The room was packed with undergraduate and graduate students who were working on their theses, as well as five professors who were experts in Korean linguistics and ready to give insightful feedback on the students' presentations of their research. The first presenter of the day was a second-generation Korean female who had been educated in Japan in Korean ethnic schools (Chongryun schools) up to the university level and was working in Japan as a Korean language instructor at *Chosŏn*¹ (Korea) University, which falls under the pro-North Korean organization, Chongryun.² Her research focus was on erroneous patterns of Korean usage by Korean students studying in Chongryun schools.

She started her presentation by narrating the motivations that led to her interest in the research topic. However, soon her narration unexpectedly became emotional and dramatic. She lamented that, although many Chongryun school students had long been studying Korean to maintain their Korean identity, their command of Korean was still imperfect. What is worse, despite her eagerness to teach her students standard and 'correct' Korean, her own Korean competence was also flawed and she was continuously passing down 'broken' Korean to the

¹ For Korean language forms, I follow the McCune-Reischauer Romanization for citation in expository prose, and the Yale Rominization for citing of linguistic data. For Japanese, I use the Hepburn Rominization and underline it.

² 'Chongryun' is the way in which the organization spells their name in English. I will use it throughout this dissertation.

younger generation. Unable to swallow her feelings, she eventually burst into tears as she wound up her presentation.

As someone who was born and had grown up in an ethnically, racially, and linguistically homogeneous environment up to that time, the experience left a strong impression on me and at the same time raised several questions. Why do Korean residents in Japan want to learn Korean even though they are living in Japan? What is wrong with having only Japanese proficiency? Her Korean proficiency was sufficient and I had no problem understanding her. In spite of that, why did she feel such shame and self-contempt about her Korean? My Japanese (my second language, Korean being my first) was also not perfect but I didn't feel shame about it. Rather, I felt proud of my bilingual abilities; so why not her?

My current research has been motivated by my personal experience encountering several Korean residents in Japan like the second-generation Korean female mentioned here, and aims to make the experiences and voices of Koreans in Japan, a minority group that has received relatively little attention within the field of language maintenance and shift, heard by people who may have similar questions to mine.

1.2 Purposes of the Study

Since the late 1980s, Japan has witnessed remarkable growth in the number of foreign nationals within its boundaries. As of 1985, there were approximately 850,000 foreign nationals in Japan (Chung, 2010), but this number has steadily increased to approximately 2.3 million (2,307,388)³ in 2016, representing a little less than 2% of the total population. Some studies (Aiden, 2011; Chapman, 2008; Chung, 2010; Iwabuchi, 2016) attribute this to the scarcity of domestic labour occasioned by domestic economic prosperity during the 1980s, an increasingly

³ The figure is from the 2016 statistics on registered foreign nationals issued by the Immigration Bureau of Japan.

aging population, and a declining birthrate in Japan. This changing demographic face of Japan has pushed central and local governments to act in response to the increasing population of foreign residents. The central government has been enacting policies and plans for ‘Multicultural Co-living’ (*tabunka kyōsei*) since 2006 and local governments have supported their local foreign residents by providing them with information in multiple languages in aid of their initial settlement (Aiden, 2011; Kawabata, 2016; Kim, 2011). In addition, Japanese classes for foreign students have been established in Japanese public schools (Kanno, 2008; Ueda, 2011) and some universities have opened new departments to educate students who “respect diversity and live together beyond differences” (Ueda, 2011: 41).⁴

However, in actual fact, the large-scale labor migration into Japan is not a new phenomenon. About a century ago, prewar Japan also had a similar experience – but at that time, the masses of migrants were Japanese colonial subjects from the expanded territories and not ‘foreigners’ in principle – even now, the first generation of that colonial migration and their descendants constitute a part of the total population in Japan. This study is about one of the colonial migrant groups – Koreans – and their descendants in Japan, focusing in particular on their efforts to transmit the Korean language to younger generations and maintain it in Japan.⁵ Following Japanese colonization of Korea (1910-1945), the Korean language was demoted from

⁴ Several studies have problematized Japan’s concept and policies of ‘Multicultural Co-living.’ Iwabuchi (2016) criticizes the lack of full engagement with multiculturalism at the national level and the central government’s dependence on grassroots activities at the local level. Flowers (2012), Kawabata (2016), and Kim (2011) critically argue that issues relevant to old-timers (e.g., colonial migrants and their descendants of Korean and Chinese descent), sexual minorities, and those with disabilities are excluded from the multicultural policies. Furthermore, Ueda (2011) condemns the phenomenon whereby the term ‘Multicultural Co-living’ has been consumed in Japan as a mere cliché and hollow catchphrase without clear definition, while Hatano (2011) asserts that multicultural policies and practices in present-day Japan are designed to meet the demands and imaginations of the majority group (i.e., the Japanese) rather than those of minority groups.

⁵ Besides foreign residents, indigenous peoples of Japan such as the Ainu and the Ryukyans also contribute to the nation’s ethnic, cultural, and linguistic diversity. For indigenous language education and policy in Japan, see Gottlieb (2008) and Maher (1997).

‘national language’ in Korea to simply a regional language, and the imperial language, Japanese, replaced it as the national language in Korea (King, 2007).⁶ As a result, the medium of instruction in schools in Korea became Japanese and students who spoke Korean at school were fined or punished (Cho, 1997; Ch’oe, 1997; Hō, 2004). From the late 1930s, not only at school but also in households and workplaces, speaking Japanese was strongly encouraged, and families and workers who used Japanese well were given attractive benefits (e.g., wage increases, employment) (Ch’oe, 1995). Similarly, for Korean children who wanted to receive an education in Japan, there was no choice but to attend Japanese schools. At the school, it was forbidden to provide them with ethnic education (Ozawa, 1999).⁷ It was from 1945 when Korea was liberated from Japan’s colonial rule that Koreans in Japan began to establish Korean ethnic schools in earnest. In order to de-Japanize Japan-born Korean children and cultivate a Korean identity for ethnic Koreans as a liberated people, these schools taught Korean history, language, and culture – subject that had been suppressed under the policies of Imperial Japan. Such schools continue to exist in Japan today and provide Japan-born Korean children with alternative schooling to Japanese mainstream schools and play an important role in passing on the Korean language to them.

This study aims to examine the processes of Korean language socialization within a Korean community specifically connected to the Korean ethnic schools (*Chosŏn hakkyo* in Korean and *Chōsen gakkō* in Japanese) run by Chongryun, a pro-North Korean organization (hereafter, Chongryun schools). In other words, I focus on (1) how Chongryun school students are socialized to (or not to) learn and use Korean in schools, households, and communities and (2)

⁶ In the Japanese Empire, Japanese (*kokugo* = ‘national language’) was considered as encapsulating the essence of the Japanese and as essential for Koreans to know in order to become Imperial Subjects and have equal status with the Japanese (Cho, 1997; Lee, 2006).

⁷ According to Ozawa (1999), there were some secret after-school classes that Korean children could attend to learn the Korean language privately.

how they are socialized through language into language ideologies (people's perceived values and beliefs about language) and identities that affect their Korean language development. This study adopts the view that the ways in which individuals understand a certain language or language variety and define themselves in relation to others organize and constrain their everyday communicative practices and language learning (e.g., Canagarajah, 2008; Garrett, 2012; Kulick, 1992; [Norton] Peirce, 1995; Paugh, 2012).

1.3 Early Studies on Korean Language Education and Maintenance in Japan

Research on Korean language education and maintenance within the Korean community in Japan tends to fall into three different strands: (1) linguistic characteristics of the local Korean variety, (2) historical development of Korean ethnic schools, and (3) individual Koreans' perceptions of the Korean language and their everyday language use.

Works included in the first category are Itō (1989, 1997), Kim Chōng-ja (2002), Kim Mi-sŏn (2002), Son (2008), and Tsukamoto and Kim (1992). Kim Chōng-ja (2002), Kim Mi-sŏn (2002), and Tsukamoto and Kim (1992) examined the phenomenon of code switching between Korean and Japanese in conversations of first-generation Korean immigrants to Japan, and identified their Korean as a pidgin-like language. The studies of Itō (1989, 1997) and Son (2008) looked into the characteristics of the Korean language spoken in the Chongryun community. As a result, Itō found that the local Korean variety in the Chongryun community was characterized by significant influence from Japanese, and Son (2008) argues that their Korean was not only significantly interfered with by Japanese, but was also comprised of linguistic features from both the North Korean standard and regional dialects of South Korea.

The social anthropological research of Kim (1994) and Ryang (1997) also briefly touches on the attributes of the Korean language spoken and taught in Chongryun schools. According to

them, Chongryun school teachers' and students' Korean speech was marked by bookish Korean that was dominated by formal~deferential verb endings such as *-(su)pnita* and *-(su)pnikka*. In addition, they pointed out the lack of everyday vocabulary and expressions in this variety, resulting from the schools' concentration on teaching North Korean political ideologies to students.

Other research has focused on documenting the historical development and socio-political struggles of Korean ethnic schools to preserve and revitalize their existence in post-war Japan (Inokuchi, 2000; Kim, 2009; Ozawa, 1999), or on describing the curricular and educational content of Korean ethnic schools (Kim 1994; Kim Mi-sŏn, 2009; Maeda Tadahiko, 2005; Pak, 2013; Ryang, 1997; Ryu, 2009; Shin, 2005; Song, 2012; Wakisaka, 2015). I will refer to these studies in Chapters 2 and 3, where I will discuss the historical background and current situation of Korean ethnic schools in Japan.

Lastly, there is a body of research that has investigated individuals' views on the Korean language and Korean education in Japan, and their language choices according to different contexts, which is particularly relevant to my study. Based on a questionnaire survey of students and their parents in a pro-South Korean school, Ogoshi (2005) found that the majority of the participants had a positive attitude toward Korean language proficiency and transmitting Korean to the next generations. Eighty percent of Ogoshi's research participants replied that Korean proficiency was valuable in their personal lives and their children's future, and many Japan-born participants expressed their envy of Koreans with high Korean proficiency.⁸ Other studies such as Im (2005, 2013), Kim Yu-na (2004), Maeda Tatsurō (2005), Pak (2016), and Sō (2014) also

⁸ Ogoshi (2005) included as research participants both 'newcomers' who were born in South Korea and came to Japan after the 1980s, and 'old-timers' who crossed over to Japan during the colonial period and their descendants.

reported similar findings: numerous participants opined that Koreans in Japan must know the Korean language for their Korean identity.

Ueda (2009) examined the language ideologies that support Korean education in Chongryun schools by analyzing essays written by Chongryun school students. According to him, many of the students linked the Korean language to Korean ethnicity and Korean bloodline in their essays, a strand of language ideology that the two former leaders of North Korea, Kim Il-sung and Kim Jong-il, have long emphasized since the 1960s. Ueda therefore proclaims that Chongryun school students learned at school that Koreans with Korean competence were “great” and “real” Koreans, and otherwise were “fake” and “half” Koreans (p.129). Moreover, he argues that in the educational venue, Korean linguistic forms in violation of language norms (i.e., North Korean standard language) were regarded as “disorderly,” “contaminated,” and “wrong” (p. 137).

A similar point was made in Pak’s (2016) study as well. He reports that 70% of his research participants regarded the local variety of Korean spoken in the Chongryun community as problematic in many respects and in need of correction, whereas the remaining 30% of participants replied that the local variety of Korean did not have any problems. Pak attributes this result to the respondents’ differing degrees of alignment to the home country. That is, the majority of respondents had a strong desire to connect themselves to the Korean peninsula, while the others pursued the originality of Koreans living in Japan.

Some studies have also investigated the daily language use of Koreans in Japan and have reached the same conclusion: that the lives of old-timer Koreans are remarkably Japanese-dominant (Im, 2005, 2013; Kang, 2005; Kim, 1994; Maeda Tatsurō, 2005; Ogoshi, 2005; Pak, 2016; Sō, 2014). According to Ogoshi (2005), while the participants who were born in South Korea (newcomers) spoke Korean everyday, the Japan-born participants (old-timers)

predominantly spoke Japanese in their everyday lives and it was only in limited contexts that they used Korean: for example, when they spoke with elderly and close friends and when they made speeches in public meetings with other Koreans (see also Im, 2005, 2013 and Sō, 2014). Ogoshi therefore contends that for old-timer Koreans, the Korean language is reserved for particular functions only – namely to express one’s respect and comradeship.

Kim (1994) examined the language use of Chongryun community members and argued that within the community, Japanese serves as a “private language (*shiteki gengo*)” and Korean as a “public language (*kōteki gengo*)” (p. 195). That is, whereas the community members’ everyday language is Japanese, they use Korean within the domains of the Chongryun organization, including Chongryun schools, Chongryun offices, and Chongryun-related events. A parallel claim is proposed in Ryang (1997) as well.

In contrast to Kim (1994) and Ryang (1997), two studies that drew a sharp line between spaces where Chongryun-affiliated Koreans used Korean and Japanese, Pak (2016) asserts the vagueness of the language use domains. On the basis of his research participants’ responses about when they used Korean outside of Chongryun schools, he argues that within the Chongryun community, Korean is spoken not only in public spaces (e.g., community assemblies, community members’ weddings) but also in private spaces (e.g., on the bus or subway during private conversations among friends, at grandparents’ houses) and consequently, that there is no rigid demarcation between the two languages’ spheres of use and function.

1.4 Limitations of Early Studies

In recent years, Koreans in Japan have attracted the attention of many researchers outside of Japan. The amount of English-language literature has been growing and allows us a more nuanced and flexible perspective on Japan-based Koreans’ experiences beyond the discourses of

either victimizing or heroicizing them (e.g., Chapman, 2008; Lee, Murphy-Shigematsu, and Befu, 2006; Lie, 2008; Ryang, 2000; Ryang and Lie, 2009). Nevertheless, it is unfortunate that the great majority of these studies has been undertaken within the scope of history, sociology, literature, cultural studies, and social anthropology, and attempts to examine the experiences of Koreans in Japan through the lens of linguistics (including sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, and linguistic anthropology) have been minimal. As reviewed above, studies related to Korean language learning and maintenance in the Korean community have largely been authored by researchers based in Japan and South Korea and writing in Japanese and Korean. As I will discuss below, these studies also leave a number of issues unexplored.

First, such studies have focused mainly on Korean language education in ethnic schools and as a result shed little light on the roles of households and communities in developing (or not developing) Korean children's language abilities. Heritage or minority language maintenance and shift is a complex phenomenon that is impacted by various factors across a wide range of settings, such as educational institutions (e.g., public schools, community-based heritage language schools, religious organizations), households, community networks, and peer play interactions (e.g., Chinen and Tucker, 2006; Garrett, 2012; He, 2006, 2008; Howard, 2008; Juan-Garau, 2014; Lo Bianco & Peyton, 2013; Pauwels, 2008). Therefore, studies that examine multiple sites where Korean children are exposed to and participate in a variety of language and cultural practices and activities will provide us with a more holistic view of Korean children's development of the Korean language.

It is also important to note that previous studies have tended to pay attention only to language ideologies that were *explicitly* expressed by Koreans in Japan. Language ideologies – shared values and beliefs about language and language use – are not only “consciously held ideas

that are expressed in explicit discourses, but they are also implicitly embodied in, and constituted by, social practice” (Howard, 2008: 189). Thus, a number of studies in other ethnolinguistic communities have found a gap between the members’ explicit discourses valorizing a certain variety of language and their actual language practices and usage in reality (e.g., Garrett, 2005; King, 2000; Kulick, 1992; Paugh, 2012). Attending to tacit language ideologies that are inscribed in the everyday language practices of Koreans in Japan will enable us to grasp better the multiple language ideologies inherent in the community, as well as the processes by which the language ideologies are (re)produced, acquired, and transformed at a micro-level.

Lastly, a perceived lack of children’s agency – “the socioculturally mediated capacity to act” (Ahearn, 2001: 118) – can be pointed to as a limitation of the preceding studies. For example, Ueda (2009) and Ryang (1997) described Korean students in Chongryun schools as passive in their learning and using Korean and constructing their language ideologies. That is, they assumed that knowledge of language forms and communication ways, school language practices, and dominant language ideologies were transmitted unidirectionally and linearly from teachers to students. As a result, such studies made it difficult to see the dynamic and interactive developmental processes of Korean children in Japan.

In order to fill in the gaps left by earlier works, this study has been based on fieldwork in multiple sites, including two Korean ethnic schools (a Chongryun school and non-Chongryun school), Chongryun school students’ households, and Chongryun community activities and events, while paying particular attention to everyday interactional practices between community members.

1.5 Research Questions

In order to examine the process through which the younger Korean generation in Japan is socialized to learn and use Korean as well as to form multiple language ideologies and identities, the following questions have guided this study:

- (1) What are the primary goals including language socialization goals of Chongryun educational programs? How are the goals different from other Korean ethnic schools?
- (2) How do Chongryun schools attempt to socialize students to learn and speak Korean? What sociocultural knowledge and views are transmitted to students through these processes?
- (3) What are the language socialization processes outside of Chongryun schools? That is, what are the home and community language socialization practices? What language ideologies underlie these practices?
- (4) How do Chongryun school students conceptualize Korean language learning and use in Japan? What roles do these conceptualizations play in their Korean development and maintenance?

1.6 Theoretical Frameworks

This study draws on three interrelated theoretical frameworks: language socialization, language ideology, and identity and language learning. In the following sections, I first outline the paradigm of language socialization and then discuss the concepts of language ideology and identity by providing some examples of research that elaborates or adopts these notions.

1.6.1 Language Socialization

Language Socialization (LS) research aims to examine the process through which individuals or novices (e.g., children, students, immigrants) become or do not become competent members in a certain sociocultural group through language-mediated interactions with more experienced individuals or experts (e.g., parents, teachers). In other words, it focuses on understanding *how* novices are socialized to use language(s) effectively and appropriately and *how* they are socialized through language(s) into historically and socio-culturally grounded values, beliefs, and identities to become recognized as legitimate members in a certain community (Bayley & Schecter, 2003; Duff, 2003, 2010; Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002; Kulick & Schieffelin, 2004; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986; Ochs, 1986; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2012).

LS takes the perspective that language acquisition is closely intertwined with the acquisition of socio-cultural knowledge. In this view, language is not a “self-contained system impervious to the social worlds of its speakers,” but is “thoroughly interpenetrated by those worlds” (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002: 344). Therefore, when children interact with their caregivers, family members, peers, and others around them, they learn not only particular linguistic forms, a language variety, and communicative manners, but also grasp the meanings that the elements index in their culture (e.g., Baquedano-López, 2000; Byon, 2003; Clancy, 1999; Cook, 1999; Fader, 2001; Friedman, 2006, 2009; Garrett, 2012; Howard, 2009; Lo, 2009; Park, 2006, 2008; Paugh, 2012; Schieffelin, 1986). Thus, LS approach enables researchers to link micro-interactional contexts to macro-societal and global contexts.

While emphasizing the important role of experts in leading novices to successfully become socialized into the target culture and language, LS research has paid great attention to the agency of novices as well (e.g., Duff, 2002; Guardado, 2008, 2009; He, 2003, 2004; Klein,

2013; Makihara, 2005a; Morita, 2004; Paugh, 2012; Talmy, 2004, 2008). By illustrating interactional engagements between experts and novices, these studies show that novices are not passive and submissive participants, but are active in constructing and reproducing linguistic, pragmatic, and socio-cultural knowledge and sometimes play a role in promoting change in the knowledge. Thus, LS research has highlighted that LS processes are not unidirectional, linear, and stable but are bi/multidirectional and dynamic, thereby often entailing conflict, negotiation, and unexpected outcomes.

LS is also considered to transpire across developmental time and space – that is, it is a lifespan process. Individuals begin to engage in the language socialization process “at the developmental point at which members of a community recognize that a person enters into existence and continues throughout the life course until a person is viewed as no longer a living social being” (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2012, section 1, para. 6). Hence, whenever a person is placed in a new situation, s/he becomes a novice and needs to learn the novel linguistic and cultural norms to fully participate in the context. This view of LS provides researchers with insight into the flexibility of the relationship between ‘novice’ and ‘expert’ in socializing contexts.

1.6.2 Language Ideologies

Language ideologies can be defined as shared bodies of cultural beliefs about the structure, uses, acquisition, and values of languages or language varieties (Kroskrity, 2004; Riley, 2012; Woolard, 1994). In contrast to the scholarly tradition that has legitimized only linguists’ expertise, language-ideological research attends to common people’s perspectives on language and examines the relationship between language ideologies and language change, use, learning, and policy-making.

Kroskrity (2004) elaborates on the concept of language ideologies through five features that partially overlap with one another: “(1) group or individual interests, (2) multiplicity of ideologies, (3) awareness of speakers, (4) mediating functions of ideologies, and (5) role of language ideology in identity construction” (p. 501). Firstly, language ideologies are constructed and rationalized for particular groups’ and individual’s interests. People’s views of language – for example, what language should be spoken by citizens or what language variety is more linguistically and aesthetically developed than others – are far from neutral, but often promote, protect, and legitimize their political and economic benefits (e.g., Blackledge, 2004; Blommaert & Verschueren, 1998; Bokhorst-Heng, 1999; Jeon, 2007, 2008; Park and Bae, 2009). Secondly, language ideologies are understood as multiple, “because of the plurality of meaningful social divisions (class, gender, clan, elites, generations, and so on) within sociocultural groups” (Kroskrity, 2004: 503). Viewing language ideologies as multiple leads us to recognize power relations among various language ideologies and the presence of contestation and conflict between groups attempting to perpetuate or transform the hegemonic linguistic order (e.g., Collins, 1999; Myhill, 1999; Shannon, 1999).

Thirdly, Kroskrity has also underlined that not all local language ideologies are explicit to social members. Some language ideologies are clearly expressed by the members, whereas others may be “very rarely brought up to the level of discursive consciousness” (p. 506). In order to discern the tacit language ideologies, he therefore suggests researchers need to be greatly attentive to individuals’ language use and communicative practices. Fourthly, “members’ language ideologies mediate between social structures and forms of talk” (Kroskrity, 2004: 507). Individuals’ language ideologies are shaped through their sociocultural experience and are reflected in their ways of speaking. Therefore, individuals’ forms of talk are a social practice

that contributes to reproducing or changing social structure (e.g., Canagarajah, 2008; Dong & Blommaert, 2009; Kang, 2012; Park & Bae, 2009; Song, 2010, 2012). Lastly, language ideologies are used to create and represent a certain group's identity; for example, in the political discourse that emerged after the race-riot in England in 2001, Asians' lack of English represents non-citizens and subverters of social order (Blackledge, 2004).

A number of language socialization studies, particularly those investigating multilingual settings, have drawn on the concept of language ideology and explored the relationship between local language ideologies and language maintenance and shift (e.g., Garrett, 2005; García-Sánchez, 2010; Guardado, 2008, 2009; Klein, 2013; Kulick, 1992; Makihara, 2005a, b; Paugh, 2012; Pease-Alvarez, 2002, 2003; Riley, 2007; Schecter & Bayley, 1997; Zentella, 1997). To give some examples, in his study of a Papua New Guinea village, Kulick (1992) illustrates that although the villagers expected their children to become speakers of the traditional vernacular, Taiap, their different understanding of Taiap and Tok Pisin (one of the national languages) promoted language shift among their children. In the village, Taiap was associated with femininity, backwardness, and the notion of *hed* (the willful, selfish, backward side of the self). On the other hand, the villagers identified Tok Pisin with masculinity, modernity, Christianity, and the notion of *save* (the enlightened, sociable, cooperative side of the self). Thus, the villagers' attempts to suppress outward expression of *hed* while cultivating display of *save* led to no longer providing their children with sufficient exposure to Taiap and shifting their language to Tok Pisin.

Similarly, Paugh (2012) found that in the Caribbean Island of Dominica, stigmatization attached to the local language, Patwa (e.g., backward, rural, and stagnant) caused parents to forbid their children from speaking Patwa and instead exhort them to speak English, the official

language of government and education. However, what is significant is that this study paid particular attention to children's agentive role in preserving and revitalizing Patwa. Through a close investigation of children's peer play beyond adults' supervision, the study revealed that the children regularly used Patwa to enact the role of adults in their play. Paugh claims, therefore, that the children contributed not only to "the ongoing language shift by learning and speaking English as their primary language" but also to "the maintenance of Patwa for certain culturally valued pragmatic functions" (p. 209).

1.6.3 Identity and Language Learning

Social constructionists and poststructuralists have conceptualized identity as a social construct as well as something multiple and changeable across time and space, in opposition to the conventional notion that there is a deep underlying primordial identity or an immutable 'deep-self' within individuals (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004; Pavlenko & Blackedge, 2002; Nagel, 1994; Ochs, 1993). Taking this stance on identity, Norton [Peirce] (1995; 2001) highlights a close connection between individuals' identities and their language learning. That is, a person's identity, an understanding of his or her relationship with others and to the world across time and space, sometimes leads the person to make an *investment*⁹ in a target language (e.g., an identity as a primary caregiver in an immigrant family), but at other times it hinders the person from investing in the language (e.g., an immigrant identity as linguistically deficient). Norton also emphasizes a learner's *imagined* identity (see also Kanno & Norton, 2003). Further expanding

⁹ [Norton] Peirce (1995) problematizes the traditional conception of 'motivation' in that it does not "capture the complex relationship between relations of power, identity, and language learning" (p. 17). That is, she emphasizes that even though learners may be highly motivated, their learning and speech in a target language are often restricted by certain social conditions. In order to grasp more complex relationships between language learner identity and their learning commitment, she suggests the notion of 'investment' and states "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" (p.17).

the concept of ‘imagined communities’ originally coined by Anderson (1991), she explains that a language learner imagines the community in which s/he wants to participate in the future via command of a target language. S/he has not yet become a member in the imagined community, but has a desire to gain a membership in the community. Therefore, Norton argues, a learner’s view of whether or not a target language would enable her or him access to the imagined community and consequent identity has an important bearing on her or his investment in the target language:

The central point here is that a learner’s imagined community invited an imagined identity, and a learner’s investment in the target language must be understood within this context. (Norton, 2001: 166)

Drawing on the notions of imagined communities and imagined identities, Dagenais (2003) and Kanno (2003, 2008) demonstrate that not only individual learners but parents and schools also envision imagined communities in which their children and students may participate in the future. In Dagenais’s (2003) study, immigrant parents in Canada saw multilingualism in English, French, and their heritage language as a valuable resource to facilitate their children’s access to various imagined communities (i.e., the Canadian French-English bilingual community, and their heritage language communities in Canada and abroad). Therefore, they choose to enroll their children in French immersion schools in Canada while maintaining their heritage language at home. Kanno (2003, 2008) focuses on illustrating how four schools in Japan differently projected the imagined communities in which their students would engage in the future and how the visions were reflected in the schools’ policies and practices. Kanno argues that it was “the least privileged bilingual students who are socialized into the least privileged

imagined communities” (Kanno, 2003: 298) and that many of the schools contributed to reproducing and reinforcing the socioeconomic and linguistic hierarchy in Japan.

Guided by the theoretical frameworks mentioned above, the present study examines the language ideologies and identities that were socialized into the younger Korean generations across multiple sites and their roles in constructing, reproducing, and changing the language ideologies and identities.

1.7 Significance of the Study

This is the first study investigating Korean language socialization in the Chongryun school community based on fieldwork in multiple sites such as Chongryun schools, students’ households, and community events. With a central focus on the natural settings where younger generations of Koreans develop their Korean language abilities, this study seeks to demonstrate how these young people acquire the ways of speaking, thinking, and acting in order to be recognized as legitimate members within the multiple communities to which they belong. Several earlier studies have provided valuable research on how Koreans in Japan have perceived learning and maintaining the Korean language in Japan and their local Korean variety, how they identified themselves, and what sociopolitical factors (e.g., colonial experience, the Cold War) have affected their identity formation (e.g., Cho, 2013; Fukuoka & Kim, 1997; Im, 2005, 2013; Im & Kim, 2008; Kim, 2009; Nam, 2011; Pak, 2016; Sō, 2014; Ueda, 2009). However, they leave vague the question of *how* they came to have those perceptions and identities in their everyday lives. Drawing on the theoretical and methodological paradigm of language socialization, therefore, this study aims to examine not only language ideologies and identities that Koreans in Japan have, but also the processes through which they form these language ideologies and identities *through* language in their daily lives. As a result, it is hoped that this

study can shed light on more dynamic and comprehensive aspects of Korean language education and maintenance within the Korean community in Japan.

1.8 The Term for Koreans in Japan

‘Zainichi’ literally means ‘resident in Japan’ in Japanese. Thus, it can be used to refer to foreign nationals living in Japan for the long-term such as Zainichi Chinese, Zainichi Americans, or Zainichi Brazilians. However, the term Zainichi has long been associated specifically with ethnic Koreans who originated in the colonial migration and their descendants due to their large population in Japan as compared to other ethnic groups. It is of course true, as Ha (2016) points out, that the term does not merely indicate “one’s physical location in Japan” (p.42). Because of the history of discrimination against Koreans in Japan, the term Zainichi implies a marginalized and stigmatized position in the Japanese context. While recognizing the fact that the term Zainichi could connote diverse meanings and positions situationally, this study uses this term, Zainichi Koreans, to refer to the migrant group from Korea during the colonial period and their descendants in order to distinguish them from those who came to Japan from South Korea in more recent years.

1.9 Structure of the Dissertation

Chapter 2 documents the historical and socio-political background of Koreans in Japan. The chapter provides an overview of the emergence of the Korean community and Korean ethnic schools in Japan and various changes in Zainichi Koreans’ relationship with the Korean peninsula and Japan. Chapter 3 discussed in more detail the research methodology employed in this study. It describes the research sites, research participants, and the methods used to collect and analyze data.

The following three chapters focus on describing language socialization contexts in Korean ethnic schools. Chapter 4 examines the educational goals of two different Korean ethnic schools (a Chongryun school and a non-Chongryun school) and the language ideologies explicitly expressed by the schoolteachers. In Chapter 5, I investigate the language socialization practices and activities used to make students speak Korean in Kansai Korean School, a Chongryun school. This chapter demonstrates that the students were socialized into a variety of language ideologies and identities by participating in the practices and activities. Chapter 6 describes how students in Kansai Korean School were socialized not to become Japanese and South Koreans. The results show that the socializing practices were not always consistent but sometimes, ambiguous, and contradictory.

In Chapter 7, my focus moves away from school contexts to students' homes and the local communities. This chapter introduces the motivations of Korean parents in sending their children to either Chongryun schools or non-Chongryun schools, and their language ideologies and language use at home. In addition, this chapter shows how students use language outside of their school and households. Chapter 8 summarizes the study's findings and considers the relationship between broader social and global contexts and Korean language maintenance in Japan.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL AND SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXTS OF THE STUDY

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the past and present socio-political contexts of Zainichi Koreans. I will first explain how the Korean community was formed in Japan. This is followed by sections on how Koreans in Japan attempted to elevate their legal and social status in postwar Japan and how their positions with relation to Japan and the two Koreas have fluctuated since the 1970s. Lastly, I present the changes and dilemmas that Chongryun schools have been experiencing in recent years. This information helps us to better understand the backdrop of the language socialization practices and activities in the current Chongryun school community that I will present in the subsequent chapters.

2.2 The Rise of Korean Communities in Japan

2.2.1 Colonial Migration to Japan (1910-1945)

It was after the Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910 when the number of Koreans in Japan began to grow considerably. According to the statistics compiled by the Ministry of Home Affairs, in 1909 there were 790 Koreans in Japan, most of whom were government- and self-financed students, political exiles or consular officials. However, the number reached 30,175 within a decade after the start of Japanese colonial rule in 1910 and had risen to one million by the time the Sino-Japanese War broke out in 1937. During the Second World War, the number increased more dramatically until it surpassed the two million mark (2,100,000) by the time the war concluded in 1945 (Kang & Kim, 2000; Kim, 2010). Several prior studies (e.g., Kang &

Kim, 2000; Kim, 2010; Weiner, 1989; Weiner & Chapman, 1997) attribute the rapid growth of the Korean population in Japan between 1910 and 1937 to the interplay of Japanese colonial policies in Korea and the labour shortage in Japan due to its development of a capitalistic economy: both push and pull factors acted upon Korean migration.

Soon after the 1910 annexation, Japan embarked on a Land Survey (1910-1918) in Korea to “determine and safeguard ownership rights, simplify the commercial transfer of landholding, reform the tax system, provide the data necessary for planned agricultural development, and rationalize landlord-tenant relations” (Weiner, 1989: 39), the ultimate goal of which was to develop Korea as a major provider of food for Japan. In this process, landowners were required to provide evidence that they had possessed their land before the annexation by submitting “documentation concerning the size, type, and location of their holding within a fixed period time” (ibid.: 39). If they failed to do so, the land was confiscated by the Japanese Government-General in Korea (Kang & Kim, 2000; Kim, 2010; Weiner, 1989). This procedure consequently produced thousands of tenant or owner-tenant farmers – 76% of the total peasants in Korea (Kang & Kim, 2000) – because many Korean peasants at that time were illiterate or ignorant of the new laws while others farmed state and royal lands, “lands for which sufficient evidence of ownership was not [able to be] provided” (Weiner, 1989: 39). The superflux of landless peasants led to cut-throat competition to gain tenancy among them, thereby resulting in high tithes and a greater burden on the peasants (De Vos & Lee, 1981; Kang & Kim, 2000; Weiner, 1989). The Campaign to Increase Rice Production (1920-1934) implemented in Korea as a solution to food deficits in Japan further exacerbated Koreans’ living conditions, since quantities of rice greater than the actual increased yield were shipped out of Korea to Japan (Kang & Kim, 2000; Kim, 2010). The impoverished rural conditions caused by the colonial economic policies and a lack of

industries to absorb the landless peasants in Korea were therefore crucial ‘push’ factors that displaced tens of thousands of Korean peasants to Japan.

While the Korean peninsula overflowed with unemployed peasants, Japan faced a labour shortage due to the economic boost driven by the outbreak of the First World War, which became a significant ‘pull’ factor that attracted many Koreans to Japan (particularly those who resided in southern Korea due to its geographic proximity).¹⁰ The majority of Korean females were employed in textile factories while Korean males were recruited for coal mining, stevedoring, and construction industries, jobs at the bottom of the occupational hierarchy in Japan (Kim, 2010; Weiner, 1989). The working and living conditions for Korean workers in Japan were extremely poor and discriminatory. They were generally paid significantly lower wages compared to their Japanese counterparts (on average, a third less than Japanese workers), placed in high-risk jobs that Japanese avoided, and disdained by Japanese workers in the same workplaces. In addition, they had tremendous difficulty in finding accommodations due to the unwillingness of Japanese landlords to rent property to Koreans. Consequently, they had no choice but to live in the confined quarters of tenements or flop houses near factories or landfills with dozens of people together (Kim, 2010; Weiner, 1989; Weiner & Chapman, 1997). According to Weiner (1989), inadequate housing conditions, hygiene, and basic health care were constant problems in Korean residential districts, but were completely ignored by Japanese employers and Japanese society. Instead, these were regarded as cultural and racial characteristics of the Koreans – dirtiness, laziness, and backwardness.

With the start of the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937), the number of Koreans rapidly increased in Japan because numerous Koreans were mobilized to Japan for wartime manpower.

¹⁰ As of 1923, 79.2% of the total Korean population in Japan was from southern areas of the peninsula (i.e., *Kyōngsang* province and *Chōlla* province, including *Cheju* Island), and as of 1938, southerners comprised 81.2% of the total (Kang & Kim, 2000).

In 1939, the Japanese authorities expanded to Korea the jurisdiction of the National Labour Mobilization Law (*kokka sōdōinhō*) that was first announced in 1938 in Japan (Kim, 2010; Weiner, 1994). As a result, Japanese enterprises were permitted to mobilize as many Korean workers as it authorized. Table 2.1 below shows the annual labour quotas that were authorized by the Cabinet Planning Board and the actual number of Koreans who were transported to Japan via the labour mobilization programs between 1939 and 1945:

Table 2.1 Annual Conscription of Korean Workers by Industry (1939-1945)

	Number scheduled for labour mobilization	Number of workers transported to Japan
1939	85,500	53,120
1940	97,300	59,398
1941	100,000	67,098
1942	130,000	119,851
1943	125,000	128,354
1944	290,000	286,000
1945	50,000	10,622

From Weiner (1994: 193)

From Table 2.1, it is clear that whereas the number of workers transported to Japan fell short of the scheduled numbers for the initial three years (1939-1941), it came closer to the scheduled number in 1942 and actually exceeded the labour quota in 1943. This is arguably the result of a change in mobilization methods starting in 1942. Between 1939 and 1941, the Japanese authorities had employed a method of voluntary recruitment – ‘company-directed recruitment’ – to meet the demand for labour in Japan (Weiner, 1994). However, the program was ineffective in satisfying the labour quotas as evinced in Table 2.1 above: “the number of Koreans transported to Japan between 1939 and 1941 was approximately 35 percent lower than the predicted quotas” (Weiner, 1994: 193). Thus, the Japanese authorities decided in 1942 to take a

more coercive method or ‘government-directed system’ whereby government officials and local police intervened more directly in the process of labour mobilization (Han, 2006; Weiner, 1994). According to Han (2006), with the introduction of the government-directed system, Japanese employers were required to pay all expenses for labour mobilization in advance to the Administration of Korean Labour established by the Japanese Government-General in 1942. Hence, Han argues that the prepaid system for labour mobilization must have led government officials in charge to resort to more forceful measures to satisfy their labour quotas.

As the war situation further deteriorated, Japan seemed to have no choice but to employ a labour conscription system from 1944. As shown in Table 2.1, with the implementation of the forced draft system, the scheduled labour quota more than doubled compared with that of the previous year, and the actual number of conscripted Koreans nearly reached the full quota. Although it is difficult to pin down the precise figure of mobilized Koreans from 1938, approximately 720,000 to 990,000 Koreans seem to have been conscripted to Japan with the result that more than two million Koreans were residing in Japan when the Second World War ceased (Chapman, 2008; Weiner, 1994).

2.2.2 Homecoming and Staying Behind in Postwar Japan

Following the defeat of the Japanese Empire in August 1945, a large number of Koreans in Japan rushed to return to the Korean peninsula. Statistics from the Japanese Welfare Ministry indicate that approximately 1.3 million Koreans returned to the peninsula from August 1945 through March 1946, either at their own expense by arranging for small crafts such as fishing boats or through transport arranged by the Japanese government with support from the Allied Powers (Kim, 2010). The Japanese government gave particular priority to the repatriation of

Korean workers who were mobilized under the wartime conditions because the government “feared the surplus labor force would cause social problems” (Inokuchi, 2000: 145).¹¹

From March of 1946, the Allied Powers began a registration system for repatriation applicants. At first, out of about 640,000 Koreans who remained in Japan at that time, 514,000 registered for repatriation to Korea (Chöng, 1995; Kang & Kim, 2000; Kim, 2010).¹² However, the actual number of Koreans who returned to their homeland through the repatriation programs fell below the total registered applicants; the number of Koreans who returned to Korea from April through December of 1946 was merely 82,900, which represented only 16% of the total registered applicants (Kang & Kim, 2000). Kang and Kim (2000) attribute this result to the chaotic state of politics and the economy in Korea and to restrictions on the cash and goods that Koreans could carry with them back to Korea. Soon after repatriation commenced, many Koreans in Japan found dire living conditions in Korea – for example, lack of housing, jobs, and food – and political instability and strife that caused by the *de facto* geographical and ideological division of Korea. Furthermore, the Allied Powers and the Japanese government restricted the cash and goods that Koreans could take with them to only 1,000 Yen and 250 pounds.¹³ This policy aimed ultimately to prevent Koreans from returning to Northern Korea, which was under the control of the Soviet Union, and to prevent an outflow of property from Japan to outside (Kim, 2010). Given that the amount of money “would allow its bearer to exist for [little] more than a few days, and [was]...extremely inadequate to enable to begin life anew” in the Korea of those days (Caprio and Jia, 2009:32), it is not surprising that many Koreans in Japan who had

¹¹ According to Kim (2010), construction workers were encouraged to return earlier than coal miners because securing sufficient resources for energy (i.e., coal) was essential for postwar Japan and the U.S. armed forces in Japan and Korea.

¹² Among them, 701 Koreans applied to return to northern Korea (Kang & Kim, 2000).

¹³ According to Caprio and Jia (2009), the Occupation authorities issued a receipt for the funds that were confiscated in excess of the limited amount, but “they gave insufficient information on how to use it to claim the money (p.32).”

once desired to go back to their homeland with their hard-earned savings modified their decision and instead opted to stay on in Japan – an option they would not have expected it to become permanent.

Aside from the factors above, the inhospitable treatment of the returnees by the administration of Syng-man Rhee, the first president of the government of South Korea established in 1948, discouraged homecoming among Koreans in Japan (Caprio & Jia, 2009). Since the administration of Syng-man Rhee was established with the support of the U.S. and had adopted a strong anti-communist stance, Koreans who had been affiliated with left-wing organizations in Japan (the Korean organization *Choryŏn* and the Japan Communist Party; see below for detail) were prohibited from returning to South Korea. Even after they succeeded in returning to South Korea, they were frequently confronted with “interrogation, imprisonment and possible execution” (ibid.: 31). Moreover, cultural differences that Japan-born Korean returnees would face or faced in Korea such as a language barrier and unfamiliar customs made thousands of Koreans waver on repatriation to Korea or return to Japan (ibid.; Kashani, 2006; Lie, 2008).¹⁴

The tide of homecoming to the peninsula was halted with the outbreak of the Korean War (1950-1953) and Koreans who desired to return to their homeland had to wait until 1959 when repatriation was resumed – but this time it was a one-way voyage to North Korea, and not South Korea. Morris-Suzuki (2009) asserts that the repatriation movements to North Korea (called ‘*puksong saŏp*’ in Korean) were significantly motivated by political reasons rather than by a humanitarian stance as presented to the world in general. Postwar Japan carried forward the repatriation to North Korea in order to drive Korean residents in Japan out from its territory for

¹⁴ In 1946, the number of Koreans arrested on the charge of ‘illegal’ entry to Japan was 17,733 (Chŏng, 1996; Kim, 2010). Yet, Kim (2010) anticipates that there would have been more people who were smuggled into Japan but never caught.

security concerns and also to reduce the financial aid needed for destitute Koreans.¹⁵ On the other hand, North Korea, which was not interested in large-scale repatriation before 1958, actively pushed for the repatriation movement due to the need for labour and military manpower that had been diminished by “a decline in Soviet technical assistance and the withdrawal of some 300,000 Chinese “volunteers” who had been sent to the DPRK during the Korean War” (ibid.: 51; see also Nam, 2010). Furthermore, North Korea wanted to hinder the ongoing normalization of diplomatic relations between Japan and South Korea by clinching a mass repatriation – South Korea vigorously opposed the repatriation (Lee, 1981b; Morris-Suzuki, 2009). The Soviet Union was also involved in the process of repatriation with the intent of regaining its influence over North Korea.¹⁶ The USSR acted as an intermediary in negotiations between North Korea and Japan and provided ships for the repatriation while guarding them from possible attacks by South Korea (Morris-Suzuki, 2009).

After several years of negotiations between the Japanese and North Korean Red Cross on behalf of each government, the first repatriation ship bound for North Korea left Niigata port in December of 1959, with 2,942 passengers on board (Kim, 2010; Morris-Suzuki, 2009; Nam, 2010). The statistics from the Japanese Red Cross show that from 1959 through 1984, approximately 93,000 Koreans returned to North Korea, although the number began to decrease from 1962 after it was revealed that life in North Korea was not the ‘paradise on earth’ that propaganda suggested (Kim, 2010; Lee, 1981b; Morris-Suzuki, 2009).¹⁷

¹⁵ The then-Japanese government gave only minimal assistance to very poor Koreans and Taiwanese, the total of which amounted to “at all levels a total of 2.5 billion yen” (Morris-Suzuki, 2009:49).

¹⁶ At that moment, “relations between the USSR and North Korea had become strained following power struggles in the DPRK and a purge of pro-Soviet figures in the upper echelons of the North Korean ruling party” (Morris-Suzuki, 2009: 51).

¹⁷ Morris-Suzuki (2009) claims that although most Koreans in Japan voluntarily returned to North Korea to seek a better life, the ‘voluntary’ return was constrained by their vulnerable position in Japan (e.g., poverty, unemployment, non-Japanese status, etc.), misleading information about North Korea by

Table 2.2 Annual Number of Returnees to North Korea

Year	Number of returnees	Year	Number of returnees
1959	2942	1967	1831
1960	49036	1971	1318
1961	22801	1972	1002
1962	3495	1973	704
1963	2567	1974	470
1964	1822	1975	379
1965	2255	1976	256
1966	1860	1977	180

From Kim (2010: 221)

The official repatriation to North Korea was terminated in 1967. However, a sporadic number of Koreans in Japan departed for North Korea via a North Korean ship named *Man'gyōngbong* “with the tacit consent of the Japanese government” (Lee, 1981b: 108). The *Man'gyōngbong* travelled between *Wōnsan* in North Korea and Niigata in Japan until recently, providing Chongryun high school students on school excursions with transportation to North Korea. But it has been forbidden from entering the Niigata port since 2006, due to the North Korean nuclear issue and abductions of Japanese citizens.

2.3 Zainichi Koreans' Identity Politics in Postwar Japan

2.3.1 Regaining the Status of Korean Nationals

Although Zainichi Koreans have a century-long history of migration, quite a number of them (340,481)¹⁸ have not been naturalized as Japanese and have opted to maintain their Korean

Chongryun and Japanese mass media (i.e., ‘paradise on earth’), and patriarchal family structures (i.e., the less powerful female position in raising their voice in terms of repatriation).

¹⁸ This figure is from the 2016 statistics on registered foreign nationals issued by the Immigration Bureau of Japan. According to these statistics, 32,622 people have *Chōsen* as their national status while 307,859 people hold South Korean nationality.

national status.¹⁹ The reasons for keeping their Korean nationality may vary from one person to the next, but there seems to be a consensus among scholars that Korean organizations established after Korea's liberation have contributed to a great extent to forging strong ethno-national identity in the population of Zainichi Koreans (e.g., Lie, 2008; Mikuni, 2002; Ryang, 1997).

In October 1945, the League of Koreans in Japan or *Chaeilbon chosŏnin yŏnmaeng* (henceforth, *Choryŏn* for short) was established with a communist view²⁰ in order to assist Korean residents in Japan in returning to the Korean peninsula, improving their living conditions in Japan, and promoting their ethnic solidarity for the building of a united country on the peninsula. In November 1945 and January 1946, on the other hand, those who took an anti-communist line organized the League of Young Koreans to Expedite the Foundation of Korea (*Chosŏn kŏn'guk ch'okchin ch'ŏngnyŏn tongmaeng*) and the League for the Establishment of a New Korea (*Sin chosŏn kŏnsŏl tongmaeng*), respectively, to counter the rival *Choryŏn*; the two groups were combined in October 1948 and renamed as the Association of Korean Residents in Japan (*Chaeil chosŏn kŏryu mindan*, *Mindan* henceforth).

In the early postwar period, *Choryŏn* was more successful in gaining Korean residents' support than their counterpart *Mindan*.²¹ Whereas *Mindan* "assiduously avoided intervention in Japanese politics, aligned itself squarely behind South Korea, and was broadly pro-Japanese because of South Korea's pro-U.S. stance" (Lie, 2008: 39), *Choryŏn* actively conducted negotiations with the Allied Powers and Japan to improve Koreans' living conditions in Japan (ibid.; Kim, 2016; Mikuni, 2002). In particular, *Choryŏn*'s activities such as "offering ethnic

¹⁹ Japan takes the principle of *jus sanguinis*, meaning that Japanese citizenship is not determined by place of birth but by having one or both parents who are citizens of Japan.

²⁰ *Choryŏn* was an apolitical organization at first but quickly moved to the left after Kim Ch'ŏn-hae, a Korean communist who acted as a member of the executive committee of the JCP (Japanese Communist Party), was released from prison and took over the league's leadership (Chapman, 2008; Mikuni, 2002).

²¹ *Choryŏn* recruited 1.5 million members in the initial stages (Ōnuma, 1980, cited in Kashiwazaki, 2000).

education to Korean children, extracting welfare benefits from local governments, and applying for bail for those who were arrested on charges of moonshining” helped to increase resident Koreans’ trust toward *Choryŏn* and awakened them to who was their enemy and who were their comrades (Mikuni, 2002: 113).

The strong affiliation of many Koreans to the left-wing organization *Choryŏn* concerned the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (SCAP) and Japanese government with respect to social order in Japan. In December 1945, the Japanese Diet therefore resolved to suspend Koreans’ voting rights that had been granted to Korean males living in Japan in 1925 and impeded left-leaning Koreans’ involvement in Japanese national politics (Kashiwazaki, 2000, 2009). In 1947, the Alien Registration Law stipulated Koreans in Japan as people from *Chōsen*²² and no longer Japanese nationals and built a foundation to deport Korean offenders from Japan. However, it is paradoxical that on some occasions, the SCAP and Japanese authorities nonetheless treated Japan-based Koreans as Japanese nationals. For example, even after 1945, Koreans were still subjected to criminal jurisdiction and property tax and Korean children were obliged to receive Japanese compulsory education and banned from taking ethnic education in Korean schools (Ch’ae, 2006; *ibid.*). The legal status of Koreans in Japan was thus contingent upon the ruling authorities’ interests in maintaining social order and security in immediate prewar Japan.

In contrast to the ambiguous stance of the SCAP and Japan toward Koreans’ status, *Choryŏn* (and *Mindan*) unequivocally identified Koreans in Japan as non-Japanese nationals from their foundation. In their perspective, recognizing Koreans living in Japan as Japanese was

²² The term *Chōsen* merely indicated the fact that the person originated from the Korean peninsula and was not a mark of an official nationality because Japan and the Korean peninsula had not yet established diplomatic relations at that time (Kashiwazaki, 2000).

no better than perpetuating the hierarchical relations that had existed between Japanese and Koreans during the colonial years. Kashiwazaki (2009) notes:

For Koreans, redefining themselves as *gaikokujin* [foreigners] meant altering hitherto vertical relations vis-à-vis the Japanese based on colonial rule to a horizontal one – horizontal in the sense that all national states, be they small or large, poor or rich, theoretically have equal status in the international order, as enshrined in the one-country-one-vote system of the United Nations. Contemporary international order thus provided Koreans in Japan with a normative underpinning as they sought to establish a respectable status (p. 130).

In addition to this, the material advantage attached to the status of foreign nationals motivated *Choryŏn* to declare Koreans in Japan as full-fledged foreign nationals (Chŏng, 2013; *ibid.*). In postwar Japan, ex-colonial subjects, Koreans and Taiwanese, were classified as ‘third-country nationals’ distinct from the Japanese and other foreign nationals such as citizens of the Allied countries. Those in the category of ‘third-country nationals’ were considered to be of a lower status than other foreign nationals, and they were provided with fewer food rations than the occupation- and other Allied nationals. Thus, *Choryŏn*, which defined itself as an official organization of Koreans in Japan or liberated foreign nationals, appealed to the Allied Forces to equally ration out 4 *gŏ* (approx. 600g) of food to Koreans, just as other foreign nationals received (Chŏng, 2013). Although the identity of foreign nationals meant that Japan-resident Koreans were in “a vulnerable position as a target of surveillance and control by the authorities and were restricted in their legal rights” (Kashiwazaki, 2009: 131), the ultimate goal of repatriating Koreans in Japan to the peninsula and the material and symbolic values of foreign status (i.e., more food rations and equal status) drove Korean organizations to actively claim their foreigner identity.

The San Francisco Peace Treaty was ratified in 1952 and all Koreans in Japan officially lost their Japanese nationality (regardless of their intent). It was in 1965 when South Korea and Japan established diplomatic relations that Zainichi Koreans could have a more stable status in Japan. People who opted for South Korean nationality were allowed to apply for Japanese permanent residency, attain wider welfare and social benefits in Japan, and travel to South Korea to visit their family and other countries (Lee, 1981a; Ryang, 2000). Ryang (2000) notes that this was a very appealing option for Zainichi Koreans and that many decided to sever their relationship to Chongryun (a successor to *Choryŏn*) and choose South Korean nationality. On the other hand, those who opted to adhere to the nationality of *Chōsen* had to wait until 1981, when the Immigration Control Law was revised and they were granted permanent resident status (Kashiwazaki, 2000).

2.3.2 Korean Ethnic Schools

The Korean organizations, *Choryŏn* and Mindan, immediately established Korean ethnic schools after the war. For them, Japanese schools were venues to nurture Japanese nationals (Kashiwazaki, 2009) and it was regarded as urgent to build schools providing Japan-born Korean children with education that de-Japanized them and inculcated Korean identity into them before returning to Korea (Chŏng, 2013; Inokuchi, 2000; Lee, 1981c). As of 1948, therefore, 586 *Choryŏn* schools including 1,361 teachers and 60,336 students were established while 56 Mindan schools with 6,810 students were established throughout Japan (Ozawa, 1999).

Table 2.3 The Number of Korean Ethnic Schools in 1948

Mindan schools			<i>Choryŏn</i> schools			
	Schools	Students		Schools	Teachers	Students
Primary	52	6,279	Primary	541	1,196	56,210
Middle	2	242	Middle	9	25	2,330
Training	2	289	Youth	36	140	1,796
Total	56	6,810	Total	586	1,361	60,336

From Ozawa (1999)

In the early stages of the Allied occupation, the SCAP and the Japanese government did not pay attention to Koreans building ethnic schools (Inokuchi, 2000; Kim, 2009; Lee, 1981c). The occupation authorities were “preoccupied with rebuilding and restructuring the Japanese school system, and Korean schools built by Koreans’ own efforts tended not to attract the[ir] attention” (Inokuchi, 2000: 149). However, from 1947, the SCAP shifted their attention to Korean ethnic schools and viewed them as hostile because they saw the schools as a potential source of socio-political unrest (ibid.). On January 24, 1948, the Japanese Ministry of Education issued an official order (the so-called ‘1.24 Order’) that required Korean children to receive Japanese compulsory education. This meant that Korean ethnic schools had to reorganize as per the Japanese education laws by adopting the Japanese standard curriculum and using Japanese as the medium of instruction. Teaching the Korean language was only permitted as an extracurricular program. Moreover, Korean schools were commanded to apply for accreditation as private schools by local prefectures, and any nonaccredited schools would be closed down (Inokuchi, 2000; Kim, 2009; Lee, 1981c; Ozawa, 1999). Many Koreans in Japan resisted this order by protesting that “the directive was actually intended to deny the right of Koreans to maintain an autonomous educational system” (Lee, 1981c: 164). In particular, the clash between Korean protesters and armed Japanese police in Osaka on April 26, 1948 gave rise to dreadful

consequences, with the arrest of more than two hundred people and heavy casualties, including the death of a 16-year-old boy, Kim T'ae-il (Ch'ae, 2006; Inokuchi, 2000; Kim, 2009; Lee, 1981c; Ozawa, 1999).

The strife between the ruling authorities and Zainichi Koreans settled down in May 1948. The Japanese Minister of Education and Korean representatives reached an agreement that “Korean schools were to comply with the school education law, and to be subject to accreditation, but were to maintain autonomous ethnic studies programs within the limits accorded to private school systems in Japan” (Lee, 1981c: 165). That is, through this agreement, Korean schools were allowed to teach Korean history, language, culture, and literature in Korean, but only as extracurricular subjects. However, this agreement did not last long. In September 1948, when two separate political regimes were established on the Korean peninsula, *Choryŏn* officially announced that it supported North Korea and began to hoist the North Korean flag in public assemblies (Inokuchi, 2000; Kim, 2009). In addition, it set one of its ethnic educational goals as “cultivating loyal sons and daughters of the DPRK” (Ozawa, 1999: 234). As a result, the SCAP and the Japanese government became increasingly antagonistic to *Choryŏn* and in September 1949, they gave orders to dissolve *Choryŏn* for the reason that it was “an anti-democratic, terrorist organization” (Inokuchi, 2000: 154). In the month following the dissolution order, 92 schools under the supervision of *Choryŏn* were ordered to be shut down and another 245 schools were forced to be reorganized and authorized by local prefectures. Of the 128 schools that applied for accreditation, only three schools that took a politically neutral stance were approved and Korean children in other schools were transferred to Japanese schools (Ozawa, 1999). According to Inokuchi (2000), the occupation period was a time to rebuild Japan as a democratic and homogenous nation and thus, “[t]he suppression of Korean ethnic schools

was a moment of force struck to secure the Japanese state's reformation and its hegemony” (p.155).

2.3.3 Establishment of Chongryun

In 1955, not long after the Korean War came to a halt, Korean nationalists in Japan established Chongryun (*Chaeilbon chosŏnin ch'ong-nryŏnhaphoe*, the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan) and Korean ethnic schools were once again revitalized, including the establishment of *Chosŏn* University in 1956. Officially, Chongryun identified itself as an overseas organization of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and declared that it would no longer intervene in Japan's internal politics. In contrast to *Choryŏn* and its successor *Minjŏn* (the Democratic Front of Koreans), which had focused on Japanese revolution and the spread of communism in East Asia under the leadership of the JCP (Lie, 2008; Ryang, 1997), Chongryun set as its primary goal achieving “the peaceful unification of the Korea peninsula” under the guidance of Kim Il-Sung (Ryang, 1997: 90):

- (1) We shall organize all the Korean compatriots in Japan around the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.
 - (2) We shall fight to achieve the peaceful reunification of the fatherland...
 - (3) We shall institutionalize our own education among the Korean children in Japan.
 - (4) We shall safeguard firmly our honor as overseas nationals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea
- (Han, 1986: 170-171, cited in Ryang, 1997: 90)

Chongryun vehemently denied the idea that Zainichi Koreans were an ethnic minority in Japan. They identified Zainichi Koreans as North Korean nationals and considered that their stay in Japan was merely temporary and that they would eventually return to a reunited Korea (Chapman, 2008; Hester, 2008; Lie, 2008; Ryang, 1997).

According to Ryang (1997), the mass education program through Chongryun schools had played a crucial role in constructing a secure identity as overseas nationals of North Korea and maintaining an anti-assimilationist stance among Zainichi Koreans. Chongryun concentrated its energies on building its own schools in Japan from the initial stages. In 1955, there were only four Chongryun schools established, but the number increased continuously, reaching 135 in 1965 and 205 in 1971 (Ozawa, 1999). Ozawa notes that North Korean financial aid to Chongryun from 1957 provided an impetus to school construction. Chongryun unified the curriculum of all Chongryun schools in 1963 and since then, has reformed it every decade (Ryang, 1997). Ryang writes that the 1973 reform was a significant turning point in these schools because Chongryun “broadly incorporated the focus on Kim Il Sung into teaching” (p. 55). Following this reform, students were required to study Kim-related subjects such as the ‘childhood of Father Marshal Kim Il Sung’ (primary school), ‘revolutionary activities of the Great Leader Kim Il Sung’ (middle school) and ‘revolutionary history of the Great Leader Kim Il Sung’ (high school). Through the classes, the students from an early age were instructed to memorize Kim Il-sung’s teachings and trained to use appropriately the epithets for Kim Il-Sung and his various family members: for example, ‘Our Father Marshal’ or ‘the Respected and Beloved Leader’ for Kim Il-Sung, ‘Mother of Korea’ for Kim’s mother, Kim Pan-sök, and ‘Our Dear Leader’ for Kim Jong-Il. Additionally, Korean history textbooks came to embody a historical view of North Korea, and Japanese textbooks published by Japanese publishers were replaced with versions created by Chongryun schoolteachers that provided students with “the ability to represent North Korea and their North Korean identity in Japanese” (ibid.: 55). Ryang therefore asserts that through this institutionalized training, the students came to learn how to

perform a Chongryun Korean identity as overseas nationals of North Korea and also formed their self-identity as Chongryun Koreans.

2.4 Change and Diversity in Zainichi Korean Community

2.4.1 Emergence of New Identity Discourses

The 1970s and 1980s were marked as a significant turning point in the Zainichi Korean community because the preceding homeland-centered discourse was challenged by Japan-born younger generations. In 1979, Japanese scholar, Iinuma Jirō, and a second-generation Korean, Kim Tong-myōng, exchanged views about the future of Zainichi Koreans (Chapman, 2008; Tai, 2004). In this discussion that appeared in *Chōsenjin* (1979), Kim Tong-myōng proposed a new way of living for Zainichi Koreans or a ‘Third Way’ – living “in Japan as home, without being totally Korean or totally Japanese but instead being ‘Zainichi’” (Chapman, 2008: 44). In other words, he asserted that Zainichi Koreans would not return to either the present Korea (North or South Korea) or an (anticipated) reunified Korea in the future and thus they needed to seek a way to live in Japan as an ethnic minority with Korean nationality. This proposal was completely contrary to the ideologies that the first generation and Korean ethnic organizations had hitherto sustained, and therefore, as Chapman argues, became a virtual challenge to the power hierarchy that was controlled by the first generation within Zainichi Korean communities.

Interestingly, but not surprisingly, this idea of a Third Way was contested later on for its exclusionary framework. Although the discourse of the Third Way opened a new dimension to what it meant to be Zainichi, it “still presented Zainichi identity as contained and limited” by excluding naturalized Koreans as Japanese and so-called mixed-blood Korean-Japanese from the boundaries of the Third Way (ibid.: 58). For the supporters of the Third Way, naturalized and

mixed-blood Koreans were no better than assimilationists, traitors, spies, and half-Japanese.²³ However, in tandem with the increasing number of naturalized Koreans,²⁴ several people promoted from the late 1980s the legitimacy of a dual Korean-Japanese identity, one that was labeled as a ‘Fourth Way’ (Chapman, 2008; Hester, 2008). They “refut[ed] the argument that acquiring Japanese nationality [was] tantamount to abandonment of ethnic sentiments and absorption into a monoethnic Japan” (Hester, 2008: 147) and suggested the possibility that even naturalized and ethnically-mixed Koreans could live as Koreans in Japan by “maintaining pride in Korean heritage, including the display of one’s Korean heritage through the regular use of ethnic names” (ibid.: 146). Furthermore, it is intriguing that they reinterpreted the naturalization of Zainichi Koreans – long degraded within the communities – in a positive way such that encouragement of the Fourth Way could be a powerful impetus to rejuvenate Korean identity among Zainichi Koreans and transform Japan into a multicultural society (Chapman, 2008; Hester, 2008; Tai, 2004).

Some empirical studies reflect the presence of diverse identities in the Zainichi Korean community (Fukuoka and Kim, 1997; Kim, 2009; Im, 2009). Table 2.4 below shows the Zainichi Koreans’ identity categories that the studies established on the basis of questionnaire surveys or interview data. They categorized the identities in different ways, but equally highlighted the multiplicity and/or fluidity of Zainichi Koreans’ identities.

²³ In effect, Chōng (2001) reports that the prevailing contempt for naturalized Koreans in the Zainichi Korean community has held some Zainichi Koreans back from changing their nationality.

²⁴ The number of those naturalized during the 1980s maintained a level of approximately 5,000 people per annum, but passed 7,000 in 1992 and reached 10,000 people in 1995 (Kashiwazaki, 2009; Tai, 2004).

Table 2.4 Zainichi Koreans' Multiple Identities

Research	Identity Types of Zainichi Koreans
Fukuoka & Kim (1997)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nationalist: living for the homeland and the nation • Ethno-solidarity: living to improve Zainichi Koreans' standard of living • Pluralist: harmoniously living together with Japanese while respecting mutual differences • Individualist: living for individual success through upward social mobility • Conflict-avoiding: living without the tendency to obsess over an ethnic identity • Conflict: always living while facing an identity crisis • Naturalizing: living with a desire to become Japanese
Im (2009)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cosmopolitan: stressing the importance of solidarity all together among Koreans on the peninsula, Zainichi Koreans, and Japanese • Ethno-solidarity: stressing only solidarity among Zainichi Koreans and thus, being isolated from the dominant Japanese society • Individualist: contemplating a new identity formation as 'Zainichi' while holding Japanese nationality
Kim (2009)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assimilationist: living as Japanese while hiding a Korean background • Ethnic-centered: living as Koreans while using a Korean name and disclosing ethnic background

2.4.2 Curricular Reform of Chongryun Schools

The shift of Zainichi Koreans' understanding of their relationship with Korea and Japan seemed to become a trigger for extensive curricular reform in Chongryun schools in 1993. Chongryun has reformed its school curriculum every decade since 1963. However, among others, the 1993 reform is particularly significant because Chongryun reflected to a large extent the reality of Zainichi Korean children or the fact that they are living and will live in Japan and will not return to North Korea (Pak, 2013; Ryang, 1997).

One of the biggest changes in the new curriculum was to eliminate the subjects for ‘ideological education’ such as ‘Childhood of Father Marshal Kim Il-Sung’ and ‘Revolutionary History of the Great Leader Kim Il-Sung,’ replacing these teaching hours with the subjects of Japanese history, society, and language (Ryang, 1997). This revision enabled students to learn how to “talk in Korean about daily life and occurrences and events in the Japanese locality, that is, the nonorganization life that takes place outside Chongryun’s field” (p. 54) and helped them to prepare for entrance examinations for Japanese schools (ibid.). Under the new curriculum, moreover, the past lessons that invoked anti-Japanese, anti-South Korean, and anti-American sentiments disappeared from textbooks (Pak, 2013).

Another remarkable change in the 1993 revisions was that Korean textbooks focused on teaching colloquial forms of Korean (Kim, 1994; Ryang, 1997; Sin, 2005). The old Korean textbooks had aimed to develop students’ literacy skills and the textbooks were written by and large in formal (or written) forms of Korean (e.g., *handa* and *hapnita* forms). As a result, the Korean speech of Chongryun school students became “predominantly text-dependent” (Ryang, 1997: 36). However, under the 1993 reform, the Korean textbooks came to devote more attention to teaching informal and colloquial styles (e.g., *hay* and *hayyo* forms) than before²⁵ and to emphasize all four language skills – reading, writing, speaking, listening – to the same extent (Ryang, 1997; Sin, 2005). Sin (2005) attributes these changes to the decreasing number of first-generation Koreans. That is, when the Zainichi Korean community consisted of many first-generation members whose first language was Korean, younger generations had opportunities to hear and use colloquial Korean with the first-generation members outside of Chongryun schools.

²⁵ For example, whereas none of the lessons in the old Korean textbook for the 2nd grade introduced the spoken version of Korean, the 1993 new Korean textbook devoted 14 out of 28 lessons to its education (Ryang, 1997).

However, as the number of first-generation Koreans declined, these opportunities decreased and it became necessary to teach the colloquial forms at school.

Despite the considerable reduction of references to Kim Il-sung and Kim Jong-il from the new curriculum, however, it is important to note that the political ideologies of North Korea still underlie the education of Chongryun schools. Pak (2013) argues that some fables in the new primary school Korean textbooks such as ‘The Ant and Cicada,’²⁶ ‘The Three Little Pigs,’ and ‘The Squirrel and Raccoon’ were selected to teach students socialist values like the importance of labor, diligence, and egalitarianism.²⁷ Furthermore, the 2013 Investigation Report on Chongryun Schools by Tokyo Metropolis²⁸ shows that the high school textbooks for social studies introduce *Chuch’e* (self-reliance) ideology – the official political ideology of North Korea – and praise the ideology highly:

Chuch’e Ideology was created by the Great Marshal Kim Il-sung and developed and enriched by Dear Leader Kim Jong-il and is a new idea for human liberation.

Chuch’e Ideology is an idea of ethnic liberation to eliminate an ethnic subordinate position and inequality and realize ethnic autonomy and as well, an idea of internationalism to establish an international society that is autonomous and peaceful. (The 10th-grade textbook for social studies, cited in the Investigation Report on Chongryun schools, 2013: 9)

The report also informs that in the high school textbooks on modern Korean history, the epithets for the two former leaders, “the Respected Marshal Kim Il-sung” and “Dear Leader Kim Jong-Il,” appear 353 times while their pictures appear 43 times. Much the same thing occurs in the music textbooks for primary and secondary schools, the report highlights. As will be discussed

²⁶ This is the equivalent to ‘The Ant and Grasshopper.’

²⁷ He said that the fable of ‘The Ant and Cicada’ is introduced in a primary school Korean textbook in North Korea as well.

²⁸ This report investigated the eligibility of Chongryun high schools for the policy of tuition exemption for high schools (<http://www.seikatubunka.metro.tokyo.jp/shigaku/sonota/0000000845.html>).

below, recently this North Korea-oriented education puts Chongryun schools at risk of continuing to exist.

2.4.3 The Ambivalent Status of Zainichi Koreans in the 21st Century

At the start of the twenty-first century, Zainichi Koreans were placed in another new, but fairly ambivalent set of sociopolitical circumstances. In 2002, South Korea and Japan co-hosted the World Cup of Soccer. Also, since 2003 when the South Korean TV drama ‘Winter Sonata’ was broadcast in Japan, South Korean popular culture such as movies, music, dramas, and cosmetics have gained tremendous popularity in Japan, a phenomenon known as the Korean Wave or *Hallyu* in Korean. This unprecedented popularity of South Korean pop culture has contributed to changing the Japanese people’s attitude toward Zainichi Koreans and Koreans in general, as well as the self-perception of Zainichi Koreans themselves (Han et al., 2007; Hanaki et al., 2007; Hwang, 2009; Iwabuchi, 2008; Kim, 2010; Shim, 2008). Hanaki et al. (2007) found that the TV drama ‘Winter Sonata’ led several research participants to have “an opportunity to understand them [Zainichi Koreans] better and feel emotionally closer to them” (p. 288). Hal et al. (2007) and Kim (2010) show that the increased power of Korean pop culture in Japan has enabled many Zainichi Koreans in their studies to feel more empowered and more positive about their ethnic background in Japan.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that an antagonistic attitude toward the Korean Wave and Zainichi Koreans has simultaneously escalated in Japan. In 2005, the comic book entitled ‘Hate Korean Wave Manga’ (Manga *Kenkanryū*) was published and became a best seller.²⁹

After North Korea admitted on September 17, 2002 that it had abducted several Japanese citizens

²⁹ The comic book organizes Korean colonial history with very essentialized views (e.g., colonial migration of Koreans was voluntary) and describes Koreans as irrational, ignorant, and self-centered in direct opposition to the depiction of Japanese as rational, knowledgeable, and ethical (Sakamoto and Allen, 2007).

during the 1970s and 1980s (henceforth, the 9/17 Incident), further strong hostility toward North Korea and Zainichi Koreans arose in Japan. *Zaitokukai* (*Zainichi tokken o yurusanai shimin no kai*, Association of Citizens against the Special Privileges of the Zainichi) was established in 2007 and has been engaged in hate speech against Zainichi Koreans.³⁰

The surge of anti-North Korean sentiment put Chongryun schools and their students and parents in a particularly dire predicament. After the media reports, Chongryun schools that are widely perceived to be affiliated with Chongryun and North Korea began to receive hate mail and threatening telephone calls. Chongryun schoolgirls had their Korean-style uniforms slashed with knives by anonymous perpetrators on the street and on public transportation (Noguchi, 2005; Ryang, 2009). These kinds of threats and harassment are reported unceasingly whenever conflict and tension between North Korea and Japan occur; during my fieldwork, I learned that Kansai Korean school also received a threatening phone call when the news broke out that North Korea had launched a short-range missile in 2012, and a male student experienced having his bicycle kicked by someone on the way to school. In order to protect their students' safety, Chongryun schools implemented various measures such as a dual-uniform system (female students wear a western-style uniform on the way to and from school and change to the Korean-style uniform at school), teachers and parents escorting young children to subway stations or schools, and erasing school names from school buses.

Furthermore, the 9/17 Incident adversely affected the Japanese government's verdict on whether Chongryun high schools are eligible for a scheme to waive tuition fees. In April 2010, the Japanese government enforced the Act on Free Tuition at Public High Schools and the High

³⁰ Xenophobic rallies organized by the *Zaitokukai* and other conservative organizations were held 1,152 times from April 2012 to September 2015. In May 2016, the Japanese Diet first passed an anti-hate speech law to curb racial discrimination, even though critics denounced the legislation as ineffective because of the unclear definitions of discriminatory language and behaviour and because of the exclusion of racism toward foreign residents without valid visa status (Osaki, 2016).

School Enrollment Support Fund “to ease family educational expenses and to contribute to equal opportunity in upper secondary education.”³¹ Under this law, students in public high schools no longer need to pay school tuition and each student in private high schools, including institutions catering to non-Japanese students, is annually provided with ¥ 118,800.³² However, a few months before the bill was passed, Hiroshi Nakai, the state minister in charge of the North Korean abduction issue, raised questions about the eligibility of Chongryun high schools for the program by reason of their close link to Chongryun (Hongo, 2010). His posing of this problem was widely supported by right-wing groups (ibid.) and led to a resumption of full deliberation of this issue (Kyodo News, 2010; Martin, 2011). Eventually, the conclusion was unfavorable to Chongryun high schools. Although Chongryun high schools were initially included in the plan, the Ministry enforced the law excluding Chongryun high schools and announced that they would decide what to do with Chongryun high schools in the future after they confirmed the suitability of their curriculum and educational contents (Ito, 2013). In 2013, almost three years after the enactment of the law, the education ministry officially announced a preclusion of Chongryun high schools from the tuition waiver program for the reasons that “the government would not be able to get the public to support a tuition-waiver program that includes pro-North Korea schools, because they have close ties with the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan” (Chongryun) and “because there has been no progress toward resolving the issue of Japanese nationals abducted by North Korean agents” (“Treat all students equally,” 2013).

The 9/17 Incident and the federal government’s exclusion of Chongryun high school from the tuition-waiver program prompted several local governments to stop annual subsidies to Chongryun schools as well. In 2011, Osaka Prefecture, an area with a high proportion of ethnic

³¹ The website of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology in Japan (MEXT) (<http://www.mext.go.jp/english/elsec/1303524.htm>)

³² An amount 1.5 or 2 times higher is given to students from low-income households (MEXT website).

Koreans, decided to withdraw the funding (about ¥ 185 million) that it had granted to Chongryun schools since 1991, because the schools did not satisfy the four demands that the then-Osaka vice-governor, Hashimoto Tōru, put forward in March 2010: (1) to conduct educational activities that conform with Japanese education guidelines, (2) to disclose financial information about Chongryun schools to the public, (3) to cut off relations with a particular political organization (that is, Chongryun), and (4) to remove particular political leaders' portraits (Fujinaga, 2013).³³ This move was followed by other local governments such as Tokyo, Hiroshima, Kanagawa Prefecture, Saitama Prefecture, Miyagi Prefecture, and Chiba Prefecture. In March 2016, education minister Hiroshi Hase requested 28 prefectural governments to “re-evaluate the public benefits and effectiveness of subsidies” to Chongryun schools and put pressure on the local governments' provision of subsidies (Takahama & Katayama, 2016).

It may go without saying that this financial pressure by both federal and local governments on Chongryun schools imposed severe economic hardships not only on Chongryun schools themselves, but also the on teachers and parents. A large portion of annual subsidies from local governments had been applied to school operating expenses, including teachers' salaries and students' tuition grants. However, since Chongryun schools lost the subsidies in several prefectures, many teachers ended up working unpaid: in fact, I was informed that Kansai Korean School teachers had been unpaid for fourteen months as of early 2013. The financial burden of parents also increased because they had to pay the tuition that was previously covered by local government allowances. Against the discriminatory treatment of Chongryun schools, Chongryun schoolteachers, students, their parents, and Japanese supporters have held rallies in various areas. In April 2013, a Chongryun school delegation comprised of five mothers of

³³ Osaka prefecture first ceased to provide the annual subsidies to the Osaka Chongryun high school in 2011 and did the same to primary and middle schools in the following year.

Chongryun school students visited Geneva, Switzerland to appeal to the UN to urge the Japanese government to include Chongryun high schools in the tuition waver program. In addition, Osaka Chongryun Educational Foundation, Aichi Chongryun High School, and Tokyo Chongryun High School filed a lawsuit demanding the application of a tuition-free high school education program and this case is still in progress.

2.5 Summary

In this chapter, I have illustrated how the Zainichi Korean community was formed and how Zainichi Koreans have sought to live in Japan while maintaining their Koreanness. The pro-North Korea organization, Chongryun, prioritized the prosperity of the homeland North Korea and reunification of the Korean peninsula under the leadership of Kim Il-sung over Zainichi Koreans' well-being and rights in Japan. The education in Chongryun schools therefore focused on teaching students North Korean political ideology and producing the future generation of overseas nationals of North Korea who would devote themselves to North Korea and their leaders, Kim Il-sung and Kim Jong-il. However, in recent decades, homeland-centered ideologies such as "repatriatism" (Hester, 2008: 146) to the peninsula and the notion of Koreans' status as sojourners in Japan has been waning in the Chongryun community. The ideological and geographical partition of North and South Korea show no signs of change and Japan-born, second- and third-generation Koreans have come to constitute the vast majority of the Zainichi Korean population and seek a way to live in Japan as an ethnic minority group. With this trend, Chongryun schools initiated curricular reforms that took into account their students' real lives in Japan. However, this does not necessarily mean that Chongryun has cut off its relationship with North Korea and pursues more inclusive education with the blanket term of 'Koreans.' As will be seen in the following chapters, Chongryun schools still aim to cultivate Koreans and not

Japanese, and also overseas nationals of North Korea and not overseas nationals of South Korea, who can dedicate themselves to the fatherland. To that end, they believe that the Korean language is an essential element in their curriculum.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This study is based on a yearlong ethnographic research project conducted in Osaka Prefecture, Japan.³⁴ The primary fieldwork was conducted from October 2012 through August 2013 in a Chongryun school that I will refer to as Kansai Korean school, the Chongryun school students' households, other community settings, and a non-Chongryun Korean school that I will call Hana Korean School. I returned to the site in March 2014 for follow-up research for one month. I chose Osaka Prefecture for the primary research site because the largest population of Zainichi Koreans in Japan resides in the area. In this chapter, I provide a full description of the research venues, participants, data collection and analysis procedures. School names and all participants' names presented in this study are pseudonyms.

3.2 Research Sites

3.2.1 Kansai Korean School

Located in a quiet residential area, Kansai Korean School includes a preschool, primary school, and middle school in an old four-story, L-shaped building. The school first began with a primary school in the late 1950s, following by the establishment of the middle school in the 1960s and the preschool in the 1970s. In the past, Kansai Korean School could boast several hundred students. However, when I commenced my fieldwork, the total enrollment for the 2012

³⁴ There is only a small number of Chongryun schools in Osaka Prefecture. In order to protect confidentiality, therefore, I have decided not to specify the cities where the schools I visited were located. In Chapter 6, I have given the city where Kansai Korean School is located a pseudonymous name: Midori.

academic year was barely 80 students: 6 students in the preschool, 43 students in the primary school, and 31 students in the middle school. The next academic year from April 2013³⁵ began with an even smaller number of students. Due to a rumor of the possibility that the middle school would be combined shortly with another Chongryun middle school nearby, several students transferred to other schools and the school also decided not to accept new middle school students for that year.³⁶ As a result, the new academic year started with just 11 middle school students: 8 students in the 9th grade and 3 students in the 8th grade.

Through a Japanese university professor that I had built up personal contact with, I was put in touch with Mr. Han, the principal of Kansai Korean School. The professor, who was devoted to activities for Chongryun schools, saw Mr. Han as open-minded and she thought that he would allow me to do research at his school. In the first meeting with Mr. Han, I verbally gave him some general information about my research and later sent him a documented research plan via email as per his request. But a few weeks later when I visited the school again, I sensed he was holding back from letting me into his school. Because of the term ‘*language ideology (õnõ sasang)*’ that I used in my research plan, Mr. Han seemed to misunderstand that my research was to explore the political ideologies that Chongryun schools instilled into their students. Thus, on the spot, I gave him a detailed account of what the term referred to and sent him a revised version of my research plan thereafter. Mr. Han also invited me to the school’s open house while we were in the process of negotiating my entry into the school. After the open house, he introduced me to the chairman of the local Chongryun school board and several other school authorities over lunch. This may have been Mr. Han’s intended plan to familiarize them

³⁵ The academic year at Japanese schools normally begins in April and ends the following March.

³⁶ However, the board of education for Chongryun schools in the city resolved to preserve the middle school and from 2014, Kansai Korean School granted admission to new middle school students.

with me and mitigate any potential sources of conflict over opening up their educational venue to an outsider.

About one and a half months after I started negotiating entry into the school with Mr. Han, I was permitted to conduct my fieldwork in Kansai Korean School. Thus, it was from January 2013 that I began to attend the middle school's classes and observe school activities and events.

3.2.2 Hana Korean School

Hana Korean School is a relatively new Korean ethnic school that was established in 2008. Unlike Mindan and Chongryun schools that are affiliated with either South Korea or North Korea, Hana Korean School rejects supporting either of the two Koreas and pursues fostering global ethnic Koreans beyond geographical and ideological boundaries (see Chapter 4 for more details). The school offers secondary education to approximately seventy students as of 2012.

At the outset of my research, I did not have a plan to conduct fieldwork in any Korean ethnic school other than a Chongryun school. However, while I was in waiting mode with concerns as to whether I would obtain permission from Mr. Han, I learned from the school website that Hana Korean School would have a cultural festival soon. Hence, with an interest in seeing how different the school might be from Chongryun schools and in order to seek to arrange an interview with the school principal, I visited the school on the festival day.

After all of the students' performances for the festival came to an end, I approached the principal, Mr. Min, and introduced myself, explaining the reason why I had come to Japan from Canada. To my surprise, Mr. Min, who showed an interest in my research, immediately introduced me to Mr. Ko, the head teacher of Korean language. Despite the unannounced nature

of visit, Mr. Ko kindly took the time to explain the Korean language education program in Hana Korean School to me and also willingly accepted my request to observe the school’s Korean classes then and there. Consequently, I could begin to sit in on different levels of Korean classes, interact with several teachers, and observe a few school events from December 2012.

3.3 Participants

3.3.1 Teachers in Kansai Korean School

Five teachers in Kansai Korean School participated in this study: Mr. Han (the principal), Mrs. Song (Korean teacher), Ms. Hwang (English teacher), Mr. Yi (Music teacher), and Mr. Ch’oe (Korean history teacher). Table 3.1 below provides an overview of the teachers’ general profiles, except for Mr. Ch’oe because he left the school prior to the beginning of the 2013 academic year and I did not have a chance to interview him.

Table 3.1 General Profile of Kansai Korean School Teachers

Name	Role	Generation	Birth Year	School Education
Mr. Han	Principal	3 rd	1957	K-12: Chongryun Chosŏn University
Mrs. Song	Korean teacher	3 rd	1979	K-12: Chongryun Chosŏn University
Mr. Yi	Music teacher	3 rd	1969	K-12: Chongryun Chosŏn University
Ms. Hwang	English teacher	3 rd	1977	K-12: Chongryun Chosŏn University

The principal, Mr. Han, was a third-generation Korean in his 50s. His grandparents migrated to Japan from *Cheju* Island during the colonial period. After Korea’s liberation, his paternal grandfather played important roles in Chongryun activities and in the foundation of Chongryun schools. Therefore, Mr. Han said, he naturally started studying in a Chongryun elementary

school and continued to be educated in Chongryun schools up to the university level. He was granted a bachelor's degree from the Department of Literature at *Chosŏn* University. Following university graduation, Mr. Han took a teaching position in a Chongryun middle school as a Korean language teacher and since then, he has been involved in Chongryun ethnic education by moving around several different schools. It was in 2010 that he started in his new post as principal of Kansai Korean School.

Mrs. Song, a third-generation Korean in her early 30s, was a part-time Korean language teacher. Since graduating from *Chosŏn* University, she had worked as a full-time teacher in a number of Chongryun schools. However, after marrying and having children, she shifted her status to part-time. Mrs. Song grew up in a family of teachers; both her father and mother were Chongryun schoolteachers. Mrs. Song thus explained that it might be partially her family background that resulted in her entering *Chosŏn* University and not considering other options, such as taking a Japanese university entrance examination. She also received a bachelor's degree from the Department of Literature at *Chosŏn* University. Her desire to learn more about the Korean language motivated her to choose her major and it was her insight into "the need for key figures in the organization (i.e., Chongryun)" during her university years that led her to become a teacher.

Ms. Hwang, an English teacher, was also a third-generation Korean in her 30s and her father too had dedicated his career to teaching in Chongryun schools. From her childhood, she said, becoming a teacher had been her lifelong dream and she chose to major in English at *Chosŏn* University to improve her English competency. Mr. Yi was a music teacher and the homeroom teacher of the students who participated in my research. He grew up with parents who had worked as manual laborers. Like the other teachers, he had studied at *Chosŏn*

University and majored in music in the Department of Education. His spouse is a newcomer from South Korea and he seemed to be more familiar with expressions from the South Korean standard language than the other schoolteachers.

Most of the teachers informed me that their home language had been Japanese-dominant during their childhood, not only with their parents but also with their grandparents. Therefore, like many of their current students, they had begun to learn Korean once they entered a Chongryun school.

3.3.2 Teachers in Hana Korean School

The Hana Korean School teachers involved in my research were: Mr. Min (the principal), Mr. Sö (the vice-principal), and three Korean language teachers, Mr. Ko, Ms. An, and Mrs. Yu. The principal, Mr. Min, was the school's third principal and was appointed in 2010. He was born and grew up in South Korea and came to Japan to study for graduate school. According to him, an invitation from one of the Hana Korean School board members motivated him to work for Hana Korean School. The vice-principal, Mr. Sö, was a fourth-generation Korean who had worked in Chongryun schools as a mathematics and science teacher. After he left the environment of Chongryun schools, he was asked to build up Hana Korean School by the then principal. However, despite his empathy with the school's education ideologies, he did not initially accept the invitation as he viewed working in Hana Korean School could be considered an act of betrayal against Chongryun schools. Thus, it was not until 2011 that he accepted the second invitation from Hana Korean School. All of the Korean language teachers were newcomers from South Korea. They had come to Japan for undergraduate or graduate studies and were very fluent Japanese speakers. Their majors in undergraduate and graduate schools

ranged from Japanese literature and theater studies to studies of cultural heritage and teaching Japanese as a foreign language.

Table 3.2 General Profile of Hana Korean School Teachers

Name	Role	Birth Place	Birth Year	School Education
Mr. Min	Principal	South Korea	1966	K-12 & Undergrad: South Korea Grad school: Japan
Mr. Sō	Vice-principal & Science teacher	Japan (4 th generation)	1967	K-12: Chongryun schools Undergrad: <i>Chosŏn</i> University Grad school: Japanese University
Mr. Ko	Korean teacher	South Korea	1975	K-12 & Undergrad: South Korea Grad school: Japan
Ms. An	Korean teacher	South Korea	1981	K-12: South Korea Undergrad & grad school: Japan
Mrs. Yu	Korean teacher	South Korea	1978	K-12: South Korea Undergrad & grad school: Japan

3.3.3 Students in Kansai Korean School

In Kansai Korean School, I attended middle school classes that consisted of eight ninth-graders (as of the 2013 academic year) and I received written consent from all of the students' parents (Appendix A). The students started their middle school life with eleven classmates (eight female students and three male students). However, three students moved to other Chongryun schools and the 2013 academic year ended up starting with eight students (seven female students and one male student).

Table 3.3 General Profile of Kansai Korean School Students

Name	Gender	Generation	School education	Nationality
Chi-min	Female	4 th	K-9: Chongryun High school: Chongryun	<i>Chosŏn</i>
Hye-jin	Female	4 th	K-9: Chongryun High school: Chongryun	South Korea
Min-a	Female	4 th	K-9: Chongryun High school: Chongryun	<i>Chosŏn</i>
Na-rae	Female	4 th	K-9: Chongryun High school: Japanese	South Korea
Na-yŏng	Female	4 th	K-9: Chongryun High school: Chongryun	South Korea
Su-ji	Female	4 th	K-9: Chongryun High school: Chongryun	South Korea
Yu-ri	Female	4 th	K-9: Chongryun High school: Chongryun	<i>Chosŏn</i>
Min-u	Male	4 th	K-9: Chongryun High school: Japanese	South Korea

All of the students were fourth-generation Koreans who were born and grew up in the *Kansai* area (southern-central region of Japan’s main island). Except for Yu-ri, who had transferred from another Chongryun school when she was in the fourth grade for family reasons, all of the students had been educated in Kansai Korean School from the kindergarten or primary level. Therefore, one student told me that they were more like “siblings” than simply classmates. However, of those eight students, two made decisions to take a different path from the others. Min-u and Na-rae entered Japanese high schools, whereas the other six students advanced to a local Chongryun high school in April 2014. I document Min-u and Na-rae’s motivations to leave the realm of Chongryun schools in Chapter 6. Except for three students, Chi-min, Min-a, and Yu-ri, all students were holders of South Korean nationality, although they had never been to South Korea and many of them did not have a passport yet.³⁷

³⁷ Having the legal status of South Korean does not guarantee a South Korean passport for Zainichi Koreans. To have a passport issued, they are required to be interviewed by a consular official; Zainichi Koreans who are related to Chongryun seem to be asked especially many questions about their political

3.3.4 Parents

I recruited parents who were sending or had sent their children to Chongryun schools through snowball sampling. I first considered inviting the parents of the student participants to my study by sending them a recruitment letter. However, the Kansai Korean School principal, Mr. Han, advised me that it would not be efficient because a formal letter could lead them to think that the project might delve into their private information. Therefore, I tried to make acquaintances with the school parents by attending several school events. As a result, I was able to recruit several parents and they also introduced me to some other parents.

In Hana Korean School, I sent a recruitment letter to parents through students who attended Korean language classes. Given the political stance of Hana Korean School, I thought that the parents might be more accepting of an outsider from South Korea and open to sharing their experience than the parents in Kansai Korean School. However, contrary to my expectations, I did not hear from any parents. Thus, I asked Mr. Ko, a Korean teacher, for help and he introduced me to Mrs. Kang who invited other parents to my research. See Table 3.4 for the general profile of the parent participants.

views. People who are working for the Chongryun organization (such as schoolteachers) hardly have a chance to be issued a passport even though they have South Korean nationality.

Table 3.4 General Profile of Parent Participants

Name	Birth Year (Generation)	School Education	Children ³⁸	
Mrs. Kim & Mr. Yang	1968	K-12: Chongryun <i>Chosŏn</i> U.	Daughter	9 th grade in a Chongryun middle school
	1967		Daughter	8 th grade in a Chongryun middle school
Mrs. Shin	1970 (3 rd)	K-12: Chongryun <i>Chosŏn</i> U.	Son	10 th grade in a Japanese school (K-9: Chongryun schools)
			Son	9 th grade in a Chongryun middle school
			Daughter	Three years old
Mrs. O	1968 (3 rd)	K-12: Chongryun <i>Chosŏn</i> U.	Son	2 nd year in a Japanese university (K-12: Chongryun schools)
			Daughter	11 th grade in a Chongryun high school
			Daughter	6 th grade in a Chongryun primary school
Mrs. Cho & Mr. Im	1968 (3 rd)	K-12: Chongryun Japanese U.	Daughter	12 th grade in a Chongryun high school
	1968 (2 nd)		Son	8 th grade in a Chongryun middle school
Mrs. Hong	1967 (3 rd)	K-12: Chongryun <i>Chosŏn</i> U.	Daughter	6 th grade in a Chongryun primary school
			Son	1 st year in <i>Chosŏn</i> University (K-12: Chongryun schools)
			Son	11 th grade in a Chongryun high school
			Son	9 th grade in a Chongryun middle school
Mrs. To	1975 (3 rd)	K-12: Chongryun Japanese U.	Son	4 th grade in a Chongryun primary school
			Son	5 years old in a Chongryun preschool
Mrs. Kang	Unknown (2 nd)	K-12: Chongryun	Daughter	3 years old
			Son	3 rd year in a Japanese university (K-12: Chongryun schools)
			Daughter	12 th grade in a Japanese high school (K-9: Chongryun schools)
			Son	7 th grade in Hana Korean School (K-6: Chongryun school)

³⁸ The grades of the children are indicative of when I first met their parents.

Name	Birth Year (Generation)	School Education	Children	
Mrs. Nam	Unknown (3 rd)	K-12: Chongryun U: <i>Chosŏn</i> U.	Daughter	27 years old (K-12: Chongryun schools & Japanese University)
			Daughter	25 years old (K-12: Chongryun schools & Japanese University)
			Daughter	1 st year in a South Korean university (K-9: Chongryun schools K10-12: Hana Korean School)
			Son	10 th grade in Hana Korean School (K-6: Chongryun school)
Mrs. Kwŏn	1969 (2 nd)	K-12: Chongryun	Son	8 th grade in a Chongryun middle school
			Son	6 th grade in a Chongryun primary school

In general, mothers appeared more often at school events than fathers and I had more chances to meet them and build a rapport with them. Therefore, the parent participants in this study were composed mainly of Zainichi Korean mothers. Although their experiences with post-secondary education varied, all of the parents were educated in Chongryun schools from primary through the high school level. Some of the parents (Mrs. O, Mrs. Cho, Mrs. Hong, Mrs. Kwŏn, and Mrs. Nam) had worked as teachers in Chongryun schools.

When I met them, a majority of the mothers were full-time homemakers or had part-time jobs in various places (Chongryun-unrelated places). I did not have a chance to ask them about their socioeconomic status because I thought it was a sensitive question. However, from my observation of their homes and information from other community members, it can be said that their socioeconomic status varied from lower middle to upper class.

3.4 Data Collection

In order to enhance the trustworthiness of the study (Creswell and Miller, 2000; Duff, 2008), I collected the data through multiple methods: (1) participant observation in Kansai Korean School and Hana Korean School classes and various school and community events; (2) semi-structured interviews with Kansai Korean School and Hana Korean School teachers, students who were attending or had attended Chongryun schools, and parents who were sending or had sent their children to Chongryun schools; (3) audio- and video-recordings of family interactions during mealtimes; and (4) accumulation of related documentation (e.g., newspaper articles and handouts from a wide range of events and public meetings), DVDs of Chongryun school events, Chongryun school textbooks, and magazines published by a Chongryun publisher.

3.4.1 Participant Observation

3.4.1.1 Kansai Korean School

From January 2013 through July 2013, I regularly attended a Korean language class that was conducted by Mrs. Song once a week. I chose to observe the Korean class because I believed that the class would deal with language-related issues more than other subject classes. However, soon after I started observing Mrs. Song's class, I realized that a Korean history class was arranged next to the Korean class. Thus, with permission from the principal, Mr. Han, and the teacher, Mr. Ch'oe, I attended the class from January to February 2013. As a result, audio-recorded data from 14 lessons (10.5 hours) was collected from the Korean language class and from 4 lessons (3 hours) of the Korean history class. Throughout the classroom observations, I kept taking field notes and making notes of ideas, questions, and themes that emerged. I also tried to arrive at the classroom earlier than the start time of the Korean class and stayed there for a while after the class in order to interact with the students and develop a good rapport with

them, as well as to observe the students' interactions and language use among them during breaks.

I collected Chongryun school textbooks (elementary school Korean textbooks and middle school Korean, English, and history textbooks) in order to get a better understanding of the curriculum content. In addition, I attended and observed several school events (e.g., a school open house, cultural festivals, speech contests, and graduation ceremonies) and Chongryun-sponsored community events and meetings to gain some insights into the culture of Chongryun schools, language use among the community members, and their perceptions on various issues. Chongryun schools manufactured DVDs of their school events and sold them to parents after the events (probably to earn money to aid school management). Those DVDs are also a part of my collected data.

3.4.1.2 Hana Korean School

With the cordial consent of Mr. Ko and other schoolteachers, I also visited Hana Korean School once a week. I was allowed to sit in on a number of different levels of Korean classes and observe school events. As a result, I collected audio-recorded data of 28 lessons (21 hours) with condensed written field notes. However, I decided not to provide a detailed description and analysis of classroom interactions in Hana Korean School in this dissertation. The Korean classes differed from those in Kansai Korean School in many respects: educational goals, contents of the class, instructional language, student backgrounds and so on. Therefore, I thought that it would be better to approach and analyze the data with a different research focus. In this study, instead, I describe the school's educational ideas, curriculum, and language policy primarily on the basis of the interview data from schoolteachers (see Chapter 4).

3.4.2 Interviews

Before starting interviews with each participant, I first briefly explained my study and asked them to carefully read the informed consent form. I also highlighted that they could stop the interview whenever they wanted without any negative consequences and were free to ask me to pause the audio-recorder to speak off the record and delete certain information that they did not want to include in my study.³⁹

3.4.2.1 Teachers

I held semi-structured interviews with four teachers in Kansai Korean School and five teachers in Hana Korean School. The interviews ranged from 30 minutes to an hour and a half and all of the interviews were conducted in Korean and audio-recorded. The teachers were mainly asked about their family, education, and career backgrounds, their views of ethnic education including Korean language teaching, and goals and challenges with their teaching.

3.4.2.2 Students

All of the 9th-grade students in Kansai Korean School participated in my interviews (1 male student and 7 female students). I interviewed them two or three times mainly during extracurricular activity time at the school. All of the interviews, ranging from one hour to an hour and a half in length, were audio-recorded and carried out mostly in Korean, the students' preferred language, although they often inserted Japanese in Korean sentences. During the interviews, the students were asked about their school life, their language use within and outside of the school, their opinions about local Korean variety – Zainichi Korean – and the standard languages of North and South Korea, and their own self-identification.

³⁹ Refer to Appendix D for sample interview questions.

At first, I planned to conduct one-on-one interviews with the students. However, when I had the first interview with Min-a in a vacant classroom, other students, Chi-min and Yu-ri, were making posters for a school event in the corner of the classroom. Although the two girls were trying to talk and laugh in a low voice, it inevitably disturbed me while I was trying to focus on the interview with Min-a. Therefore, I suggested an interview with all three of them together; as best friends in the same grade, they willingly accepted the proposal. After the interview with Min-a, Chi-min, and Yu-ri, some students who had learned that the three girls did an interview together asked me if they could also do an interview with other classmates. Respecting their preference, I arranged the subsequent interviews in groups of two or three students. At the end of my fieldwork, I interviewed Min-u and Na-yōng individually because of the necessity to ask them some personal questions.

3.4.2.3 Parents

The interviews with the parents were mostly conducted in their homes or in coffee shops and in the language that they preferred. The interviews lasted from an hour and a half to two hours of recording time. Questions were primarily asked in terms of their family background, children's schooling, their views about and efforts in developing their children's Korean and other language abilities at home, and home language use patterns. With the permission of some parents, I also interviewed their children.

3.4.3 Family Interaction

In order to examine language use patterns between family members, I asked some of the parents I had interviewed about the possibility of them audio-recording or video-recording their family interactions during mealtimes. I obtained an agreement from two families: Mrs. Kim's family and Mrs. Shin's family. Mrs. Kim provided me with approximately three hours of audio-

recorded family interactions and I also received from Mrs. Shin about three hours of video-recorded family interactions. I will provide detailed descriptions of the family members in Chapter 7.

3.4.4 The Magazine ‘*IE* (In Succession)’

The magazine ‘*IE* (In Succession)’ is a monthly magazine that has been published in Japan since 1996 by the Chongryun publisher, *Chōsen Shinboshā*, in order to “maintain the second generations’ mind toward the homeland and ethnic group and establish a network of Zainichi Koreans.”⁴⁰ This magazine covers a variety of issues, ranging from Korean food, famous Zainichi Korean athletes, and South Korean movies, to ethnic education in Chongryun schools, political relations between Japan and North Korea, and social welfare and immigration law in Japan. I accumulated a number of the magazine articles, covering in particular Korean ethnic education and Korean language education.

3.5 Data Analysis

My analysis of the data started from as soon as I entered the research sites and continued throughout the process of data collection and writing of this study. That is, it was not a distinct stage, but a constant and iterative process during the entire period of my research (Duff, 2008; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007).

While I was attending classes at Kansai Korean School, I wrote down a detailed description and an initial interpretation of my observations in my field notes. After I returned to my place of residence, I listened to the audio-recorded classroom interactions once again (at least, before my next visit to the school) and transcribed those fully or partially in Korean. I highlighted some interesting and prominent segments of the transcript in color and labeled a

⁴⁰ The website of the magazine: <http://www.io-web.net/about/>.

theme (sometimes multiple themes) next to each segment in the margin by using the Comment function in Microsoft Word. Questions that emerged during observations and transcription were also added to the transcript in order to identify what I still needed to clarify and whom I should ask. After completing all of the fieldwork, the initial transcripts were continuously reviewed, changed, and elaborated while examining my field notes and listening to several selected audio-recorded data once again, both before and during the process of writing this study. The segments pertinent to language socialization were transcribed in a more detailed manner by noting pauses, overlapping speech, emphasized words, and so on, and were scrupulously analyzed through discourse analysis. I particularly focused on the ways in which language ideologies and identities are indexed through verbal and non-verbal forms.

Interview data from teachers, parents, and students were also analyzed in a similar fashion. After interviewing, I listened to the audio-recordings again while they were still fresh in my memory and summarized the gist of the responses from each question that I had asked and the topics that naturally emerged in Korean. I assigned a code to certain parts with salient themes and annotated the transcript with some questions that I needed to further ask the person in the subsequent meeting. These processes were reiterated until I left the field sites. After I came back to Vancouver, I read the transcripts multiple times, compared what each participant said, and grouped common and unique themes within the data.

The data from family interactions during mealtimes were collected to examine when and how they used Korean with each other at home. When I listened to the audio-recorded interactions of Mrs. Kim's family and watched the video-recorded interactions of Mrs. Shin's family, I first focused on identifying Korean words, expressions, and sentences used by the family members. However, the results show that in the family interactions, Japanese was

overwhelmingly dominant and Korean was reserved for only limited vocabulary and speech acts; for example, kinship terms (*apeci* for father, *emeni* for mother, *hammay* for grandmother), greetings (*annyenghaseyo* for hello to a grandfather), congratulating (*chwukhahayyo* for congratulating a grandfather on his birthday), school-related vocabulary (*yeksa* for history) and so on (see Chapter 7).

3.6 Researcher's Reflexivity

Researchers are “part of the social world they study” (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007: Reflexivity section, para. 1) and that it is impossible to eliminate the impact of the researchers on their research procedures, analysis, interpretations, and the way they present their findings. Therefore, many studies emphasize the importance of researchers being “aware of their positionality in relation to their research participants, their lack of objectivity in getting, analyzing, and reporting data, and how ‘traditional’ methods may influence their work” (Brayboy & Deyhle, 2000: 168) throughout the research process (see also Guillemin & Gillam, 2004; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Pillow, 2003).

The Chongryun school community was an unfamiliar setting to me, as someone who was born and had lived in South Korea until my mid-20s. When I studied in a Japanese graduate school (2002-2004), I had opportunities to meet and talk with a few Zainichi Koreans who had been educated in Chongryun schools, but I had never visited the schools and participated in any Chongryun-related meetings and events. Therefore, prior to the fieldwork, I read numerous studies on Zainichi Koreans' history, ethnic schools, current social situations, and identities, as well as watched movies about Chongryun schools in order to familiarize myself with the possible contexts to which I would be exposed. Furthermore, I asked a researcher who had experience with people in Chongryun schools for some advice about things that I should be aware about

when I spoke with them (e.g., appropriate references to North Korea). This preparatory research helped me to “expand the range of recognisable things – not everything will be totally strange and unexpected – and lower the risk of asking the wrong questions and behaving totally out of order” (Blommaert & Jie, 2011: 19).

I commenced my fieldwork with an awareness that my life experience was different in numerous ways from the Zainichi Koreans whom I would meet in the research sites. Even though I share the same ethnic background with them, I had spent my childhood, adolescence, and early twenties in a Korean-dominant society and had never felt threatened or uncertain about my identity as a (South) Korean. My first language is Korean (more precisely, the standard language of South Korea) and Japanese is my second language, whereas their first language is Japanese and Korean is their second language. People who studied in Chongryun schools between the 1970s and the 1980s underwent an intensive ideological education that focused on Kim Il-sung and his family (Chapter 2), but I had experienced a strong anti-communist and anti-North Korean education in South Korea during the 1980s. Hence, in the initial stages of my fieldwork, I strove to acquire and understand the community culture (e.g., their routine conduct, shared outlook) through participating in as many school and community events as possible.

In contrast to the Chongryun school community, where I needed to consciously control my speech and actions so as not to be regarded as arrogant (e.g., ‘real’ Korean, more educated researcher) and to not disrespect their history and life experiences, I found myself relaxed and enjoying the time in Hana Korean School from the outset of my fieldwork. All of the Korean teachers were approximately my age and had received most of their formal education in South Korea. Moreover, they had studied in a Japanese graduate school and had a master’s degree or higher, which was also similar to me. We sometimes shared over lunches and at evening

gatherings our interests in and criticisms of politics in South Korea and Japan and a variety of issues the school faced. All teachers and students in Hana Korean School made me feel free to roam the school and attend school events. My sense that I shared a similar experience, interests, and language with the Korean teachers, and that the school had a liberal and flexible stance, led me to ask the teachers about diverse topics and openly discuss those with them, both on and off the record.

As my fieldwork progressed in the Chongryun school community, I realized that my positionality had changed. The students in Kansai Korean School first called me *sōnsaengnim* (teacher), but a few months later some of them started calling me *ōnni* (an older sister), an expression of intimacy. In school and community events, I came to see more and more familiar faces and felt more comfortable about being around and interacting with the community members. I was also surprised when I found myself accommodating my Korean speech to the way they spoke by using the polite ~ formal verb-ending form (*hapnita* form). As Blommaert and Jie (2011) point out, my fieldwork was not only data collection, but also “a learning process” whereby I moved “from the margins of the social environment to a more central position” (pp. 26-27; see also Riley, 2009).

However, it is important to note here that as I became closer to the students, teachers, and community members, I became sympathetic toward the dire predicaments that Chongryun schools have recently faced; e.g., threats and harassment by anonymous anti-North Korean people and financial pressure by the federal and local governments due to the exacerbated political relationship between Japan and North Korea. I often wondered if there were any ways that I could help them through my research. Also, I sometimes became concerned about the possibility that my research could exacerbate the negative image of Chongryun schools. This

struggle to find a balance between emic and etic perspectives continued in the processes of my fieldwork and writing of this study and I have made every effort to produce a more balanced interpretation by triangulating a variety of data resources and giving deep and rich descriptions in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 4

KOREAN ETHNIC SCHOOLS IN PRESENT-DAY JAPAN:

TRANSNATIONAL IMAGINED COMMUNITIES AND LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES

4.1 Introduction

Having experienced multiple predicaments and changes since their foundation (Chapter 2), there are now approximately 70 Korean ethnic schools in present-day Japan: as of 2012, 66 Chongryun schools, four Mindan schools, and Hana Korean School that is not affiliated with either organization. This chapter will examine the educational objectives (or language socialization goals) of those Korean ethnic schools. That is, drawing on the concept of ‘imagined communities’ (Kanno and Norton, 2003; Kanno, 2003, 2008; Norton, 2001; see Chapter 1), I seek to find what visions or imagined communities the schools had for their students’ futures, what curriculum and school policies and practices they adopted to that end, and what beliefs and values (particularly about languages) underpinned the curriculum and school policies and practices. This chapter will primarily provide the details of Chongryun schools and Hana Korean School, whereas rudimentary information about Mindan schools will be given on the basis of previous studies because I did not conduct fieldwork in Mindan schools.

The results show that both Chongryun schools and Hana Korean School aimed to nurture new generations of ethnic Koreans and perceived the Korean language as an essential tool for that goal. However, I argue that the schools envisioned their students’ future roles in the imagined communities differently and as a result, created different language learning spaces for the students in their schools.

4.2 Mindan Schools

Currently, there are four Mindan Schools in Japan: *Kōn'guk* School, *Kūmgang* School, Kyoto International School, and Tokyo Korean School. *Kōn'guk* School was established in 1946 and has a kindergarten, primary, middle, and high school while *Kūmgang* School was established in 1950 and has a primary, middle, and high school. Both schools are located in Osaka prefecture. Kyoto International School was established in 1947 and offers secondary education. Tokyo Korean School was established in 1954 and includes primary and secondary education. Three of these schools, *Kōn'guk*, *Kūmgang*, and Kyoto International School were accredited as Article 1 schools or full-fledged schools by the Japanese MEXT (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology). Therefore, the schools follow the national curriculum set by MEXT and teach Korea-related subjects as extracurricular activities. On the other hand, Tokyo Korean School is a miscellaneous school (*kakushū gakkō*) or a non-accredited school and has more autonomy in designing its curriculum. All of the schools were recognized as formal schools by the South Korean Ministry of Education and they are subsidized by the South Korean government in addition to receiving financial aid from their local Japanese prefectures.

According Yi and Ka (2010), a large portion of Mindan school students are those who came from South Korea with their parents in recent years, namely newcomer students. Particularly at Tokyo Korean School, newcomer students constitute about 70%-80% of the entire student body: as of 2016, 432 South Korean-born students and 190 Japan-born students are enrolled in the middle and high schools.⁴¹ Unlike Chongryun schools, Mindan schools grant non-ethnic Korean students admission and a small number of local Japanese students are enrolled.

⁴¹ The school website can be found at <http://www.tokos.ed.jp/smain.html>.

Although Mindan schools show differences with each other in regard to school status in Japan, curriculum, and student demographics, they seem to share the educational goals of inculcating students with ethno-national pride as South Koreans and instilling in them a broad view as global citizens/leaders:

Table 4.1 Educational Goals of Mindan Schools

School	Educational Goals
<i>Kõn'guk</i> School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To instill in students self-consciousness and pride as Zainichi South Koreans • To cultivate students' ability to actively participate in international society • To cultivate students who serve society through autonomous life performance • To foster students' individuality and creativity
<i>Kũngang</i> School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To cultivate global leaders who have big dreams and a grand outlook toward the world • Trilingual education in Korean, English, and Japanese • Education to foster self-identity in the globalized world and ethnic pride • Scrupulous educational guidance that accedes to students' hopes and demands • Education to promote consideration for others and a warm heart to live together
Tokyo Korean School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To cultivate South Koreans who vigorously and valorously work as global leaders
Kyoto International School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People who realize their roots and take pride in their existence • People who strive to improve their possibilities • People who esteem human rights as global citizens and accept and live together with other cultures

* From the websites of each school

Amid a shortage of studies about Mindan schools, Maeda (2005) is valuable in terms of informing us of the details of ethnic education as carried out in *Kõn'guk* School and the language environment of the school. *Kõn'guk* School offers one hour of Korean geography class to fifth and eighth graders and Korean history class to sixth and ninth graders once a week. Korean

language class is provided to all primary school students for four hours and all middle and high school students for three hours every week. The Korean class is largely divided into two types: one is for Zainichi Korean students (or old-timer students) who came to the school with little proficiency in Korean and the other is for newcomer students who have plans to return to South Korea in the future. Therefore, in the former classes, Korean is taught as a second language by Zainichi Korean teachers, whereas the latter class is taught by teachers dispatched by the South Korean Ministry of Education using Korean textbooks for South Korean public schools.

Except for the Korean classes, all classes are conducted in Japanese at *Kōn'guk* School and the everyday school language of students and teachers is also predominantly Japanese. Maeda (2005) reports that it is rare to see teachers pointing out students' use of Japanese in the school, which is a striking contrast from the case of Chongryun schools (see Chapter 5). As for the reasons, Maeda cites two factors: a lack of teachers' proficiency in Korean, and teachers and students' preoccupation with language norms. In *Kōn'guk* School, there are Japanese teachers (one third of the teachers, as of 2004) and they are Japanese monolinguals. Although they try to learn Korean, Maeda asserts that it is not easy for them to reach a fluency level where they can communicate with students in Korean. Moreover, even Zainichi Korean teachers who have Korean competence to a certain degree tend to entrust native Korean-speaking teachers with students' Korean learning. Because they perceive native teachers' Korean as the norm and their own Korean is deficient, they seldom express their opinions about Korean language education or speak Korean in the school. Maeda claims that this is the same among many Zainichi Korean students. Zainichi Korean students are surrounded by native Korean-speaking teachers and classmates at school and hesitate to experiment with their Korean, which is perceived as imperfect.

Pak (2013) briefly presents distinct features of ethnic education in other Mindan schools. Similar to *Kõn'guk* School, *Kũmgang* School offers two different types of Korean language classes, one for old-timer students and another for newcomer students who plan to return to South Korea. The first- and second-grade students attend Korean class for six hours and students from the third through sixth grades study Korean for five hours every week. Whereas both *Kõn'guk* School and *Kũmgang* School use textbooks designated by the MEXT and Japanese is the medium of instruction for all classes except Korean language, Tokyo Korean School uses textbooks that schools in South Korea utilize and Korean is the medium of instruction because most of the students plan for a temporary stay in Japan. Judging from the intensity of students' exposure to Korean at each school, Pak (2013) assumes that students in Tokyo Korean School would have a more "balanced bilingual ability" (p.103) in Korean and Japanese than students in *Kõn'guk* School and *Kũmgang* School.

4.3 Chongryun Schools

Chongryun schools are located over a wide area in Japan (even though many are based in Tokyo, Osaka, and Kobe, where Zainichi Koreans are concentrated) and fulfill kindergarten through university education with a unified curriculum. All are accredited as miscellaneous schools. A vast majority of the student population are offspring of old-timer ethnic Koreans. Considering the fact that Chongryun schools are widely known as connected to North Korea, it is not surprising that there are very few newcomer students from South Korea in contrast to Mindan schools and Hana Korean School.⁴² Chongryun schools do not accept Japanese ethnic students. They only permit admission to children having at least one parent who has an ethnic

⁴² It is not unprecedented for new arrivals from South Korea to enroll in Chongryun schools. Song (2012) reports the presence of one Korean student from Pusan in South Korea and one Korean-Chinese student from China in the Chongryun school where he conducted his fieldwork.

connection to Korea, which may allow their curriculum and class content to be very Korea-centered as will be discussed below.

4.3.1 Educational Goals and Curriculum

It is specified on the Chongryun website that the ultimate purpose of its ethnic education programs is to “educate Korean children who were born and raised in Japan to have a genuine personhood and healthy body by teaching *ethnic autonomy* (*minzoku jichu ishiki*), *ethnic knowledge* (*minzokuteki soyō*), and a *correct perception of history as Koreans* (*chōsenjin*), as well as contemporary scientific knowledge (my emphasis).” That is to say, cultivating future generations of Koreans in Japan is one of the main missions pursued by Chongryun schools. This educational goal was self-evident to the Kansai Korean School principal, Mr. Han. In response to my question about the educational goals of the school, Mr. Han stated without a moment’s hesitation that it was to “cultivate great Koreans (*hwullyunghan Cosenin*)” and not Japanese. According to him, there is a high probability that Japan-born Korean children will be assimilated into the Japanese language and culture and become Japanese, without the intervention of ethnic education. Therefore, Chongryun schools strive to foster a strong and positive Korean identity in their students by teaching Korean history, culture, and language, which will lead them to contribute to developing to a “wealthy and harmonious” Zainichi Korean community while “maintaining friendly and equal relations with the Japanese” and “acting as a bridge between North and South Korea and Japan.” Mr. Han claimed that Japan-born Korean children’s self-esteem as Koreans could be inculcated only within the premises of Chongryun schools and not within Japanese schools. In his view, the curriculum in Japanese schools is designed to “cultivate great Japanese” and not to cultivate “great Koreans,” and it is difficult for Korean children to construct and retain Korean identity and ethnic pride:

I think that school is a place that provides students with a certain set of circumstances. Japanese schools educate their students to cultivate great Japanese, not great Koreans, don't they? All of the students around them [the Korean children] are also Japanese children. Of course, depending on the district, there are Japanese schools where many Korean children are enrolled and Korean ethnic classes are operated as extracurricular lessons. However, although the classes teach Korean customs and knowledge, they are fragmentary and moreover, they are taught under the Japanese education system. So self-consciousness as Koreans would weaken little by little there, I think.
(Interview 1, K, 04/12/2012)

The schools' strong emphasis on reproducing *Koreans* is well projected in their curriculum, as shown in Table 4.2 and Table 4.3 below.

Table 4.2 Curriculum of Chongryun Primary and Middle School

Subjects	Primary school						Middle school		
	G1	G2	G3	G4	G5	G6	G7	G8	G9
Korean (<i>kugō</i>)	9	8	7	7	6	6	5	5	6
Japanese	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
English	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4	4
Social Studies	-	-	1	2	2	2	2	2	2
Korean History/ Geography	-	-	-	-	2	2	2	2	2
Math	4	5	5	5	5	5	4	4	4
Science	-	-	3	3	3	3	4	4	3
Music/Art	4	4	4	4	4	4	2	2	2
Physical Education/ Homemaking/ Information	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	3
Total	23	23	26	27	28	28	30	30	30

* From the Chongryun website (<http://www.chongryon.com/j/edu/index7.html>)

* Weekly instruction hours

Table 4.3 Curriculum of Chongryun High School

Subjects	G10	G11			G12			
		LA	NS	CM	LA	NS	CM	
Prerequisite	Korean	5	5	4	4	8	7	7
	Social Studies	2	2	2	2	3	3	3
	Korean History	-	-	-	-	5	3	3
	(Korean) Modern History	2	2	2	2	3	3	3
	World History	-	3	2	2	-	-	-
	World Geography	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Math	5	3	-	2	5	-	-
	Science	3	2	-	1	3	-	-
	Japanese	4	4	3	3	7	5	5
	English	5	5	3	3	9	6	6
	Physical Education	2	2	2	2	3	3	3
	Music	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Information	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	
LA (optional)	Music							
	Art		2			2		
	Chinese focus							
	Korean focus		2			2		
	Japanese focus							
English focus			4			4		
NS	Math			7			10	
	Physics			3			4	
	Chemistry			2			3	
	Biology			2			3	
CI	Information Theory				3			
	Information Practice				2		2	
	Information Accounting						3	
	Calculation				2		3	
	Bookkeeping				4		6	
	General Commerce						6	
Total	32	32	32	32	50	50	50	

* From: Investigation Report of Chongryun Schools by Tokyo Prefecture (2013)

* Abbreviations: LA (Liberal Arts), NS (Natural Sciences), CI (Commercial Information)

* Weekly instruction hours

The Chongryun school curriculum is characterized by putting top priority on teaching Korea-related content. The Korean language class occupies the most instructional time in all grades from the primary to junior high school level: from grade 1 to 4, the instruction time for the Korean language is at least twice that for Japanese language class. From grade 5, Korean

geography and Korean history are added as regular subjects. In contrast, the content of Japanese society, history, and geography are introduced all together in a class of social studies along with social issues of North and South Korea and the Zainichi Korean community. During music class, Korean songs that contain “ethnic sentiment (*mincokec cengse*)” in the lyrics, melody, and rhythm are taught (Mr. Yi, Interview, K, 04/03/2014), whereas it is forbidden to teach and sing Japanese songs in Chongryun schools.

Chongryun high schools offer three different curricular tracks from the 11th grade: Liberal Arts (LA), Natural Sciences (NS), and Commercial Information (CI). The liberal arts (*bunkei*) program is designed to educate students further about humanities fields such as languages, history, music, and art while the natural sciences (*risūkei*) program focuses more on fields like mathematics and natural science. These two programs are academic courses for students preparing for higher education or university. On the other hand, the commercial information (*shōgyō jōhōkei*) program is a course for students who expect to find a job after finishing high school. Therefore, the students in this course take classes such as information theory, information accounting, bookkeeping, and so on.

While the educational content and academic goals of these programs differ, all students in these programs are required to attend Korean language and Korean (modern) history classes. The Korean language lessons invariably comprise a large proportion of the high school curriculum across grades and programs. It is striking that the teaching hours of Korean language and Korean (modern) history – subjects that do not account for a large portion of entrance examinations for Japanese universities – increase in the 12th grade. This may result from the fact that Chongryun high schools in principle aim to lead their students to proceed to *Chosŏn* University.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, through the 1993 curricular reform, Chongryun schools allocated more hours to teaching Japanese language, society, and history. Nevertheless, because of their foremost mission to foster a strong Korean identity in students through teaching Korea-related knowledge and language, Chongryun schools necessarily limit the instructional hours of Japan-related subjects to less than in Japanese schools. This reality brings about the result of putting students who want to advance to a Japanese school at a disadvantage, whereby they must spend extra time and effort to fill the gap in educational content between Chongryun schools and Japanese schools. According to a student who transferred to a Japanese high school, he had a hard time acquiring new knowledge and accustoming himself to Japanese academic terms that were different from those he had learned in Chongryun schools, when he was studying at a cram school for entrance examinations for a Japanese high school; for instance, in Chongryun schools, the Korean War is called *choguk haebang chŏnjaeng* (the Great Fatherland Liberation War) as in North Korea, but in Japanese schools it is called *chōsen sensō* (the Korean War). The curricular differences between Chongryun schools and Japanese schools consequently seem to become a factor leading to a number of Zainichi Korean parents and students turning their backs on Chongryun schools.

4.3.2 Teachers

A majority of Chongryun schoolteachers are Zainichi Koreans recruited from *Chosŏn* University that was established in 1956. *Chosŏn* University is composed of the departments of literature, history and geography, political economy, business, science, engineering, foreign languages, and education (Kim, 1994).⁴³ Chongryun kindergarten and primary schoolteachers are mainly graduates from the department of education, which offers two-year and three-year

⁴³ The department of political economy is considered an educational venue to train future executives of the Chongryun organization (Song, 2012).

diploma courses. To become middle and high school teachers, a diploma in a four-year course of the department is required. Even though a few Zainichi Korean teachers who graduated from a Japanese university also work in Chongryun schools, according to Song (2012), they generally teach subjects that are not connected to ethnic education, such as Japanese, art, music, and mathematics. In effect, all of the Kansai Korean School teachers, except for one Japanese language teacher, were graduates of *Chosŏn* University.

4.3.3 Ideologies of the Korean Language

One of the central principles in Chongryun schools is that all school-relevant activities must be conducted in Korean. Except for Japanese, all academic subjects are taught in Korean by Koreana-Japanese bilingual teachers, and students are obliged to use only Korean, not only during classes but also during recess, lunchtime, and extracurricular activities. For pupils who come to the schools with little or no Korean proficiency, teachers in charge of lower grades use Japanese remediatively at times during classes (Pak, 2013; Ryu, 2009), but generally the students become able to understand Korean-only instruction within two years (Cary, 2000). Students in Chongryun schools are also encouraged to speak *correct* or normative Korean. In Kansai Korean School, students' incorrect use of Korean was frequently corrected by teachers (see Chapter 5). In addition, students were instructed to write down an incorrect Korean form that they widely used on the blackboard every day and pay attention not to use it for a day and also to correct their peers' misuse of Korean during conversation. Kansai Korean School teachers articulated that speaking (correct) Korean at school was of critical importance because the Korean language would foster students' identity as Koreans and link them to co-members in other Korean communities.

4.3.3.1 Learning and Speaking Korean to Become Koreans

The Kansai Korean School teachers that I interviewed unanimously asserted the inextricable connection between the Korean language and Koreanness. That is, they placed the Korean language at the center of the construction of their students' Korean identity. Mr. Han, the Kansai Korean School principal, addressed:

When one says I am a *Chosŏn saram* (North Koreans) or *Han'guk saram* (South Koreans) - it becomes complex again if we start talking about whether one is *Chosŏn saram* or *Han'guk saram*. Lately, *chaeil korian* (Zainichi Koreans)? There are some people who use the term. Anyway, even though being born and growing up in Japan, [one is] not Japanese. I am *Chosŏn saram* or *Han'guk saram*. Of course, I need to know *uri mal* (our language = Korean). It is the foundation of self-*mincoksim* (ethnic identity) to know *uri mal*. By extension, an identity concerning self-existence? [Korean] lays the foundation for it. (Interview 1, K, 04/12/2012).

Mr. Han says that the Korean language fosters students' consciousness as ethnic Koreans and furthermore, establishes their dignity as human beings. Without high self-esteem as Koreans, he went on to say, students could not live in Japan while "sticking out their chests with confidence (*kasum phyeko tangtanghakey*)." The English teacher, Ms. Hwang, echoed this view: "I am also not good at [Korean], but I wonder if it can be said that you are one of the country's people unless you're able to use the language" (Interview, K, 25/02/2014).

When I asked Mrs. Song, the Korean language teacher, about the instructional goals of her class, she also gave me a similar response. All Korean classes in Chongryun schools, regardless of grade level, intend to equip students with high competence in Korean so as to "use it and develop their thinking in Korean," and enrich their ethnicity in the process. Unlike Korean classes in private language institutes, where the focus is primarily on improving the students' "language *skills*," she highlighted, Korean classes in Chongryun schools aim not only to improve students' Korean abilities, but also to "evolve their minds (*maum*) through the contents of

Korean textbooks” (Interview 1, K, 29/04/2013). Given the fact that many parts of the textbooks introduce Korean literary works and culture, Mrs. Song’s statement above can be interpreted as believing that learning Korean through compositions with Korean sentiments and culture (a stark difference from Korean classes in language institutes, in her view) will lead students to deepen their understanding of their own ethnic group and country and consequently, enhance and strengthen their Koreanness. Similarly to the findings in other diasporas in different countries (e.g., Dagenais, 2003; Garcia-Sanchez, 2010; Guardado, 2009; Klein, 2013; Lo, 2006; Nesteruk, 2010; Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe, 2009), in Chongryun schools, the Korean language was regarded as a vital resource and marker of being Korean.

4.3.3.2 Correct Korean for Intra-Ethnic Communication

After I commenced my fieldwork, I frequently encountered schoolteachers’ complaints and concerns about the *quality* of the Korean that their students and/or community members spoke. They commonly depicted the local variety of Korean or ‘Zainichi Korean’ as “shameful,” “awkward,” and “strange” and thus, needing correction. For instance, a teacher who asked me about my research topic during the early days of my fieldwork labeled the local Korean “shameful” because “it is a Zainichi Korean language (*chaeil chosŏnŏ*) with an Osaka dialect intonation.” The school principal, Mr. Han, also frequently described the Korean spoken by students and community members (including even school teachers) as “strange” and “awkward,” due to pragmatically inadequate register usage, prevalent code-switching, and distinctive linguistic features largely influenced by Japanese. For example, “*onul un nalssi ka cham chwupsupnita ne?* (Today’s weather is very cold, isn’t it?), where the Japanese sentence ending particle *ne* is attached to the end of a Korean sentence to ask for an interlocutor’s agreement; and “*mekusio* (eat),” when students use the Blunt Style imperative form among themselves instead of

the more appropriate Intimate Style form, “*meke*.” A similar comment was made by Mrs. Song, who problematized her students’ use of Korean with heavily-Japanese-influenced expressions (e.g., word-for-word translation from Japanese to Korean) and new coinages that are nonexistent on the Korean peninsula, their lack of Korean vocabulary, and restricted variation in their Korean registers.

For the teachers, such marked or non-standard features in the Korean of their students were regarded as targets for correction. They did not see them as a unique identity marker of Zainichi Koreans that differentiates them from other Korean groups in different communities. When I asked Mr. Han if there were public discourses in the community that called for the need to validate or embrace the local Korean variety as a regional dialect in its own right, he promptly and vehemently denied the possibility while repeatedly saying “*epseyo, epseyo!* (There aren’t, there aren’t!).” And he expressed his reluctance to even broach such a topic in public, even if he was required to do so, which indicates that the valorization of correct and prescriptive Korean is widely and indisputably naturalized in the public space of the community.

The schoolteachers I interviewed explained the significance of using correct Korean on the basis of the issue of ‘comprehensibility.’ That is, they claimed that learning and using correct Korean was for the purpose of communicating with other Koreans around the world, while assuming that the local variety or Zainichi Korean would not help them understand Koreans in other speech communities and would not be understood by those Koreans. Mrs. Song stated: “It would be better to rectify those Korean expressions that are intelligible only among Zainichi Koreans and largely influenced by the Japanese language” and “I think it is reasonable to have a command of the Korean language that is understood wherever we go in the world” (Interview 1, K, 29/04/2013). Mr. Yi, the music teacher, also remarked:

The Korean spoken by graduates of Chongryun schools in our community wouldn't be understood on the peninsula, right? ((I hesitated to react to the question both verbally and behaviorally)) It wouldn't be understood! If one comes to speak it correctly, whether the North Korean language or South Korean language, s/he will be able to communicate [with Koreans on the peninsula], won't s/he? I think that is our language education. It is necessary to have the ability to communicate. But if [we] make up incorrect words among ourselves and create [our own] community with it and if people who grow up in the community become teachers and continue to teach incorrect Korean and also, the Korean language is treated like a minority language, what is our language education in ethnic education for? That's how I feel. (Interview, K, 04/03/2014)

Mr. Yi does not see the local Korean or Zainichi Korean as something valuable to be preserved and passed down to the next generation within the school and community. For him, the Zainichi Korean variety is little more than a hindrance to intra-ethnic communication. Therefore, he laments the vicious cycle whereby incorrect forms of Korean are handed down from generation to generation and underlines the importance of upgrading the quality of Korean language education in Chongryun schools.

However, what is interesting is that there were subtle differences among the teachers' views as to what extent the non-standard form of Zainichi Korean is acceptable. Regarding the importance of learning and speaking correct Korean, Mr. Han, the Kansai Korean School principal, said:

We need to teach Korean and although the meaning of the word 'international society' may be too big, we need to teach a form of Korean that is internationally recognized, don't we? What I say with my friends is [that we need to educate students to have] Korean abilities that are socially recognized, rather than end up doing ethnic education just for self-contentment. To give you one small example, this becomes evident if one passes the second-level *Han'gŭl* Proficiency Test. Or if one passes the fifth or sixth level of the *Han'gugŏ* Proficiency Test, it means that her/his Korean abilities are [socially and internationally] recognized. What Korean abilities are they if s/he can't communicate with visitors from South Korea and if s/he can't understand Pyongyang people, even if one received more than 90% on a school exam? Our [Japanized] intonation is forgiven and we need to develop our abilities to communicate with Seoul people or Pyongyang people. (Interview 3, K, 31/07/2013)

In a similar vein to other teachers, Mr. Han points out the necessity of ethnic education that can offer students a chance to learn Korean that is socially and internationally recognized, so as to communicate with Koreans on the peninsula. He gave the example of achieving a high level on one of the Korean Language Proficiency Tests – either the *Han 'gŭl* or *Han 'gugŏ* Proficiency Test⁴⁴ – as a yardstick by which to measure one's level of authoritative Korean language proficiency. Thus, he suggests the standard languages of North and South Korea as the model languages that students have to strive to learn in order to achieve effective communication with “Seoul people” and “Pyongyang people” (and perhaps *all* Koreans on the peninsula and around the world as well). However, worth noting here is that while Mr. Han emphasizes the significance of students learning and speaking standard Korean, he asks for tolerance or forgiveness of the non-standard or Japanized Korean *intonation* of Zainichi Koreans: “Our [Japanized] intonation is *forgiven* (*yongse patko*) and we need to develop our abilities to communicate with Seoul people or Pyongyang people” (emphasis added). Given that he counts the use of standard Korean as crucial for communication with other Koreans, this remark can be considered as evidence that he views Japanized intonation in the Korean spoken by Zainichi Koreans as a linguistic feature that has the smallest impact on comprehensibility.

On the contrary, Mr. Yi vehemently problematized all of the features (vocabulary, syntax, and intonation) that deviate from the Korean norms:

For example, in Japanese education, [teachers say] to little children “*kyō wa- getsuyōbi desu* (Today is Monday).” ((He prolonged the pronunciation of the Japanese particle, *wa*)) The particle “*kyō wa- getsuyōbi desu.*” Likewise, “*onul un- welyoil ipnita.*” [Chongryun school teachers also] pronounced the [Korean] particle long. “*Onul un-*” The Japanese intonation should be changed when Korean is spoken. [However, Chongryun school

⁴⁴ Whereas the *Han 'gugŏ* Proficiency Test (Test of Proficiency in Korean or TOPIK) was created in South Korea on the basis of the South Korean standard language, the *Han 'gŭl* Proficiency Test was created in Japan on the basis of both standard languages of North Korea and South Korea.

teachers speak Korean] in a way that entirely carries over Japanese intonation into Korean. I think this is unacceptable. (Interview, K, 04/03/2014)

In this statement, Mr. Yi problematizes the Korean of schoolteachers who simply carry over a Japanese intonation into their Korean intonation. Unlike Mr. Han, therefore, he asserts that a non-standard intonation of Korean is also “unacceptable” and must be prevented from being transmitted to succeeding generations.

In sum, the Kansai Korean School teachers gave weight to students learning and speaking correct Korean at school because it serves as a symbolic resource defining who they are and connecting them with other Koreans around the world through effective communication. From their perspective, the inauthentic and impure linguistic features endemic to the local Korean variety raise communicative and emotional barriers vis à vis other ethnic Koreans and impair Zainichi Koreans’ ethnicity and self-esteem as Koreans. This prescriptive view of language is evinced in the preface of a Korean language textbook for schoolteachers:⁴⁵

Our language as an ‘ethnic language (*mincok*)’ is meant to be a language whereby we can exchange words with ethnic members standing in the same place as ‘ethnic members (*mincok*)’ and not a ‘language for communication among ourselves (*wuli kkili thonghanun mal*).’ A language that we orient to [teach and learn] is not ‘our language’ that has been created through literal translation from Japanese or on our own for over fifty years, but is speech that tastes authentic (*thopayki mas i nanun mal*).

4.3.3.3 Language Ideologies in the Magazine ‘*IE* (In Succession)’

The language ideologies that were explicitly expressed by Kansai Korean teachers were also found in articles in the magazine ‘*IE*.’ The February 1997 issue featured an article titled

⁴⁵ Chongryun schoolteachers seem to regularly get together and study Korean in order to improve their knowledge of Korean expressions, vocabulary, and grammar with a textbook, ‘*Uri Mal Haksŭp* (Our Language Study)’ published by the Chongryun publisher, *Hagu sŏbang*, for teachers.

‘Language Creates People (*Gengo ga ningen wo tsukuru*)’ and the April 2000 issue introduced an article called ‘This is Strange: ‘Zainichi Korean’ (*koko ga hendayo ‘zainichi chōsenko*)’ and an interview article with the *Chosŏn* University professor, Pak Chae-su (Dean of the Department of Literature). These articles equally foregrounded the significance of the Korean language for Zainichi Koreans in constructing and sustaining their Koreanness and strengthening their ties with other Koreans through clear communication.

First, the article ‘Language Creates People’ begins with the contention that language is the most critical foundation for cultivating one’s sense of ethnicity. It asserts that “sense of ethnicity” refers to the unique consciousness and sentiment of an ethnic group that shares community life and that it is formed unconsciously while the ethnic group members speak the same language to each other. “Language, therefore, is the same as ethnic group (*kotoba sunawachi minzoku*),” articulates the author.⁴⁶ The author gives a specific example of how language creates a people based on his own experience. When he met and talked with his Japanese friend from his elementary school for the first time in 30 years, he realized that his friend very often used the Japanese adverb *dōse* (anyway, in any case, after all) that connotes a speaker’s attitude of resignation. At first, he thought it was from the weight and pain of his friend’s life. However, after carrying on talking, the author became aware that it was caused by his friend’s Japanese ethnicity. That is, he contends his friend’s frequent use of the adverb *dōse* as a reflection of a unique Japanese quality that is afraid of facing and challenging reality and thus, compromises with reality for the sake of immediate comfort. As opposed to this Japanese trait, he describes ethnic Koreans as a group that is “optimistic and vigorous” and never daunted by predicaments, as manifested in the Korean proverb, “Even if the sky falls, there is a hole to escape through” (meaning that even in the most desperate situation, there is still hope). In

⁴⁶ The article provides only the author’s name (Pak Chōm-su) with no information about his background.

conclusion, he repeatedly highlights that “ethnic history, culture, tradition, and spirit are housed in the language” and that an ethnic group that speaks its own language is oriented toward special ethnic sentiments and qualities.

The article on ‘This is Strange: ‘Zainichi Korean’ and the interview with professor Pak Chae-su are meant to arouse Zainichi Koreans’ attention to their “strange” and “unnatural” Korean. The former introduces a large number of “disorderly and incorrect” Korean usages that are found in Zainichi Koreans’ speech. Similarly to what Kansai Korean School teachers indicated, the article problematizes Zainichi Koreans’ unclear Korean pronunciation (e.g., the distinction in syllable-final consonants between ‘*n*’ and ‘*ng*,’ and between syllable-final ‘*k*’ and ‘*t*’); their Japanized intonation; their lack of knowledge about Korean onomatopoeia, mimetic words, exclamations, and colloquial forms; and their predominant use of code-switching, loan translations, and new coinages (e.g., *mas i issta s̄ō* (it looks delicious), *coca ka napputa* (I don’t feel well), *kippecayng’i* (people who become happy with a little thing)). While presenting these “strange” Korean forms, the article likens the *status quo* of Zainichi Korean to “the terminal stage” of a disease, and proclaims that it is no longer Korean, but Japanese (“*koko made kitara mō nihongo, urimaru to wa yobenai*”).

Similarly, in the interview with professor Pak Chae-su, Zainichi Korean is identified as “strange.” Prof. Pak notes that Zainichi Korean is characterized by marked linguistic features that are considerably influenced by Japanese. In his view, this non-standard Korean variety is not understood by other Koreans and as a result, confines Zainichi Koreans to their ethnolinguistic community alone. These days, he says, Zainichi Koreans come to have more opportunities to connect with other Koreans than before (e.g., through the internet). Moreover, he assumes that it will not be long before diplomatic relations between North Korea and Japan

will normalize and the two Koreas will be reunited. Hence, it is indispensable for Zainichi Koreans to have correct Korean competence in order to communicate with other compatriots and have “the sense that they are of the same ethnic group and mind to cooperate and help to each other” when such events become reality.

In order to improve the poor quality of Zainichi Korean, Prof. Pak emphasizes the need for Zainichi Koreans to speak Korean not only in schools, but also in the community. If all community members join forces for this goal, it would not be impossible to “restore” correct Korean to their daily lives, he states. However, what is interesting here is his view toward using non-standard Korean *intonation* outside of the educational venue. He asserts that it must be based on the standard language of North Korea when students read a book at school and give performances at school events, but it is not necessarily required to speak Korean with the standard intonation outside of school. Like Japanese students in the Kansai areas who speak a Kansai dialect in their everyday lives even though they are educated in the standard language of Japanese at school, Korean children can be allowed to speak Korean in their own intonation pattern outside of school. Despite the fact that Kansai regional dialects are distinguishable from the standard Japanese language not only in terms of intonation, but also grammar and lexicon, Prof. Pak paradoxically limited Korean children’s deviations from standard language norms to *intonation*. In similar fashion to Mr. Han (section 4.3.3.2), therefore, Prof. Pak seems to believe that the non-standard Korean intonation spoken by Zainichi Koreans does not have a negative effect on communication with other co-ethnic members.

More than any other ethnic schools, Chongryun schools invest concerted efforts in making their students use (correct) Korean at school. They enforce a strict Korean-only policy on students and direct students’ attention to learning and speaking correct Korean through

various language socialization practices (as will be seen in more detail in the following chapters). From the vantage point of Chongryun and the schools, (correct) Korean competence is the basic and prerequisite condition for their students to become genuine and legitimate Korean members in the imagined communities which the schools desire the students to actively join in the future.

Chongryun schools expect their students to play an initiating role in the reunification of the divided Korean peninsula and in the improvement of the relationship between the two Koreas and Japan *as Koreans*. In their view, this future will be realized by their students only if they have a proven bilingual ability in both Japanese and standard Korean. The reality that the students' dominant language outside of school is Japanese, seems to be all the more reason not to discard the Korean-only policy on the part of Chongryun schools.

4.4 Hana Korean School

Hana Korean School is a newly established Korean ethnic school that opened in 2008. The school is approved as a miscellaneous school and offers secondary-level education. Like Mindan schools, the school does not put restrictions on students' ethnic background for admission. Hence, although a majority of the students are from old-timer and newcomer Korean families, a few students from Japanese and mixed marriage families attend the school. Hana Korean School defines one of the school's educational goals as creating new generations of ethnic Koreans in Japan. Yet, the school does not want to confine their students within the boundaries of the two Koreas and Japan. It expects and encourages them to go beyond East Asia and encounter and embrace diverse cultures to have a broader worldview. The school's focus on developing students' language abilities not only in Korean but also in English is a reflection of these school's educational principles.

4.4.1 Educational Goals

Hana Korean School was founded with the hope of providing a new kind of ethnic education for Korean children in Japan. The school's educational principles (from the school's website) are:

- (1) Multicultural coexistence:
Knowledge, skills, and attitude to realize a multicultural-coexistence society while maintaining one's own ethnic identity and pride
- (2) Human rights and peace:
Veneration of human rights and the democratic process as essential values in the work toward world peace and a sustainable society
- (3) Freedom and creation:
Freedom, individuality, creativity, and imagination as vital qualities of a real human being

Hana Korean School aims to nurture students with roots anchored in Korea and who respect and connect with other cultures and people while contributing to world peace and social justice. This school is similar to other Korean ethnic schools in that it emphasizes the importance of fostering students' ethnic identity and ethnic pride as Koreans through education. However, it is remarkably distinct from them in the sense that Hana Korean School rejects supporting either North Korea or South Korea. In this regard, the school principal, Mr. Min said:

Zainichi Korean children experience an identity crisis while growing up. Not Japanese but *Han'gugin* (South Koreans) or *Chosŏnin* (North Koreans). In addition to this, because of the conflicts between North and South Korea, they can't develop a kind of self-esteem. So, in that sense, let's get away from the complicated matters. Isn't it possible that we can make a school for that? The first-generation Koreans established a number of [Korean ethnic] schools in the age when they did not have much and were terribly discriminated against. But these days when their descendants have a stable life socially and economically, the number of schools is rather decreasing. The enrollments are also falling. So [it means] the ethnic education of the past is at odds with this day and age. It becomes strange [wrong] if our educational ideas would be interpreted as remaining politically neutral ... We are [based on] *silsa kusi* (an idiom with the meaning

of examining the truth based on facts). To put it plainly. What's right is right and what's wrong is wrong ... We want to break away from the split between my side and your side. That must be the ethnic education that this epoch requires and the way to offer international education. (Interview, K, 31/01/2013)

Mr. Min says that the historical and socio-political circumstances around Korean children in Japan – perhaps the myth of monoethnicity in Japan and the political confrontation between Japan and North Korea and South Korea – lead many children to deny and/or feel shame about their Korean background and prevents them from improving their self-esteem. In order to emancipate them from these struggles, he goes on to say, education that enables them to go beyond the polarized political views is needed and Hana Korean School attempts to pursue such an education. However, Mr. Min asks us not to misunderstand that Hana Korean School takes a neutral attitude toward the two Koreas. The school does not want its students to be indifferent or silent about past history and contemporary socio-political issues involving the two Koreas. Rather, the priority of the school is to encourage the students to openly exchange their creativity and critical thinking and discover “universal” truths independently. Ethnic education that goes beyond chauvinism is what this era demands for Korean children in Japan, highlights Mr. Min. The fact that the school calls the subject of the Korean language *Koriago* (an English loanword for the Korean language in Japanese) and neither *Kankokugo* (South Korean language) nor *Chōsen-go* (North Korean language), and that no national flag of South Korea or North Korea can be found on the school grounds and in school events are signs of the school's educational ideas.

Hana Korean School also envisions its students becoming global citizens who respect different cultures and races and are committed to resolving diverse worldwide problems for world peace and social justice. ‘*Wōlgyōngin* (people crossing borders)’ is the term that the school created to refer to the global talent and to differentiate from the word ‘*kukjein*

(international people)' that primarily refers to people who physically move between countries for business and diplomacy (Wakisaka, 2015). Hana Korean School designed and carried out various programs and courses to cultivate students as *wŏlgyŏngin*. For instance, the students were provided with opportunities to visit South Korea, Canada, the Philippines, and Fiji on school trips and interact with local students and people in those countries. In addition, through courses on multiculturalism and liberal arts, the students studied issues of minorities, race, gender, and leadership in the world and also had chances to visit nearby schools with a high proportion of (ethnically and linguistically) minority students and volunteer there.⁴⁷ Hana Korean School was accredited as a UNESCO Associated School and several students participated in the 2014 National UNESCO Schools Conference and shared their ideas with other students from 30 different countries (Wakisaka, 2015). During the fieldwork period, Hana Korean School gave me the impression of being a very liberal space that was open to new ideas and differences and that empowered its students to lead school practices, activities, and events.⁴⁸

4.4.2 Trilingual Education

Hana Korean School considers communicative abilities in multi-languages as a necessary component for students to become *wŏlgyŏngin*. Therefore, the school devotes a large amount of curriculum time to language education, as shown in Table 4.4: all students from middle school to

⁴⁷ In contrast to Hana Korean School where the discourses of multiculturalism in Japan were often brought to the surface, in Kansai Korean School I had never witnessed multicultural-related matters being articulated, even though the issue of living harmoniously with the Japanese was sometimes highlighted. This absence from the discourse would require further investigation, but may partially result from Chongryun's avowed position of staying out of Japan's internal politics.

⁴⁸ The tuition fees at Hana Korean School are not as high as at other international schools. According to the principal, Mr. Min, whereas the annual tuition of other international schools is about ¥1,500,000 (approx. \$12,800) per year, the school fees at Hana Korean School are about ¥500,000 (\$4,300) per year. This amount is not much different from the tuition at Chongryun high schools. Mr. Min said that the socioeconomic status of average Zainichi Koreans is not so high and that therefore the school could not ask the parents to pay more than this. Thus, with the desire of the school to provide the younger Korean generation with a different education, the school has had to endure a heavy deficit.

high school learn English for 10 hours while all middle school students learn Korean for 6 hours and all high school students for 5 hours every week.

Table 4.4 Curriculum of Hana Korean School

	Middle School			High School		
	G7	G8	G9	G10	G11	G12
Korean	6	6	6	5	5	5
English	10	10	10	10	10	10
Japanese	4	4	4	4	4	2
Social Studies	5	5	5	6	5 (1)	3 (1-3)
Mathematics	4	4	4	5	Elective	Elective
Science	3	3	3	2	1	-
Physical Education	2	2	2	3	2	2
Health	-	-	-	-	-	1
Music	1	1	1	1	1	1
Art	1	1	1	0	-	-
Information Technology	1	1	1	1	1	1
Domestic Science	0	0	1	0	0	
Literal Arts	1	1	1	1	1	1
Homeroom	1	1	1	1	1	1
Total	37	37	37	37-38	37-41	37-41

* From the school website

* Weekly instruction hours

The language teachers are all native speakers of English and Korean from diverse English-speaking countries and South Korea. They also have Japanese proficiency to varying degrees. All of the Korean teachers received undergraduate and/or graduate education in Japan, and they were very fluent in Japanese (as compared to the English teachers). Perhaps due to the students' awareness of differences in the teachers' Japanese proficiency, they seemed to speak Japanese more often to Korean teachers than to English teachers in and out of classes.

The language classes were divided according to the students' language proficiency levels. English class in the middle school had three levels (beginner, intermediate, and advanced English) and the high school had one more level (i.e., proficient English after the level of advanced English). The head teacher of an English course stated that the primary goal of

English education in Hana Korean School was “to improve students’ confidence in communicating in English” (Wakisaka, 2015: 69). Consequently, during his classes, he encouraged the students to speak freely about numerous topics that emerged from the teaching materials (e.g., English storybooks and news articles) and from their everyday experiences, and he tried to be open to diverse answers from students in contrast to English classes in Japanese schools where only one answer was deemed correct (ibid.).

Korean language classes were divided into four levels in the middle school (beginner, elementary, intermediate, and advanced Korean) and three levels in the high school (beginner, intermediate, and advanced Korean). Each level was classified into three different courses – speaking, writing, and media literacy. In speaking class, the teachers led students in expressing themselves in Korean by using various sentence patterns and vocabulary that they learned. For beginner, elementary, and intermediate levels, the teachers used Korean textbooks for non-Korean speakers that were published in South Korea, and for advanced levels, they used a Korean textbook for South Korean middle schools and South Korean short fictions. In writing class, students were expected to write and submit essays on certain topics, and in media literacy class, they watched South Korean movies, dramas, or documentaries and read news articles to deepen their understanding of social and cultural issues in South Korea.

Hana Korean School did not enforce a strong school language policy as in Chongryun schools. The principal medium of instruction in most classes was Japanese. Only in Korean and English classes were students required to speak Korean and English in principle. Outside the language classes, the school encouraged (and did not force) the students to speak evenly in three languages (Japanese, Korean, and English). For example, students were expected to record how much they used each language every day and share it with other classmates on the last day of the

week. In order to further promote students' use of Korean and English, a student council created an English Day and a Korean Day, where students had to use only the corresponding language on that day. The school also held a trilingual speech contest with a nearby international school every year and stimulated the students to develop their language capabilities, and led students to conduct school events in three languages. For instance, at the 2013 graduation ceremony I attended, one student presided over the ceremony in Japanese and Korean while another recited the same lines in English, and three graduates delivered an appreciation message to their teachers and juniors in each of the three languages. In addition, the school deliberately assigned bilingual teachers in Japanese and Korean as middle school teachers and guided them to expose the students to as much Korean as possible during lessons. The vice principal, Mr. Sō, told me that he lectured in Japanese but wrote on the blackboard in Korean during his science class. The presence in the school of newly-arrived students from South Korea and school trips to South Korea and English-speaking countries increased students' exposure to Korean and English.

I believe that these various activities and strategies certainly motivated the students to use Korean and English more frequently at school and helped in improving their language abilities and confidence to some extent. I observed several times that students tried to communicate with their classmates in English or Korean during recess time. Nevertheless, it is undeniable from my observation that the dominant language of many of the students was Japanese. In the early period, Hana Korean School taught all subjects (perhaps except for English and Japanese) in Korean and enforced a Korean-only policy at school, just as in Chongryun schools. However, this did not last long because many parents and students complained about the difficulty in understanding class content. Given that the students' Korean language learning experience before coming to Hana Korean School was quite diverse, from virtually nil to six or nine years of

education in Chongryun schools, their plea for Japanese instruction was not surprising. The principal, Mr. Min, thus acknowledged the need for a more productive idea and plan to further encourage their students to use Korean and English at school. For now, he said, the school would concentrate on Korean education at the middle school level and English education at the high school level.

4.4.3 Transfer Students from Chongryun Schools

Not surprisingly, the Korean language teachers in Hana Korean School highlighted the importance of their Korean students learning Korean by linking it with Korean identity. Mrs. Yu said that Korean was “imperatively a necessary language for the students to know who they are” (Interview, K, 04/07/2013). Ms. An echoed the same view by stating, “the students can find their [Korean] identity” through learning Korean (Interview 2, K, 02/07/2013). The vice principal, Mr. Sō, clearly differentiated the function of Korean from that of English and Japanese: “Korean is to cultivate one’s [Korean] identity. English and Japanese are communication tools to understand each other. The weight is different” (Interview 1, K, 07/02/2013). However, what was interesting was that unlike the case of Kansai Korean School, the Hana Korean School teachers did not bring into question their students’ code-switching and non-standard Korean use – particularly Zainichi Korean spoken in Chongryun schools. They seemed to consider Zainichi Korean as a legitimate variety of Korean and moreover, they did not appear to think that it would hinder effective communication with native Korean speakers. Ms. An said that she did not desire her students to “master Korean” unless they wanted to work with the language, for example as an interpreter, and it would be sufficient if their Korean fluency reached a level where they would identify themselves as Koreans (Interview 1, K, 23/05/2013). It is uncertain what extent of Korean proficiency she thought would be needed for the students to maintain

Korean identity, but at least it can be said that for her, a prescriptive imperative to master Korean was not an essential prerequisite to fostering her students' Koreanness.

Hana Korean School had several transfer students from Chongryun schools. Some of them began to attend the school from the middle school level and others from the high school level. Therefore, I asked the Korean teachers about the students' adaptation to the Korean courses, considering that the Korean variety that Chongryun schools and Hana Korean School taught were different. Not surprisingly, they told me that many of the students tended to avoid speaking Korean. The students saw the Korean language that they had learned in Chongryun schools as different from what was taught and spoken in Hana Korean School and thus, as incorrect. According to Mrs. Yu, a Korean teacher who took charge of testing the Korean proficiency of students from Chongryun schools, one student first pretended not to understand her Korean at all, despite the fact that he had been educated in Chongryun schools for nine years. As a result, he ended up being placed into a beginner Korean class in the high school until Mrs. Yu tenaciously persuaded him and moved him into an intermediate class later – despite his protestations that his Korean pronunciation was weird and he could not understand the Korean that the teachers spoke.

There was another case that I witnessed in a middle school Korean class. It was a few weeks before the trilingual speech contest. In order to choose who would enter the speech contest, Ms. An, a Korean teacher in charge of the class, asked some students in advance who wanted to take part in the contest to prepare a script for their speeches. On the day I attended, two students presented their scripts in front of the class: Chi-yŏng was a student who had begun studying Korean in Hana Korean School and Chun-ho was a student who had recently transferred from a Chongryun school. To me, it was astonishing to see how other students

responded differently to the students' presentations. When Chi-yŏng finished her presentation, nobody criticized her Korean pronunciation, intonation, or expressions. In contrast, soon after Chun-ho's speech, some students openly denounced his Korean as being filled with "a way of speaking Korean in Chongryun schools" and "strange."

The Korean teachers reportedly endeavored to enhance the transfer students' confidence in their Korean abilities and create a safe space where they could freely speak Korean in a number of ways. Ms. An said that she tried to learn the Korean vocabulary and expressions that were widely used in Chongryun schools from the students and the vice-principal, Mr. Sŏ. And she did not mark those forms spoken only in Chongryun schools and the community as incorrect on tests and homework. Instead, she provided the students with the standard forms of South Korea as possible replacements. She also told me that when she saw students who were teasing the transfer students' ways of speaking Korean, she rebuked those students. Another Korean teacher, Mrs. Yu, told me that she often brought up in her Korean lessons the topic of varieties in a language, such as American English and British English, and Mandarin and Cantonese, to lead her students to consider the Korean variety spoken in Chongryun schools as of the legitimate Korean varieties and not as an incorrect form of the language.

The Korean teachers were well aware that even though they called the Korean language at the school *Koriago* (*Koriaŏ* in Korean) as a way to include all varieties of Korean, their Korean classes were based on the South Korean standard language and they were unfamiliar with other Korean varieties, including the Zainichi Korean spoken by Chongryun school members. Thus, the teachers pointed out the need in future to hire teachers who could compensate for their own shortcomings, and design a training program to educate them in the Korean variety used in Chongryun schools and offer them opportunities to interact with Chongryun schoolteachers:

Even though we call it *Koriaō* (Korean), it is the South Korean [standard] language because we use South Korean textbooks. I hope that there are teachers who can make up for the weak points as long as we call the subject *Koriaō*. When I check students' [assignments and test papers], I ask the vice principal about how Chongryun schools teach [certain words]. Because I don't want to judge those as wrong. Many of the students from Chongryun schools chose to come to this school because they rejected Chongryun school education, right? However, that is also kind of their roots and their background, and the experiences they had there cannot change, right? So, I hope that Hana Korean School can provide them with education so they can recognize it [positively]. (Ms. An, Interview 2, K, 02/07/2013)

4.5 Summary and Discussion

In this chapter, I have focused on presenting the language socialization goals of two different types of Korean ethnic schools – Chongryun schools (Kansai Korean School) and Hana Korean School – and investigated the relationship between their educational principles and their curricula, school language policies, and practices within the schools. As a result, I found that the schools projected different futures or different imagined communities for their students and thus, that they formed different language spaces at school; a monolingual space vs. a multilingual space.

Both schools likewise expected their students to develop and maintain a positive ethnic identity and live as Koreans in the future. Accordingly, the schools were devoted to developing their students' Korean abilities with the view that the Korean language enabled them to foster their Koreanness. However, there were clear differences between the two schools with regard to their school language policies and language practices. Chongryun schools strictly enforced a Korean-only policy on their students and focused on creating a monolingual Korean space at school. In contrast, Hana Korean School exhorted its students to use Japanese, Korean, and English in a balanced way, which allowed the school space to become multilingual. This distinction can be explained by the different visions that the schools espoused for their respective

students. Chongryun schools want their students to play leading roles not only within the Zainichi Korean community and Japanese society but also in promoting political relations between Japan and the Korean peninsula and in reunifying the two Koreas. That is, Chongryun schools seem to envision that the imagined communities in which their students will actively participate in the future will mainly affiliate with the spheres of Japan and the Korean peninsula where Japanese and Korean are the dominant languages. Along with Japanese, therefore, Korean competence (more precisely, proficiency in standard Korean) was regarded as allowing their students to access these imagined futures and communities.

On the other hand, the projected future that Hana Korean School imagined for its students went beyond the borders of just Japan and the two Koreas. The school expected its students to develop as people who appreciate and have a sense of pride in their ethnic origins and at the same time, respect and embrace different cultures, languages, and races and as a result, creatively contribute to sustainable development and harmony in the world. From the view of the school, not only Korean but also English will lead their students to the future because English is an international language while Korean will help them to maintain a positive ethnic identity. Consequently, although Hana Korean School seemed to be grappling to find a better way to motivate its students to further use Korean and English at school, it was evident that the school space was more multilingual than Chongryun schools and was also more tolerant toward Zainichi Korean, which was regarded as ‘incorrect’ and ‘strange’ in Chongryun schools.

CHAPTER 5

LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION PRACTICES AND LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES FOR KOREAN EDUCATION AT CHONGRYUN SCHOOLS

I like our language (Korean) class hours the most ... When I get more excited and practice [the pronunciations] hard, beautiful our language flows readily from my mouth ... In my mind, a sprout to keep studying our language well, and become a great *Chosŏn* (Korean) student, has started to blossom.
(‘Our Language Study is Fun’ in the 4th grade Korean textbook)

There are about 3 million people in Wales. Only about 20 percent of them are able to speak Welsh. All the rest speak only English. Some people say that Welsh will die out in this century ... So schools now have Welsh classes to keep the language alive. Language is the life of the people who use it. “*Cenedl heb iaith, cenedle heb galon* (A nation without a language is a nation without a heart)”
(‘Language – Life of a People’ in 9th grade English textbook)

5.1 Introduction

The focus of this chapter is on language socialization at Kansai Korean School (and other Chongryun schools) in leading their students to learn and speak (‘correct’) Korean at school. Whereas Chapter 4 looked at the clearly articulated language ideologies by teachers of Kansai Korean School, this chapter moves the focus to language socialization practices that were formed on the basis of the language ideologies (i.e., nationalistic and pure and prescriptive language ideologies) and as well, additional language ideologies that the students came to acquire through participating in the language socialization practices. As a result, I found that the students in Kansai Korean Schools were exposed to not homogeneous but multiple and layered language ideologies, some of which were not reported in previous studies. Also, by paying close attention to the teacher-student and peer interactions at school, along with their interview data, I argue that the students were also contributors to forming and reinforcing the language ideologies, and not

merely passive receivers, and their language socialization occurred partially and selectively rather than fully as expected.

5.2 Life as Chongryun School Students

Before proceeding to the main body of this chapter, I delineate the school setting, including classroom descriptions and lesson routines, to provide a better understanding of the students' school life and their interactions with teachers.

5.2.1 Daily Routines

The daily life of the students in my study by and large revolved around school. They came to the school by 8:30 in the morning and attended classes from 9:05 AM to 2:55 PM, except for their lunch break (Table 5.1): all classes were conducted for 45 minutes, with a 10-minute break in between. Students who belonged to a traditional Korean dance club (Min-a, Yu-ri, and Chi-min) often came to school earlier than other students in order to practice dancing together. After all classes were over, the students cleaned their classroom and had time for the end-of-the-day meeting to review the day with their homeroom teacher, Mr. Yi (a music teacher). From about four o'clock, the students began participating in school club activities to which each student belonged. When I commenced my fieldwork, there were four different school clubs in Kansai Korean School; traditional Korean dance, volleyball, soccer, and traditional Korean instrument. However, at the start of the new academic year in 2013, it became difficult to maintain the soccer and volleyball clubs due to the decrease in student enrollment and the school instead created the fine arts club and a beach volleyball club for junior high school students. All students left the school at approximately six o'clock.

Table 5.1 Timetable of Grade 9 in Kansai Korean School

Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
8:45~	Morning assembly				
9:05 – 9:50	English	Math	Social studies	Korean history	English
10:00 – 10:45	Science	Science	Japanese	Korean	Social studies
10:55 – 11:40	Math	Korean	Korean	Japanese	Japanese
11:50 – 12:35	Physical education	Japanese	English	Physical education	Math
12:35 – 13:15	Lunch break				
13:15 – 14:00	Korean history	Fine arts	Science	Math	Korean
14:10 – 14:55	Korean	Computing	Korean grammar	English	Music
14:55 – 15:40	Classroom cleaning & the end-of-the-day meeting (<i>Ch'onghwa</i>)				
15:50 – 17:45	School club (<i>Sojo</i>) activity				

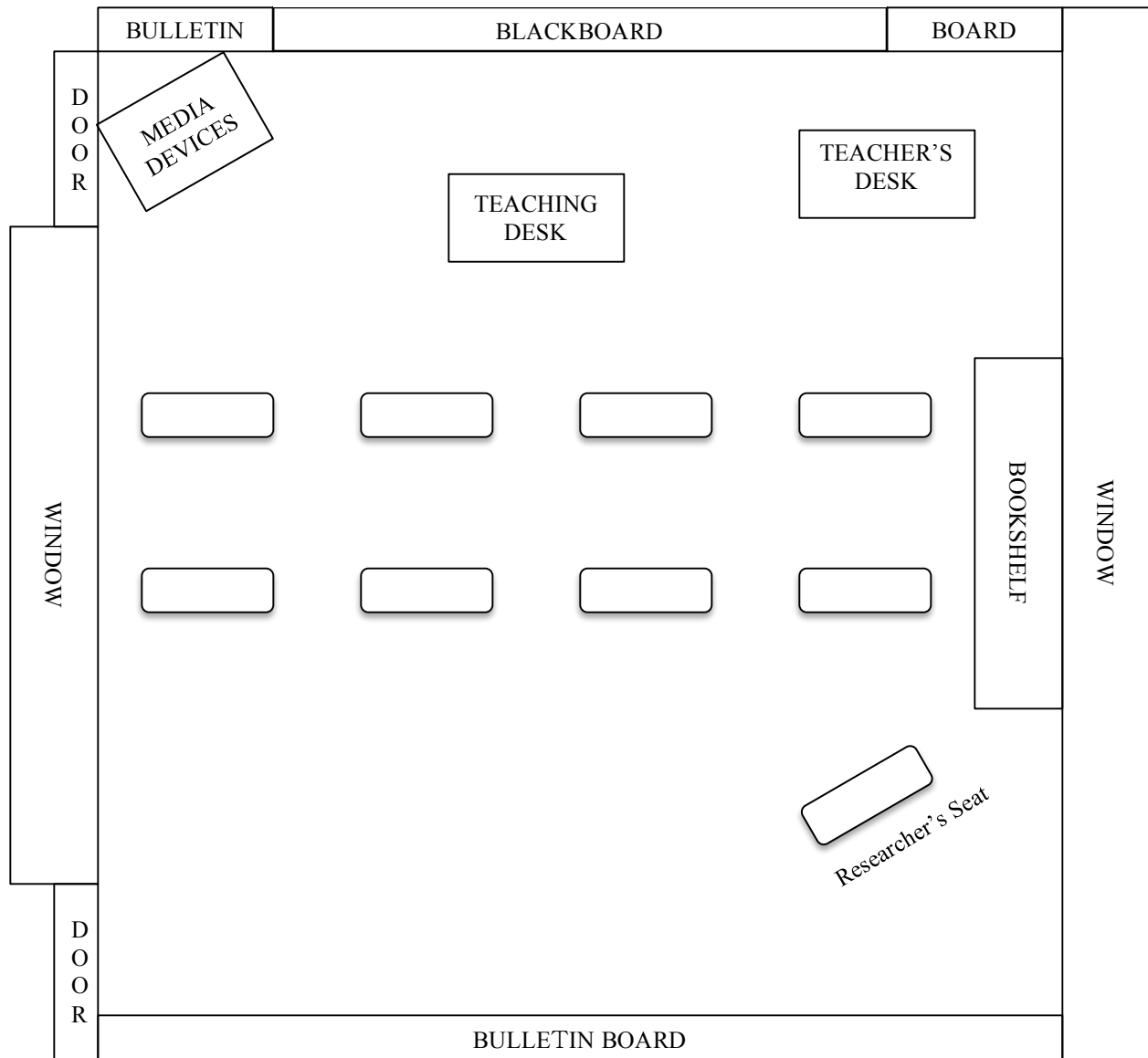
In the same way as Japanese schools, Chongryun schools adopt the 5-day school system. However, the students in Kansai Korean School seemed to be frequently called upon to be at the school on Saturday as well, in order to practice their performances for an upcoming school event or take part in school events such as a marathon, open house, and cultural festival. In addition, I found that the students in my study even went to the school during school vacation for school club activities, and they could stay home for only a few weeks. Consequently, the students appeared to have very school-centric lives and a limited social network that consisted mainly of Zainichi Koreans. A majority of the students told me that they did not have close Japanese friends and that even if they got to know some Japanese peers, for example, at a cram school, they only made small talk with them.

5.2.2 Classroom

The classroom for 9th graders was bright and spacious but was an old room located at the end of the fourth floor hallway. Both sides of the room were covered with windows and during the spring and fall seasons, a gentle and refreshing breeze blew in and warm sunlight found its way into the room. Yet, there was no air conditioner, ceiling fans or heating system in the classroom and it was fairly hot and cold during the summer and winter, which reflected the school's poor financial situation.

At the front of the classroom, a blackboard was mounted with bulletin boards on both sides (Figure 5.1). A teaching desk where the teacher stood and delivered lectures was positioned in front of the blackboard. Near the front door was a set of media devices (a TV and DVD player) and on the opposite side, a homeroom teacher's desk sat close to the windows. A bookshelf-like item was placed along the sidewall where the students could store their personal and shared belongings. The wall at the back of the classroom was covered with a long bulletin board decorated with a class timetable, students' personal information such as their birthday and year's resolution with their picture, the class's academic achievements, and other items. Student desks were set in two parallel rows, all facing the front. Student seating was assigned but seemed to be rearranged on a regular basis. My spot was always in the corner of the classroom to clearly observe the interactions between the teacher and students. The students stayed in the same classroom for all of their classes, with the exception of computing, physical education, and music, and different teachers rotated through for different subjects.

Figure 5.1 Layout of Classroom



5.2.3 Korean Language and History Lessons

In general, Mrs. Song came into the classroom with the ringing of the school bell and stood behind a teaching desk, facing the class. This was the moment when all of the students should stop what they were doing (e.g. chatting with classmates, reading a book, etc.) and stand up from their seats to greet the teacher. Confirming all students were standing upright, the class

chairperson (*pundan wiwŏnjang*), Minu, ordered the other students: “*Swie* (at ease)” and “*Chalyes* (attention).” If Mrs. Song was satisfied that everyone was attentive and ready for the lesson, she allowed them to sit down by saying, for example, “*ney cohsupnita* (OK, good)” or “*ney ancuseyyo* (Ok, sit down).”

Mrs. Song started a new unit by instructing new Sino-Korean words. After writing the Chinese characters for new Sino-Korean words on the blackboard, she asked some students to come out and write the proper sounds of those words in Korean on the blackboard or she asked the entire class to read out the characters and wrote them down on the blackboard. The new Sino-Korean words were always tested through a quiz in the following class. After introducing the new Sino-Korean words, Mrs. Song first gave the class a brief explanation of what the unit was about and moved on to reading out the entire unit alone. Sometimes she would ask the students to listen to her reading with their textbooks closed as if she wanted them to practice listening to Korean. Following this, she would give the class some time to read the unit aloud in chorus or individually and guide them to divide the content into specific sections and find out the main theme of the unit.

When the lesson was not the first class of a unit, Mrs. Song would open her class by reviewing what the students had learned in the previous class through a question-and-answer session. After that, she introduced new vocabulary from the section she would cover that day. She explained the meanings of the vocabulary in Korean or provided the class with Japanese equivalents. The class was then instructed to listen carefully to what Mrs. Song would read out (i.e., the part of the unit for that day). Later, they were instructed to read the part aloud in person. In order to determine how much the students understood the details of the reading, Mrs. Song posed a series of questions. In order to obtain the floor to answer the questions, students mainly

had to raise their hands and be selected by Mrs. Song. So it was Mrs. Song who had the power to decide who had the right to speak. When the students could not understand her question clearly, Mrs. Song would repeat the same question a few times or rephrase it. In addition, when the students had a difficult time finding the answer she sought, she provided them with the page on which the answer was written.

Whenever a major lesson point was brought up through the question-and-answer routine, Mrs. Song highlighted the point and wrote it on the blackboard. Then immediately, the students began to copy it down in their notebooks. The students' notebooks were regularly handed in and censored by Mrs. Song. According to her, it was to inspect whether each student took notes of the lecture carefully and neatly (if it was covered with doodles, the students could not get any grade) and to introduce a good example to other students and share the idea of organizing their notebooks better.

It was not the bell ringing that marked the end of the class. It was the teacher's verbal confirmation and/or demeanor. Whether or not the school bell rang, the students had to attend to the lesson until Mrs. Song signaled to them the end of the lesson by saying, for example, "*ipen sikan machikeyssupnita* (That's all for today's class)" and/or closing her textbook and looking at the class from behind the teaching desk. And then, once again, all of the students stopped moving and stood up from their seats. With the commands of "*Swie* (at ease)" and "*Chalyes* (attention), the class chairperson asked all of the students for their attention to see the teacher off. The class could be dismissed only when Mrs. Song approved it by saying something such as "*ney machikeyssupnita* (Yes, we will end here)."

The Korean history class was also opened with the same greeting protocol. Shortly thereafter, the teacher, Mr. Ch'oe, prepared the class to take a quiz about what they had learned

in a previous lesson. He gave the students approximately five minutes for the quiz, and later asked them to exchange their test papers with a student sitting next to them so as to grade the test. The quiz was always a fill-in-the-blanks test and Mr. Ch'oe provided them with the correct answers by reading out the completed question sentences. The students' grades on such quizzes were not regarded as private in this class. Each student who got back her/his test paper was required to publicly inform Mr. Ch'oe of her/his mark.

The main part of the lesson took place after the teacher had finished recording the students' marks. Perhaps from the nature of the subject, the majority of the time in Mr. Ch'oe's class was spent on delivering a lecture about the background of certain historical events to the students and thus, the question-and-answer interactions between the teacher and students were not observed as frequently as in Mrs. Song's class. Mr. Ch'oe usually closed the class by calling upon a student to read the part of the textbook that he had covered that day aloud. While the student read it, Mr. Ch'oe would correct the student's mispronunciations of Korean and instruct the class to draw a line under key phrases and passages.

Mrs. Song and Mr. Ch'oe's classes were largely teacher-centered and textbook-based instruction. It was very rarely that the students worked in pairs and in groups; I only observed once when the students discussed in groups about how to make a class newsletter during Mrs. Song's class. Classroom talk was dominated by the teachers who focused to a great extent on transmitting the information in the textbooks to the students. I did not see many students who spontaneously inquired to the teachers about the content of the lessons (students' questions were mainly about vocabulary meanings) or posed questions to the teachers' explanation. To me, the students appeared to mainly concentrate on looking for the answers to Mrs. Song's questions and taking down lecture notes during the classes.

Nonetheless, it should be noted that the classroom was not merely a site where academic knowledge was transmitted to students. The space was also a “venue[s] in which cultural and social norms are [were] reified and reinforced” (Baquedano-López & Kattan, 2008:164) and at the same time, a space in which those were challenged and changed (Ibid.; Kanno, 2003). The following sections (and next chapter) will focus on the complexity of socializing contexts in the school classroom.

5.3 Socialization into Speaking Korean

Built on a language ideology that equates language with ethnicity, ethnic identity, and ethnic culture, Chongryun schools have strictly enforced a Korean-only policy on students at school. Because Korean had disappeared in most Zainichi Korean households and Japanese was the students’ dominant language outside of the school, teachers in Kansai Korean School asserted, the school language policy was critical in providing students with a milieu where they could develop and maintain their Korean proficiency and foster ethnic consciousness by continuously using Korean. In this section, I describe how the Korean-only policy was carried out in Kansai Korean School and what language ideologies were constructed and conveyed to the students in the process. The studies by Ryang (1997) and Song (2012) also briefly document Chongryun school language rule, with a particular focus on the ‘100% Our Language Movement.’ But I will pay more attention to language ideologies that were (re)produced through the language policy and language practices and the role of students in jointly constructing the language ideologies.

5.3.1 The ‘100% Our Language Movement’: Good vs. Bad Korean Students

In Chongryun schools, students must use only Korean for the entire academic year. Whether they are within or outside of the realm of school, as long as they are participating in

school activities and events, students are obliged to speak Korean. The campaign of a ‘100% Our Language Movement (*Urimal 100% Untong*)’ is one of the school practices that is regularly carried out in all Chongryun schools to further encourage students to use Korean. During the movement (usually two or three weeks in length),⁴⁹ students in Kansai Korean School kept watch over each other’s language use. That is, students pointed out whenever someone spoke Japanese at school and the offending student had to deduct 1% from her/his default percentage of 100%, the daily goal given to all students being 100% Korean use; however, infractions were forgiven if a student who inadvertently blurted out a Japanese word self-corrected to Korean right away. According to some students, they used to use ‘*urimal* (our language) cards,’ whereby all cards represented 100% and a student who transgressed against the language policy had to surrender one of his/her cards into a card box. However, they told me that the rule was not effective any longer in Kansai Korean School because “it is tiresome.” Instead, this system was replaced with verbal confirmation by merely indicating to a student who spoke Japanese, “Japanese!” or “You are deducted 1%.”

One student informed me that some students became keener about their peers’ and their own language use during this campaign in order to receive a prize that was given to a *mobŏm bundan* (model class) and *mobŏm haksæng* (model student). During the campaign period, students’ language performance was assessed every day at the end-of-the-day meeting. At the meeting, each student was required to raise her/his hand when s/he corresponded to a category that a class chairperson proposed; for example, those who used Korean 100% or more than 90% or 80% on that day. Then the chairperson recorded each student’s accomplishment in Korean on

⁴⁹ The campaign seemed to be carried out three or four times a year.

a prepared sheet of paper.⁵⁰ Even though I did not have a chance to observe such a meeting, I was informed by some students (in Kansai Korean School and other Chongryun schools) that students who performed poorly on their Korean use on the day had to stand up and pledge better language performance to the entire class by saying something like, “I will use Korean well from tomorrow.” The total average of each class and of individual students during the campaigns became a judging factor for an award certificate and a prize: the class and student achieving the highest average are awarded a small prize and certificate with the title of *mobŏm buntan* (model class) and *mobŏm haksæng* (model student). Kansai Korean School also put the students into a competition once a year with other Chongryun schools nearby for the title of *mobŏm hakkyo* (model school) through the Young Pioneer Movement (*Sonyŏndan Undong*),⁵¹ including campaigns like the 100% Our Language Movement (*Urimal 100% Undong*), Assignment and Study Movement (*Kwaje Hakspŭ Undong*), Social Practice Movement (*Sahoe Silch’ŏn Undong*), and so forth. This competition among schools is called the Alliance Movement (*Lyŏnhapdan Undong*).

The specific ways in which the Language Movement proceeded seemed to vary a little from school to school. According to a student who was attending another Chongryun middle school, his school also carried out practices similar to those in Kansai Korean School during the Movement: language censorship among students, daily reporting of each student’s language

⁵⁰ Among the students, it was acceptable to underreport their actual usage of Japanese at the meeting, but not too much because it could cause other students to object.

⁵¹ *Sonyŏndan* (Young Pioneers) is a sort of scout group that all school children from the fourth year of primary schools to the third year of middle school must join. From high school, students need to join the *Chosŏn Ch’ŏngnyŏn Dongmaeng* (Youth League; *Choch’ŏng* for short). For the Young Pioneer Movement, each class is required to set a collective goal, such as using Korean 95% of the time, completing school assignments 100% of the time, always preparing well for classes, and so on. According to a teacher in Kansai Korean School, the Young Pioneers originated in the armed struggle against Japan in the colonial era and therefore aimed to cultivate outstanding individuals to contribute to the nation.

performance, and self-reflection on poor language performance. However, interestingly, the school conferred a specific title on students according to their achievements in speaking Korean. Students who achieved more than 95% of Korean use per day were called ‘King *Sejong*,’ after the 15-century historical figure who invented the Korean script, *Han ’gŭl* (*Hunminjŏng ’ŭm* or ‘The Correct Sounds for Instructing the People’ was its original appellation). Students who used Korean more than 90% and up to 95% were called ‘Chu Si-gyŏng,’ after the well-known founder of modern Korean linguistics who coined the modern name *Han ’gŭl*. Although both titles imply ‘outstanding’ and ‘excellent,’ given the fact that King *Sejong* and the Korean linguist, Chu Si-gyŏng, are perceived as great contributors to the development of the Korean language and script, it is intriguing that their differences in terms of social class and achievement are clearly reflected in the criteria of the titles granted to students in accordance with their Korean performance.

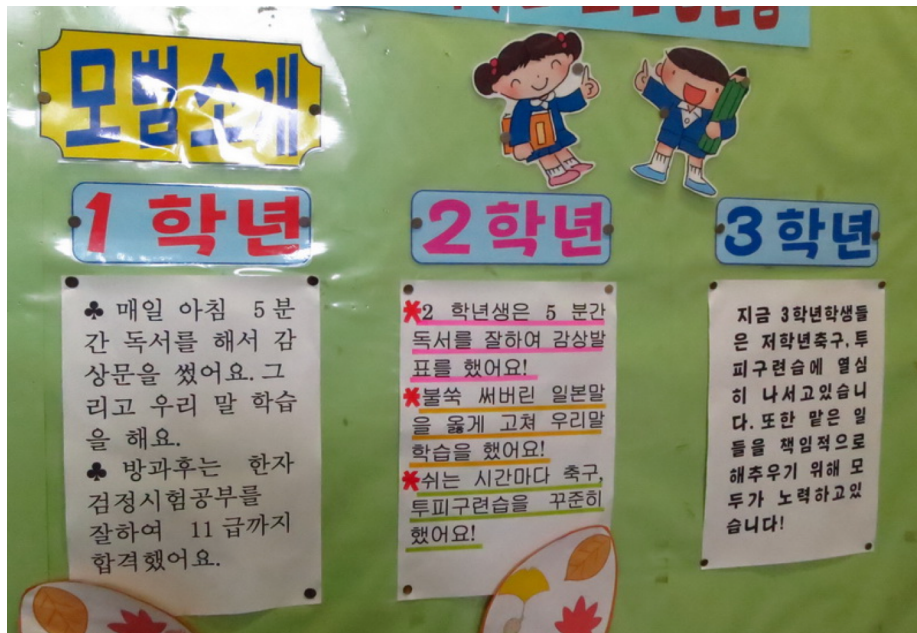
On the other hand, in the middle school above, students who use Korean below 90% were labeled as outcasts from the *mobŏm* (model and good) ideal. Students whose daily Korean use was between 80% and 90% were designated as *katcha mobŏmsaeng* (fake model student). This implies that only students who use Korean more than 90% can gain the honour of being *mobŏm* students while those with the title of ‘fake model student’ need to go the extra mile to become ‘real’ model students. Yet, the biggest troublemakers were those who could not even reach 80% and as a result, were entitled ‘*Nolbu*.’ *Nolbu* is the greedy and selfish brother in the Korean traditional fairy tale, “*Hŭngbu* and *Nolbu*.” In the story, *Nolbu* kicks out his younger brother, *Hŭngbu* and his family so as to take sole possession of the fortune that their father left to his sons, and does not feel even the slightest sympathy for *Hŭngbu*’s family and their poverty. Simply put, *Nolbu* is a bad and selfish person. Therefore, the title *Nolbu* reflects the school’s implicit beliefs and values that poor language performance in Korean is bad and problematic and, as the students

I interviewed understand it, that it is an egocentric behaviour that impedes the students' collective goal of being a model class and model school.⁵²

It is noteworthy that the routinized school activity, the '100% Our Language Movement,' both in Kansai Korean School and in the other middle school mentioned earlier, linked speaking Korean to an explicitly moral stance – *mopŏm* (model and good) – and to a particular identity – a model and good student. Through awarding material and symbolic benefits, namely a prize worth about \$10 (in Kansai Korean School), an award certificate, and the titles of 'model school,' 'model class,' and 'model student' (and 'King *Sejong*' and 'Chu Si-gyŏng' in the other middle school) to the school, class, and student that established the best records in Korean use, speaking Korean was marked as right, desirable, and praiseworthy verbal behaviour: in other words, the more they speak Korean, the better Korean students they become. In contrast, speaking Japanese in the school was identified as wrong, undesirable, and scold-worthy verbal behaviour by deducting points for Japanese use, publicly pledging better language performance, and designation of titles like 'fake model student' and '*Nolbu*': therefore, the more they speak Japanese, the worse Korean students they became. In Chongryun schools, that is, speaking Korean was a moral practice while speaking Japanese was an immoral one (see Ryang, 1997; Song, 2012 for a similar finding).

⁵² I was informed by a Chongryun high school student that a discussion meeting was sometimes held to talk about the importance of learning and speaking Korean among students in the high school.

Figure 5.2 Wall Posters that Introduce Primary Students' Achievements at the School



Kansai Korean School students were also surrounded by many reminders of their duty to speak only Korean in the school and its indexical meanings (i.e., Korean-ness, exemplary, and desirable), such as posters on walls, classroom windows, and classroom bulletin boards. As I had a chance to look closely around the inside of the school building, what first caught my attention was the large number of wall posters that made reference to students' Korean language learning and use as one of the goals for their successful academic life. Under the title of 'mobŏm sogae (model introduction)' (Figure 5.2 above), posters that covered a stairway wall between the second and third floors proudly introduced that the first-grade students studied Korean while reading a book for five minutes every morning, and the second-grade students studied Korean by properly changing Japanese words inadvertently blurted out back into Korean words. On the posters about the middle school students' yearly goals, *nyŏngan mobŏm ch'angjo undong gwŏlgimun* (a pledge for yearly model creation movement) – attached to a stairway wall leading

up to the middle school students' classrooms – students were directed to cherish the Korean language and always learn and use correct Korean under the theme, *aegukŏsim* (愛國語心), meaning “To love our country is to love our language.” It was interesting that the posters framed learning and speaking Korean as an indication of political commitment and emotional alignment with a geographically remote home country (i.e., North Korea). This may imply that Korean language learning and use are a moral practice not only to become model/good students, but also to become model/good overseas nationals (of North Korea). I will return to how Chongryun schools attempt to socialize students into the identity of ‘overseas nationals of North Korea’ in Chapter 6.

The posters of each school club's yearly pledge likewise urged members to use Korean during practices and games without fail: “Use Korean 90%” (a Korean traditional instrument club), “We will conduct our school life while using correct Korean well in order to perform beautiful Korean dance exploding with ethnicity” (a Korean dance club), and “Making 100% Korean use a way of life during practices and games” (a volleyball club).⁵³ From these posters as well, it is perceived that the school placed great importance on students' Korean use in all domains of their school life and was committed to socializing students into speaking Korean by encouraging them to participate in poster-making work so as to expose their obligation to speaking Korean and its attendant meanings.

⁵³ Many posters seemed to be created and posted on walls and windows before school events, such as open houses and cultural festivals.

Figure 5.3 Posters on a Primary Classroom Window



From left to bottom: “For Victory,” “Korean 100% All Together,” “Korean Completely 100%” and “Our goal is the best and strongest class”

5.3.2 Responsibility to Enhance Our Superior Language

Not long after I began my regular observation of Mrs. Song’s class, I witnessed that the significance of speaking Korean was brought explicitly to the forefront in her class. During the class about the creation of the Korean script, *Han ’gŭl*,⁵⁴ Mrs. Song strongly emphasized that the students should have a sense of responsibility to speak, preserve, and enhance the Korean language in Japan as Koreans or the owners of the language, as illustrated below.

As usual, Mrs. Song started the class by reviewing what the students had learned in the unit, ‘Our script in which national wisdom dwells (*mincok uy sulki ka kistun wuli kulca*)’ last time and then moved on to explaining new vocabulary, reading a part of the unit that she would cover for the day, and explaining the content in detail. Through previous classes, the students

⁵⁴ The Korean textbook refers to the Korean script as *Chosŏn kŭlja* (Korean script) following the way in which North Korea refers to it.

had learned that *Han'gŭl* was their “ethnic treasure (*mincokcek caypu*)” on the grounds that (1) it was an alphabetic script, the most advanced type of script followed by phonetic scripts and ideographs and (2) it was created by “our own nation (*wuli mincok*)” and was not borrowed from another country’s script. The day I attended, Mrs. Song focused on the third outstanding quality of *Han'gŭl* or the scientific way in which the script was designed: consonants were created on the basis of the shapes of the tongue, palate, teeth, and throat as they are articulated and vowels are based on three elements, the Sun in the heavens, the flat Earth, and the upright Human. Thus, all lessons regarding the Korean script seemed to be designed to make the students take great pride in the inherent “superiority of our script (*wuli kulca uy wususeng*).”⁵⁵

The following excerpt occurred after Mrs. Song finished an explanation about the third characteristic of *Ha'ngŭl* and read the concluding part of the unit. Mrs. Song induced the students to draw the gist from the last part, which was, “Let us enhance the superiority of our script more and more (*wuli kul uy wuswuseng ul tewuk pichnaye nakaca*).”

Example 5.1 A Korean Class about the Korean Script (1)

((After reading the concluding section))

- 01 Mrs. Song: *kyellon mues ipnikka?* (0.4) *loncey ka issumyen loncung hako*
 02 *macimak kyellon i isseya hapnita. kyellon. i pupun eyse chaca*
 03 *poseyyo.*
 What is the conclusion? (0.4) If there is a topic, there must be
 demonstration and a final conclusion. Conclusion. Please look for it
 in this part [I read].
- 04 (0.9)

((A girl, Na-yŏng, reads a sentence in the textbook where she thinks the conclusion is))

⁵⁵ This discourse with regard to the outstanding features of Korean script – “Korean script nationalism” (p. 221) – is prevailing both in North and South Korea and has contributed to construct an ethno-national identity of the people in the countries (King, 2007).

05 Mrs. Song: *ney olhsupnita. (xxx) wulikul uy wuswuseng ul tewuk pichnaye*
 06 *nakaca' nun kyellon. (0.5) wuli nun icey kkaci wulimal ila hamyen un*
 07 *mincok uy mal inikka cikhye nakaya hanta cal payweya hanta ilehkey*
 08 *hay wassko iyek ey salato cosen salam ulosse cosen salam uy neks ul*
 09 *cikhiki wihayse mal ul cal payweya hanta ko paywe wasssupnitaman*
 10 *ilehkey kwahakcek ulo pomyen ne?⁵⁶ wuli kul ilan kes un cengmal*
 11 *wuswu hako wuli uy caypu kwicwung han pomul lo toyl manhan kes*
 12 *ita kulen kel alkey toyestako sayngkak hapnita. kulehki ttaymun ey*
 13 *kyellon. wulikul uy wuswuseng ul tewuk pichnaye nakaca.*
 14 *pichnaycamyen ettehkey hamyen cohsupnikka? (0.2) pichnayki wihay*
 15 *ettehkey hamyen coha? sayngkak hay poseyyo.*

Yes, that is correct. (xxx) the conclusion of 'let's enhance the superiority of our script.' (0.5) We have learned so far that we should protect and learn it well because our language is an ethnic language and although we live in a foreign land, [we] should learn the language well to preserve the Korean spirit as Koreans, but if [we] see how scientific it is right? I think you have realized our script is really superior and it is worthy of becoming our *caypu*, a precious treasure. Therefore, the conclusion. Let's enhance more and more the superiority of our script. (0.2) What shall [you or we] do to enhance [our script]? Please think about it.

A few seconds after Mrs. Song's question of "What is the conclusion?" (line 1), Na-yŏng who is sitting in the front of the classroom responds by reading aloud verbatim a sentence in the concluding section, a typical way for the students to respond to Mrs. Song's questions regarding a unit, rather than replying in their own words. As soon as Na-yŏng finishes her answer, Mrs. Song gives positive feedback to her ("Yes, that is correct" in line 5) and reminds the class of the reasons that they should learn Korean. In her statement (line 6-9), Mrs. Song maps the Korean language and script onto Korean ethnic heritage, Korean identity, and spirit, and makes the point that the students should learn Korean in order to retain a Korean spirit and live as Koreans in Japan. She then reemphasizes the scientific characteristics of the script and the gist of the unit ("Let's enhance more and more the superiority of our script") and asks the class how they can

⁵⁶ It was very common for the teachers and students to add the Japanese sentence-final particle *-ne* (to seek confirmation from a listener) to the end of Korean sentences, clauses and words.

enhance the script (line 14-15). However, nobody willingly stepped forward to respond to the question for a while and there was silence in the classroom until Mrs. Song broke it.

Example 5.2 A Korean Class about the Korean Script (2)

((The class stays silent after Mrs. Song's question))

- 16 Mrs. Song: *tongmu tul kwuho kwuho to haciyo? wuntong sicak hamyen un.*
17 ((animating students' voice)) "*wulimal ul pichnayca*" "100% *sayong*
18 *haca*" ((students laugh)) *kwuho hanuntey pichnaylyemyen ettehkey*
19 *hamyen cohayo? sayngkak hay poseyyo.*
You chant slogans, right? As the [*Sonyentan*] movement begins.
((animating students' voice)) "Let's enhance our language" "Let's use
[Korean] 100%" ((students laugh)) You chant slogans and what can
you do to enhance [our script/language]? Please think about it.
- 20 (0.2)
- 21 Girl 1: *manhi paywunta.*
Learn a lot.
- 22 Mrs. Song: *manhi paywunta. tto?*
Learn a lot. And?
- 23 (1.3)
- 24 Mrs. Song: *kuce kuce kwuho lul pulumyen an toypnita icen. ttus ul sayngkak*
25 *hayyaci. wuli kul wulimal ul pichnayca (0.2) hal ttay ettehkey hamyen*
26 *cohayo? manhi paywunta nun ukyen i nawasseyo. tto?*
You aren't supposed to just chant the slogans any longer. [You] should
think about the meanings. Let's enhance our script and our language
(0.2) when [you] say it how can [you] do it? The opinion of learning a
lot was suggested. And?
- 27 Girl 2: *manhi anta.*
Know a lot.
- 28 Mrs. Song: *manhi anta. anta nun kes un cwungyo haciyo. tto?*
Know a lot. It is important to know [have much knowledge about
Korean]. And?
- 29 Girl 3: *olhpalukey*
Correctly

- 30 Mrs. Song: *OLHPALO sseya hanta. olhsupnita. wuli nun yeksi ilponmal hako*
 31 *wulimal ul sekkun wuliponmal ul manhi sse peliko ekyang to*
 32 *ILPONSİK. ilpon palum i ta tuleka peliciyo? (0.3) tto?*
 [We] should use [Korean] CORRECTLY. That's right. We largely
 use *wuliponmal*⁵⁷ where our language and Japanese are mixed, and
 our intonation is also JAPANIZED. [Our Korean] becomes Japanized
 pronunciation, doesn't it? (0.3) Anything else?
- 33 (0.7)
- 34 Mrs. Song: *MUES POTATO MUES POTATO cwungyohan kes isscyo? mues*
 35 *ipnikka?*
 ABOVE EVERYTHING ELSE, ABOVE EVERYTHING ELSE
 there is an important one, right? What is it?
- 36 (0.4)
- 37 Chimin: *kwuke kongpu lul cal haca. ((giggling))*
 Let's study the subject of Korean well. ((giggling))
- 38 Mrs. Song: ((laughing)) *kwuke kongpu lul cal haca. CAL hayya toyciyo. ku kes*
 39 *to cwungyo haciman (0.2) SSEYACIYO.*
 ((laughing)) Let's study the subject of Korean well. You should do it
 WELL. Even though it is also important (0.2) [you] SHOULD USE it.
- 40 Students: *A:ha.*
A:ha.
- 41 Mrs. Song: *AN ssumyen NAMCI ANHAYO. ((a student says "A::ha" again)) "aha*
 42 *aha" ((imitating students' reaction)) alasssupnikka? ((some students*
 43 *answer "Yes")) an ssumyen pichnayki cen ey an ssumyen wulimal*
 44 *namci anhko thukhi ilpon eyse i hwankyeng sok eyse nun wulimal ilan*
 45 *kes un WULI ka an ssumyen NAMCI ANHSUPNITA. hankul kōza ey*
 46 *taniko issnun ilpon salam eykey mathkikeysssupnikka? ((students*
 47 *laugh)) wuli kul pichnaynun kel? aniciyo? kulenikka wuli losse sseya*
 48 *hanta. cal ssuki wihaysenun cikum yayki ka naon cal paywuki lul cal*
 49 *hayya hanta olhpalo sseya hanta ilen kes tul ul cal hayya hapnita.*
 50 *ilen kel cal haki wihan Sonyentan wuntong. KUCE KUCE KUCE*
 51 *kwuwel inikka tasi wuntong sicak hanta ileci malko ku uyuy lul*
 52 *sayngkak hay cwumyen kippupnita.*
 If [you or we] DON'T use it, it won't SURVIVE. ((a student says
 "A::ha" again)) "Aha, Aha" ((imitating students' reaction))
 Understand? Unless it is used, before [you or we] enhance it, unless

⁵⁷ A compound blend formed with the first two syllables of *wulimal* (our language) and the last two syllables of *ilponmal* (Japanese).

it is used, our language won't survive. Especially in Japan. In this environment, our language won't survive if WE don't use it. Will you assign [this task] to the Japanese who are studying in *Hankul class*? ((students laugh)) To enhance our language? No, right? That's why we should use it on our own. To use it well, as suggested just now, [we] should learn it well and use it correctly; [we] should do these well. *Sonyentan* movement to do these well. Do not SIMPLY SIMPLY SIMPLY think the movement starts again because it is September and I will be glad if you consider the meanings.

Perhaps to orient the students to the answer that she had in her mind or using Korean well, Mrs. Song breaks the silence among the students and suggests the example of slogans that the students would chant when the Young Pioneer Movement starts, like "Let's enhance our language" and "Let's use [Korean] 100%" (line 17-18). She may intentionally choose these two slogans among many and juxtapose them, thereby guiding the students to grasp the correlation between using Korean and enhancing it. However, the students fail to arrive at the answer that Mrs. Song is seeking from the students, even after several question-and-answer exchanges between Mrs. Song and some students. Three female students volunteer to propose three ways to enhance Korean – learning a lot about Korean (line 21), knowing a lot about Korean (line 27), and using Korean correctly (line 29) – which demonstrates the students' understanding of their roles in studying Korean and at the same time, their cooperative participation in constructing the meaning of enhancing Korean in Japan. Mrs. Song affirms the students' suggestions while repeating their responses and positively evaluating them with comments like, "It is important to know" (line 28) and "That's right" (line 30). Nevertheless for Mrs. Song, these are not the 'right' answer or the most significant way to enhance Korean, as discernible from her statement in line 34-35: she repeats the intensifier *mues potato* (above everything else) and asks the class for another answer. To respond to Mrs. Song's exhortation, another female student (Chi-min) breaks the short silence and says that it is studying the subject of Korean well, but with a little doubt, as noticeable from

her giggling (line 37). Her reply elicits laughter among other students and from the teacher and defuses some of the tension created by the long delay in finding the ‘right’ answer and several moments of heavy silence between Mrs. Song’s questions for other answers and students’ replies (line 23, 33, 36).

After acknowledging Chi-min’s answer with a smile, Mrs. Song eventually reveals what she had in mind, namely “you should USE it” (line 39). In a slightly excited, but a mildly rebuking tone of voice, she expresses her opinion on why using Korean is so crucial for students living in Japan. In her view, a language disappears unless it is used by people and if so, there will be no chance for the students to enhance it. To be more precise, she formulates *using* Korean as a fundamental prerequisite for enhancing the language. The students’ reactions in line 40 (“A:ha”) and 41 (“A::ha”) that express their convictions consolidate the validity of the logic behind Mrs. Song’s argument. Next, while putting emphasis on the inclusive pronoun, “*WULI* (WE)” in line 45, Mrs. Song underlines that it is Koreans’ or *our* responsibility to use Korean, enhance it, and protect it from disappearing in Japan, and not the responsibility of Japanese who are studying Korean in private language institutes. Interestingly, she does not consider Korean to be alive in the case where Korean is being studied or used by Japanese people. Korean will be preserved in Japan only if “WE (Koreans)” use it, according to her. Consequently, Mrs. Song tells the students that Korean people are the only agents for the survival and enhancement of the superior language, Korean, because it is *our* language – Koreans’ ownership of and authority over the Korean language. The students’ laughter (line 46-47) following Mrs. Song’s question as to whether they would assign the task of enhancing Korean to the Japanese, displays their view that the assumption is peculiar and abnormal and evidences their alignment with the teacher’s perspective that Korean should be used and enhanced by Koreans.

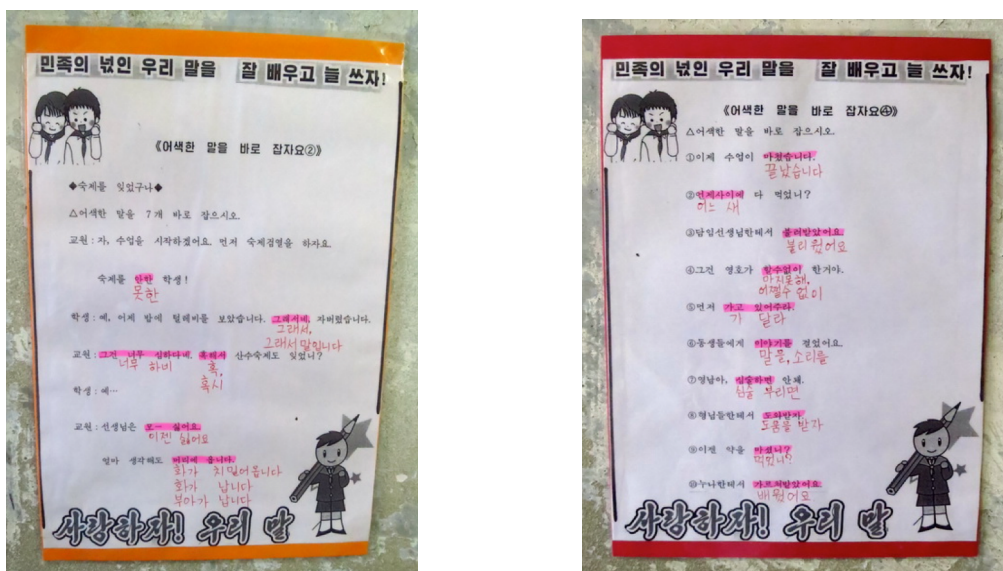
In her subsequent utterance (line 48-49), Mrs. Song restates the importance of using Korean well, while learning it well and using it correctly in order for ‘us (Koreans)’ to enhance and preserve ‘our language’ in Japan. Afterwards, she reminds the students about participating in the Young Pioneer Movement (including the ‘100% Our Language Movement’) with a higher level of consciousness (i.e., being fully aware of the meanings of speaking Korean) and not participating habitually and mindlessly. Mrs. Song’s repetition and stress on the word “*KUCE* (just, simply)” in line 50 indicates her displeasure with the students who were not fully aware of the significance of speaking Korean. Lastly, she formulates her feeling of being “glad” as depending on how the students will accommodate her request for being more attentive to the Young Pioneer Movement: “I will be glad if you consider the significance [of the *Soyentan* Movement])” in line 51-52. Considering that “labeling an event in emotional terms is a social act which can have implications for how participants are expected to react” (Lo, 2009: 226), it can be said that Mrs. Song’s remark implicitly conveys to the students what is expected of them in the school (i.e., enthusiastic and sincere participation in the ‘100% Our Language Movement’) and what identities are assigned to them upon answering the expectation (i.e., good and model Korean students).

5.4 Socialization into Speaking Correct Korean

Kansai Korean teachers exhorted their students not only to speak Korean but also to speak correct or prescriptive and standard Korean. The Korean teacher, Mrs. Song, created a list of ‘awkward’ Korean forms that were widely used among students, posted those on the wall, and led a Korean language chairperson (*kugŏ wiwŏnjang*) in each class to share the information with the entire class (Figure 5.4). In addition, students were instructed to write one-extensively-spoken-incorrect-form on one side of a blackboard everyday and pay attention not to use the

form for a day. In a vein similar to the findings in several studies of language socialization in schools (e.g., Duff, 1995, 1996; Friedman, 2006, 2009; García-Sánchez, 2010; Howard, 2009; Moore, 2006; Paugh, 2012; Riley, 2007), teachers in Kansai Korean School explicitly and immediately pointed out students' incorrect Korean forms (from their point of view) and provided a replacement, frequently not only to the individual student who uttered it, but also towards the entire class or those around the student. According to Mrs. Song, Kansai Korean School students followed the Korean-only policy relatively well, unlike students in another middle school nearby, and the teachers paid more attention to students' usage of correct Korean, although it was not possible to point out every erroneous usage, so as not to interrupt the flow of the conversation with students. In students' annual speech contest performances, the importance of learning and speaking correct Korean was one of conventional leitmotif. This section will illustrate in detail how teachers' corrective feedback was provided during interactions with students and how students engaged in the language practice and reproduction of concomitant language ideologies.

Figure 5.4 Posters of 'Let's Correct Awkward Language'



Wall posters listing examples of incorrect Korean forms (highlighted in pink) and their corrections (written in red)

5.4.1 Corrective Feedback

In Kansai Korean School, all teachers were Korean language teachers. Whether s/he was a primary or middle school teacher and whether s/he taught Korean or not, the school teachers pointed out students' incorrect usage of Korean and were committed to raising students' awareness that they should speak *correct* Korean. To give an example, it was when the Korean history teacher, Mr. Ch'oe, explained about the Japan-Korea Treaty of 1905 (also known as the *Ŭlsa* Treaty or Japan-Korea Protectorate Treaty) during his class. While focusing on how Korea was made to sign the treaty unequally by force by Japan, he showed the students pictures of five Korean government officials who participated in signing the treaty; to borrow Mr. Ch'oe's words, "five people who betrayed the nation." When he showed a picture of "Ri Wan-yong," one of the five "*maykwukno* (traitors)," one student, Chi-min, seemed to recognize his face and spoke bluntly in Korean "*sinmun ey thako issnun [sacin]*."

Example 5.3 A Korean History Class about the 1905 Japan-Korea Treaty

- 01 Mr. Ch'oe: ((showing Ri Wanyong's picture on his iPad)) *kacang tayphyoekin*
02 *inmul i i inmul ipnita.* (xxx)
((showing Ri Wanyong's picture on his iPad)) This person is the most
representative figure. (xxx)
- 03 Boy: *nwukwu?*
Who?
- 04 Chi-min: *sinmun ey thako issnun*
[a picture] 'got on' [appeared] the newspaper
- 05 Mr. Ch'oe: ((in a half-mocking tone)) *thako issci anhsupnita. sinmun ey thako*
issci anhsupnita. ((some students starts laughing)) *sinmun ey notte iru*
(xxx) *sillin, sillin.*
((in a half-mocking tone)) Not 'got on' the newspaper. It is not
'riding on' the newspaper. ((some students start laughing)) It
appeared in the newspaper. (xxx) Appeared, appeared.
- 08 Chi-min: ((laughing)) *sinmun ey sillin*
((laughing)) Appeared in the newspaper

In order to say “[the picture] that appeared in the newspaper,” Chi-min uses the Korean verb *tha-* (ride, get in/on, board, etc.) for the meaning of ‘appear or be published (in newspapers)’ and not the verb *silli-*. Furthermore, she inserts a form of the progressive aspect in *-ko iss-* between the verb *tha-* and the perfective adnominal form *-n* that makes a preceding clause a modifier of the following noun, in this case (unuttered) “*sacin* (the picture).” It is assumed that Chi-min drew on her Japanese knowledge for the Korean expression. In other words, she translated the Japanese expression, *shinbun ni notteiru* [*shashin*] into Korean word-for-word (the phenomenon of calque or loan translation) by equating the Japanese verb *nor-* with the Korean verb *tha-* and the Japanese aspectual form in *-te iru* with the Korean progressive aspect in *-ko iss-*: the semantic range of the Japanese verb *nor-* includes both the meaning of ‘appearing in’ or ‘being published

in print media' and 'riding' or 'getting in/on a vehicle,' and the Japanese aspectual form *-te iru* can signify both the progressive and resultant states of an action.

As soon as Chi-min blurts this out, Mr. Ch'oe disapproves of the Korean expression, "*sinmun ey thako issnun,*" by repeating the verb and aspectual form that she used with the negation pattern in *-ci anhsupnita* (line 5). And then, in the following turn, he changes the code from Korean to Japanese, when he says the Japanese predicate *notte iru* after the Korean noun phrase *sinmun ey*. His code-switching for the predicate highlights which part is misused in Chi-min's Korean expression and why it is incorrect (i.e., word-for-word translation from Japanese) without a lengthy explanation. Lastly, he feeds a replacement, *sillin*, back to the class, averting his gaze from Chi-min, who is sitting in front of the class, to the entire class and emphasizes it by repeating the correct form twice as in line 7. Friedman (2006) identifies this correction feedback as teacher-initiated teacher-correction in which the teacher both initiated and completed the correction.⁵⁸ Chi-min takes up his correction by repeating it (line 8) with a laugh, which displays her understanding that her prior turn was problematic as well as her alignment with Mr. Ch'oe's stance that inappropriate Korean forms should be corrected. As noted in Friedman (2006), this sort of example illustrates that "the practice of "doing correction" is a collaborative activity, with children as active participants" (p. 221).

I also often observed that Mrs. Song corrected the students' misuse of Korean in her class while providing the class with metalinguistic accounts for the students' errors. One day, she gave the class some time to think about an essay topic for a certain argument because the lesson they were studying that day was about how to logically defend one's opinion. When she looked

⁵⁸ Other categories of teachers' correction feedback that Friedman (2006:201) noted are (1) teacher-initiated self-correction in which the teacher prompted a student to correct his or her own error, and (2) teacher-initiated peer-correction in which the teacher initiated the correction but asked another child to complete it.

around the classroom while checking the students' progress, she asked a student if he had decided on his essay topic and the student replied, "*acik ipnita* (I haven't done it yet)." As soon as she heard the answer, Mrs. Song indicated, "That's an awkward expression (*esaykhan mal ieyyo*)" (although it sounded fine to me) and asked the class to correct it (i.e., teacher-initiated peer-correction). One girl responded, "*acik mos haysssupnita* (an adverb *acik* (still; not yet) + a negative adverb *mos* (cannot) + a deferential form of verb *ha-* (do) with the past tense)," which also sounded natural to me. However, Mrs. Song did not give any sign that she had heard the girl's answer. Instead, she provided a different expression, "*acik melesssupnita* (an adverb *acik* (still) + a deferential form of the verb *mel-* (far from, have a long way to) with the past tense)" with an explanation of why the form "*acik ipnita*" that the male student first used was wrong: "*acik* (still) is an adverb and thus, it cannot be followed by the deferential form of the copula - *ita*." Some of the students seemed to be hearing the expression for the first time, judging from their surprise by raising their intonation or putting a stress on the first syllable (*mel-*) of "*melesssupnita*" when repeating the expression among themselves.

During her classes, Mrs. Song also used to call the students' attention to phonological infelicities in their Korean speech. She would require students to practice Korean pronunciation together with a handout that she distributed to them before her class started.⁵⁹ Moreover, when a student read aloud from a textbook and the class was drilled in new vocabulary by repeating after her, Mrs. Song pointed out students' inarticulate pronunciations and immediately corrected them by pronouncing the words back to the students and/or providing explicit explanations about mouth shapes or pronunciation rules. According to Mrs. Song, the reason she asked the students

⁵⁹ There was a school practice called '*i bun jŏn junbi* (two-minute preparation before class)' whereby a student chairperson for each subject needed to prepare other students two minutes before a class by reviewing what they had learned before or by reading a part of the unit they had studied in a previous class together.

to pay careful attention to their Korean pronunciation was that otherwise their pronunciation would become Japanized (“*ilponesik palum*”).

Teachers’ correction feedback was not restricted to class time. It occurred outside of class as well. When Na-yōng chatted with her friends in the schoolyard after the school open house, she produced the ubiquitous expression in the community, *kaluchye patta* (to be taught).⁶⁰ Then immediately, a primary teacher within earshot intervened in their conversation and rebuked Na-yōng for using incorrect Korean loud enough for other nearby students to hear (while asking me, standing next to the teacher, if there was such a word in Korean). Looking down, Na-yōng quietly listened to the teacher’s scolding and then returned to the conversation with her friends, but this time their voices became more silent than before as if they did not want their Korean to become audible and overheard by the teacher again.

A similar case happened when I visited the classroom of the students in my study during lunchtime. When I entered the classroom, Mr. Yi (the homeroom teacher) seemed to have just finished his lunch at the teacher’s desk and Ms. Hwang, an English teacher, was braiding a female student’s hair for a school activity (*samul nori*, a performance using traditional Korean percussion instruments) after school. A girl who noticed my haircut, Min-a, asked me, “*meli callasseyo?* (Did you get a haircut?)” Although there was nothing wrong with her Korean in terms of grammar and comprehensibility, I hesitated a little to answer her because firstly, it was my second visit to the class after I had gotten a haircut and I needed time to think about how to answer and secondly, I realized that Min-a had omitted use of the honorific suffix *-(u)si-* in the verb (i.e., *callasseyo?* vs. *calu-sye-sseyo?*). At that instant, Ms. Hwang may have interpreted my

⁶⁰ In South Korea, the verb *paywu-* means ‘to learn’ and the verb *kaluchi-* ‘to teach’; but the latter cannot be converted into a passive form. The expression *kaluchye patta* that the student used is a direct calque (or loan translation) from the Japanese expression, *oshie-te morau* ‘teach-converb receive.’ There is no pattern in standard Korean along the lines of *-e pat-* for passives.

hesitation as a reaction to the student's inappropriate verb choice. She problematized the verb that Min-a had used by firmly saying, “*callasseyo aniciyo* (It's not ‘*callasseyo*’, is it?).” However, Ms. Hwang did not provide her with the replacement and continued what she was doing (perhaps because the proper replacement did not come to her mind?). After a short silence, Min-a, who had lowered her eyes, gazed at me and asked again by rephrasing the verb *calu-* to *kkakk-* (another verb meaning ‘to cut’) – “*meli kkakkasseyo?*” – but in a timid voice (and again without the honorific marker). Before I could respond, this time Mr. Yi intervened and suggested another expression, “*khethu haysseyo?* (a loanword from English ‘cut’ + the past tense of ‘do’: again, the honorific *-(u)si-* was still missing),” implying that Min-a's second try was also unsuccessful even though all three expressions were linguistically (if not pragmatically) plausible to me. The student seemed to be unfamiliar with the expression because she repeated it slowly while cocking her head to one side. Before she could ask me again with the new expression, I quickly replied using the last expression that Mr. Yi had provided, “*ney, khethu haysseyo* (Yes, I cut my hair)” because I felt sorry for Min-a as I seemed to have possibly put her in an embarrassing or awkward position due to my belated reply to her question and wanted to extricate her from the situation: since Min-a and Mr. Yi were located in the front of the classroom and Ms. Hwang was standing in the back of the classroom, every student in the room could observe and hear our interaction.

This common and recurring practice of error-correction by teachers might convey a clear message to the students – purist and prescriptive language ideologies. That is, each language had a more ideal, correct, and standard model and any forms that deviated from the norm were incorrect, inauthentic, and stigmatized and thus in need of correction. Put differently, the pervasiveness of corrective feedback in Kansai Korean School made students aware of the

existence of a hierarchical structure among varieties of the Korean language: for example, the standard language(s) of North and/or South Korea is more prestigious and valuable than the local variety of Korean, Zainichi Korean. In addition, given that “marked identities are also ideologically associated with marked language: linguistic structures or practices that differ from the norm” (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004:372), the error-correction practice may have the potential of orienting the students to linking themselves to the marked identities of ‘untrue’ or ‘inauthentic’ Koreans and ‘semi-owner’ of the Korean language. In effect, this identity-positioning was overtly manifested in the performance by high school students in a speech contest, as I will show below (section 5.4.2).

Another significant point here is that the ideologies of purist and prescriptive language were not simply passed down from the teachers to the students in a linear and unidirectional way. Rather, as we have seen above, the students also engaged in the processes of (re)producing, reinforcing, and legitimizing such language ideologies: for instance, by silently listening to and accepting it when a teacher indicated an error of their Korean speech and rebuked them for the incorrect use; suggesting a replacement for an erroneous use of Korean by a classmate; self-repairing what s/he said following a teacher’s indication; and/or giving signs that a teacher’s correction was taken up (e.g., repeating an expression suggested by the teacher). That is, the students were not “merely passive, uniform recipients of socialization” (He, 2008: 211) but they were also contributors to constructing and legitimizing the dominant language ideologies at school. Even one student, Chi-min, appropriated and enacted the language ideologies on her own accord.

Two minutes before Korean class started one day, Chi-min, who was a Korean language chairperson, walked up to the front of the classroom and started to ask the class

about what they had learned in a previous class: they had learned about rhetorical techniques such as metonymy and metaphor through a lesson about the famous Korean poem *Chindallae kkot* (Azaleas). In response to Chi-min's last question about the way to distinguish between metonymy and metaphor, Yu-ri mispronounced the topic marker *-un* in the clause, "*unyupep un* (metaphor + topic marker *-un*).” In Korean, when a syllable-final consonant is followed by a vowel, the consonant is carried over to the following syllable and pronounced as an initial consonant. Thus, in the case of *unyupep un*, the final consonant [p] in *unyupep* (metaphor) should be carried over to the topic marker [ǔn] and pronounced as its initial consonant but with a voiced sound [b] due to the vowel [ǔ] such as [ǔnyubǒbǔn]. However, in her answer, Yu-ri pronounced the consonant [b] as [g]: [ǔnyubǒgǔn]. When she passed by Yuri to return to her own seat after the school bell chimed, Chi-min pointed out Yu-ri's mispronunciation by modelling the correct pronunciation [ǔnyubǒbǔn] to Yu-ri with an emphasis on the last syllable [bǔn]. Yu-ri showed her recognition of the troublesome source in her pronunciation by saying “Ah.”

‘Student-initiated student-correction’ of peers’ incorrect Korean forms like this did not seem to be as commonplace as the practice of pointing out Japanese usage among students. Therefore, this is a good and worthy illustration demonstrating the student's understanding of the perspective that incorrect use of Korean should be corrected and also showcasing her agency in appropriating the practice of error-correction and enacting the prescriptive language ideology on another student.

5.4.2 Speaking Correct Korean to Become *True* Koreans

In Chongryun schools, speaking correct Korean was highlighted not only for its utility in enabling more effective communication with Koreans in other speech

communities and having close ties with them (see in Chapter 4), but also as essential to becoming *real* and *true* Koreans. Considering the fact that speaking correct Korean is encouraged in schools that aim to cultivate Koreans, it is not (perhaps) difficult for students to associate speaking correct Korean with ‘being Korean.’ However, the link was presented even more explicitly during a performance of high school students in the 2013 edition of the speech contest held for Chongryun school students in the Kansai region.

A speech contest for Chongryun school students is held every year and it consists of two main parts: a Korean speech contest and an English speech contest. While the English speech contest is organized into only one section in which a few selected students from each school recite an English story from an English textbook, the Korean speech contest is subcategorized into various genres, such as storytelling (*iyagi*), plays (*yǒngŭk*), poetry recitation (*si rangsong*), eloquence (*kugŏ ungbyŏn*), comic banter (*chaedam*), and artistic propaganda (*yesul sŏnjŏn*). Each section takes place roughly concurrently in different rooms and thus, audiences – mostly students’ parents, school teachers who come to lead participants (students) in performances,⁶¹ and students who have finished their own performance or are waiting their turn – have to move between the rooms to watch different performances of their children, students or peers. Drawn to the compelling title of “Can it be a language even if it is simply spoken? It becomes a language only when it is spoken proper (*mal ul hantako ta mal inka, mal ul mal tapkey hayeya mal i toynta*),” I visited a room where high school students were performing comic banter.

Following performances by three groups, a trio of female high school students started their banter by claiming, “It is natural that we should know Korean well and use it correctly as

⁶¹ The contest is held on a weekday and only students who participate in performances and some teachers who lead them come to the contest. Other students attend classes in school as usual.

Koreans.”⁶² Giving an extreme example that equates animals that have their own unique sounds with human beings who speak “their own country’s language (*caki nala mal*),” they suggested that Koreans who did not speak Korean could not be considered human beings. Then they problematized the language use patterns of many Zainichi Koreans, especially the way in which they mix between Korean and Japanese in their daily life, while regarding such language use as *awkward*:

Example 5.4 A Performance on the Importance of Speaking Correct Korean (1)

- 01 Girl 1: *kulentey ponikka (xxx) cosenmal eytaka ilponmal ul sekkese esaykhan*
 02 *pipimpap mal ul ssunun salam tul to isse.*
 By the way (xxx) there are people who use awkward *pibimpap mal*
 (a mixed language) where Korean and Japanese are mixed.

((The three students jump in unison, indicating a shift of scene in order to show how Zainichi Korean mothers mix Japanese and Korean in a conversation between themselves and a teacher))

- 03 Mother 1: *sensayngnim itsumo uchi no Mihe ka osewa ni natte ori ipnita.*
 Teacher, our Mihye is always indebted to you.
- 04 Mother 2: *uchi no Hwakwang mo itsumo komapsupnita.*
Always thank you for [taking care of] our Hwakwang as well.
- 05 Teacher: *anipnita. twul ta hakkyo eyse nun cham mopemsayng ipnita.*
 No, both are very model students in the school.
- 06 Mother 1: (xxx) ((Inaudible because of the audience’s laughter))
- 07 Mother 2: *uchi no Hwakwang mo okonomi yaki kusaku nai ipnikka?*
 My Hwakwang also does not smell like Okonomi-yaki?
- 08 Teacher: (xxx) *kwaynchanhsupnita.*
 (xxx) it’s okay.
- 09 Mother 1 & 2: *Cengmal ne?*
 Really?

((The three students jump again to return to the previous scene))

⁶² The stories performed at the speech contest seem to be scripted by a Korean teacher from each school.

- 10 Girl 2: *ichelem ilponmal i phan ul chiko cosenmal i chentay lul patko isse.*
 11 *kulentey i pakk eyto thullin cosenmal ul moluko ssuko issnun salam tul i*
 12 *isse. myechkaci yey lul tule pol kes kathumyen*
 Japanese is rampant everywhere like this and Korean is treated with contempt. However, besides this, there are people who use incorrect Korean without even knowing it. To give some examples:

((They show some situations of miscommunication due to incorrect use of Korean expressions))

Besides the example of the “bad habit” whereby the younger generation carelessly mix Japanese and Korean, the students also listed “incorrect” Korean forms such as “*kipun i napputa* (to feel sick)” and not “*sok i an cohta*,” “*meli ka chakhata* (smart, clever)” and not “*meli ka cohta*,” “*siksa lul mekta* (to eat a meal)” and not “*siksa lul hata*” and so on, which was created in their view by translating directly from Japanese to Korean. Moreover, they condemned today’s young generations who could not properly use Korean honorifics towards elders, such as “*halapeci pap mekeyo* (Grandfather, eat a meal)” while using blunt or deferential forms towards their peer group, such as “*pap mekusio* (please, eat a meal),” “*kongpu haysssupnikka?* (Did you study?)” and “*cal kassta osio* (lit. Go and come back well).” Hence, in this performance, all forms considered linguistically and pragmatically deviant from language norms were designated as errors and in need of correction.

Toward the end of the performance, the students emphasized the significance of correctly speaking Korean in order to “become true Koreans,” and thereby follow in the first and second generations’ footsteps:

Example 5.5 A Performance on the Importance of Speaking Correct Korean (2)

- 13 Girl 1, 2 & 3: ((chorally)) *tongmu tul wuli nun samsey sasey ipnita.*
 ((chorally)) Friends, we are the third and fourth generations.

- 14 Girl 2: *etten salam ul samsey sasey 'la hapnikka?*
What people are called the third and fourth generations?
- 15 Girl 3: *kuce isey taum seytay 'lan malipnikka?*
Are they just the next generation after the second generation?
- 16 Gril 1: *ilsey puntul uy ttus ul iun*
Carrying on the meaning [or longing] of the first generation
- 17 Gril 2: *isey pun tul chelem*
Like the second generation
- 18 Girl 3: *ilpon ey salato cosen salam*
Even though living in Japan, [we are] Koreans
- 19 Girl 1: ((calling other two girls' names)) *wuli selo chamtoyn cosenin i*
20 *toyki wihaye mues pota mence cosenmal ul olhpalukey paywuko*
21 *ssul cwul alayaci.*
((calling other two girls' names)) In order to become true Koreans,
above everything else, we must first learn and use Korean correctly,
right?
- 22 Girl 2: *amyo. kulehko malkwuyo. kuleni mal nohko (or twuko?) mincok ila*
23 *haciyo.*
Of course. So it is. That's why language is the same thing as ethnic
group.
- 24 Girl 3: *mal ul hantako ta mal inka? mal ul maltapkey hayeya mal i toyntan*
25 *malieyyo.*
Can it be a language even if it is just spoken? It becomes a language
only when it is spoken properly.
- 26 Girl 1: *olhayo. kulen uymi eyse to haksup kwa sonyentan saynghwal ul*
27 *yelsengkkes cal haye*
That's right. In that sense, [we need to] study and do the Young
Pioneer activities enthusiastically and
- 28 Girl 3: *wuli mincok kyoyuk uy calangsulewun (xxx)*
Our ethnic education's proud (xxx)
- 29 Girl 2: *paywuko paywuko tto paywe*
Learn, learn, and learn again and
- 30 Girl 1, 2 & 3: ((chorally)) *mincok uy tay aykwuk(?) uy tay lul ie nakapsita.*
((chorally)) Let's carry on the ethnic line and patriotic(?) line.

The students categorize present Chongryun school students as the third and fourth generations (line 13). From their perspective, the meaning of being the third and fourth generations cannot be simply explained by temporal and sequential terms such as “just the next generation after the second generation” (line 15). Like the second generation has epitomized, they are meant to devote themselves to carrying on the first generation’s wish of living as Koreans in Japan (line 16-18). To meet the first generation’s hopes, the student proposes, the priority should be to learn and use correct Korean as “language is the same thing as ethnic group” and it is the way that they become “true” Koreans (line 19-23). Here, the students position people who learn and speak correct Korean as *true* Koreans, and conversely suggest that those who do speak correct Korean are *untrue* or *semi-Koreans* and by extension, undutiful grandchildren and children to their first and second generations in the sense that they have not responded to their forebears’ demands.

The students conceptualize that learning and speaking correct Korean can be achieved through studying in Chongryun schools and *Sonyōndan* activities (line 26-27). They suggest that formal instruction in school bears a far more immense responsibility for transmitting correct Korean to the third and fourth generations and producing true Koreans than does informal teaching in families and communities outside of the schools. This notion of the role of Chongryun schools was repeatedly found in interview data with Zainichi Korean parents, as discussed in Chapter 6. Lastly, the students closed their performance by linking learning correct Korean to becoming proud students of Chongryun schools (line 28) and carrying on the “ethnic line and patriotic (?) line” (line 30). By taking part in the performance or playing a role as socializing agents through the performance, therefore, the students were socialized themselves and also socialized the

audience into the relationship between Korean mastery and several identities (i.e., true Koreans, dutiful Koreans to their grandparents and parents, proud students of Chongryun students, patriotic Koreans).

5.5 Students' Language Ideologies and Language Use

Until now, I have demonstrated that Kansai Korean School (and Chongryun schools in general) attempted to socialize students to speak not only Korean, but also *correct* Korean, and in the process, students were invited to share in diverse language ideologies. Yet it was found that not all of the students automatically embraced these language practices and language ideologies; instead, they adopted these selectively with their own agency as examined below.

5.5.1 'My Language Mode Naturally Changes to Korean'

Judging from my observations in Kansai Korean School, it seemed that the Korean-only policy was fairly well followed by the students. Not only during classes but also during break times when they were out of eyeshot and earshot of teachers, the students in my study predominantly spoke Korean – more precisely, the local variety of Korean called Zainichi Korean – although they sometimes inserted Japanese lexical items within Korean utterances in peer interactions, such as “*mecha messissta!* (It’s really cool!)” and “*buchake hara* (Speak frankly).” When I asked them about whether or not speaking Korean at school was challenging for them, all except for one student (Na-rae) responded that they had been accustomed to it for a long time and did not feel any difficulties in speaking Korean. Rather, some of them reported that speaking Japanese at school felt unnatural and gave them a sense of incompatibility. Chimin, for instance, said “My body memorized that it should be Korean when I enter the school. Naturally. When I leave school, it changes to Japanese” (Interview 1, K, 17/04/2013). Other students also recounted, “I feel like my language mode unconsciously changes to Korean when I

come to school” (Min-u, Interview 1, K, 28/05/2013), “I have heard Korean since I was in a [Chongryun] kindergarten. And rather than feel difficult, actually, I feel awkward if it [a school language] is not Korean inside the school” (Suj-i, Interview 1, K, 28/05/2013), “Even though I feel the language we use is a little awkward, the awkward language is an altered language for us to use easily and there aren’t difficulties” (Hye-jin, Interview 1, K, 28/05/2013). Only Na-rae (whom I discuss in more detail in Chapter 6) expressed her struggles with complying with the Korean-only policy by noting, “I blurt out Japanese when I don’t know how to say a word in Korean and I continue speaking Japanese unless I pay attention” (Interview 1, K, 07/05/2013). Thus, Na-rae recognized herself as someone who was pointed out the most by other students for breaking the school language policy.

The anecdote that Ms. Hwang, the English teacher, shared with me also attests to the fact that students associated the school space with the Korean language and were quite well socialized into the practice of speaking Korean at school. While I was back in Vancouver after my primary fieldwork in 2013, a Japanese graduate student began his fieldwork in Kansai Korean School for several months. One day when the eighth-grade students (who participated in his study but not my study) had a *nabe* (Japanese stew) party with teachers at the school, Ms. Hwang (the homeroom teacher of the students) invited him to the party and allowed the students to speak Japanese during the party because he could not understand Korean. Yet, according to Ms. Hwang, the students expressed great difficulty in speaking Japanese at the gathering and continued speaking Korean.

As one reason that their students followed the school language policy well, Kansai Korean School teachers cited their good-natured character. In other words, the students were seen as gentle, benign, and selfless and they readily complied with what teachers demanded,

which has been traditionally regarded as the cultural virtue of students in Korea. However, what further attracted my attention was that the majority of students also evinced the same viewpoint (i.e., speaking Korean = good vs. speaking Japanese = bad):

JH: ((toward three students)) Aren't you offended or something [when you were pointed out for speaking Japanese]?

Su-ji: When being pointed out [for speaking Japanese]? ((JH signaled confirmation with "Uh-huh." And Hye-jin attempted to cut in on the conversation, but Su-ji secured her turn by continuing to speak)) Because the wrong side is the person [who spoke Japanese]. ((laugh)) The person is bad because s/he used Japanese while being aware that speaking Japanese is bad and so I feel like why [be offended]? I think so. Thinking that way, actually I feel bad [if one is offended by it].

JH: Oh, I see. What do *you* think? ((looking at Min-u and Hye-jin))

Min-u: I think one should accept it genuinely because s/he was bad and pointed out.

JH: Do you think so? Then how about Hye-jin?

Hye-jin: But the person's way of pointing out? I don't feel good if I was told strongly.

When we spoke about the '100% Our Language Movement,' I asked these three students whether they were offended if they were pointed out by other students for violating the Korean-only policy; it was a question that arose after I heard Mrs. Song's comments during that day's class about difficulties in playing the role of a Korean language chairperson in another Chongryun middle school due to the predominance of Japanese speaking among the students and their defiant attitude toward peers who pointed it out. Interestingly, in response to my question, Su-ji and Min-u define people who spoke Japanese at school as being "bad." Speaking Korean is the rule of the school and it is all students' obligation to be well-informed and follow it. In spite of that, if a student runs counter to the rule, from their perspective, it is that student's

responsibility to accept peers' indications and deal with the sense of being offended (if at all); the students who pointed out the transgression should be blameless. Moreover, in follow-up when I asked them why they conformed so nicely and meekly to the language policy in contrast to the students at the other middle school that Mrs. Song mentioned, they explained it by depicting their fellow students with affective terms: they did not have "a bad disposition by nature," and they were "warm-hearted" and "decent." In short, many of the students in my study not only strongly associated Korean with Chongryun schools and were socialized well into speaking Korean at school, but they also internalized or at least were well acquainted with the meanings attached to the practices of speaking Korean and Japanese at school.

5.5.2 'Zainichi Korean is also Korean'

Even though the students in my study were seemingly active supporters of the school language policy, this does not necessarily mean that they were a fully language-norms-abiding group at the same time. The students undoubtedly had asymmetric competence in the two languages, Japanese and Korean. As a result, they often adopted various strategies in order to bridge the gap between their Korean and Japanese language proficiency and conform to the Korean-only policy, which contributed to (re)producing certain hybrid language forms ('incorrect' forms from the vantage point of Korean linguistic norms) as commonly observed in other diaspora communities (e.g., Bailey, 2000, 2001; Makihara, 2005a, b; Zentella, 1997). First, when they did not know how to say a certain word in Korean in peer interactions,⁶³ they used to attach the Korean consonant 'l (ㄹ)' to the final position of the corresponding Japanese word such as *kujal* (*kujaku* + l for 'peacock') and *sabol hata* (*saboru* + l + *hata* (do) for 'play hooky'). According to some students, having a syllable-final consonant was a distinct linguistic

⁶³ The students seemed to ask teachers for unknowns in Korean when they were around them.

feature of Korean words from Japanese and they exploited such routines so as to reduce the foreignness of the Japanese word and incorporate Koreanness into the word. The students also informed me that they often mobilized their knowledge of the Sino-Korean readings of sinographs. That is, they tended to pronounce Sino-Japanese characters (*kanji*) in the Korean way to avoid speaking Japanese, which occasionally resulted in ‘incorrect’ Korean words and expressions such as *chenki yeypo* for *tenki yohō* (weather forecast), *swuk* for *kyūku* (a cram school), and *-nun/(u)n kam* for *-to iu kanji* (feel like). Thirdly, creating novel Korean words on the basis of their Korean lexicon was also another tactic that the students employed so as not to violate the Korean-only policy. For example, the coinage of *haypa* for the meaning of ‘free time’. In Japanese, ‘free time’ is *hima*. And *himawari* is ‘sunflower’ in Japanese (equivalent to Korean ‘*hayparaki*’). So, *haypa* is a form that extracts the first two syllables from the Korean word *haypa-raki* on the grounds that the first two syllables (*hima*) of the Japanese equivalent ‘*himawari* (sunflower)’ are phonetically identical with *hima* (free time). Lastly, a student who experienced formal elementary education in an English speaking country and attended another Chongryun middle school, confessed that he tended to use English when he did not know Korean words because English fell into a “gray zone” at the school and none of teachers and fellow students pointed it out as an incorrect language choice.

However, worthy to note is that the students’ failure to use correct Korean cannot be simply explained by their lack of Korean linguistic competence. Their various language ideologies associated with the local variety of Korean (Zainichi Korean) and other Korean varieties (including the standard language of South Korea) affected their way of speaking Korean at school.

Many of the students depicted their Korean speech as awkward and inauthentic in the sense that it substantially assimilated Japanese features and was replete with the written version of Korean from their textbooks. So they frequently expressed their desire to improve their Korean proficiency. Hye-jin remarked that she wanted to become more fluent in Korean so she would be able to communicate with Korean speakers from South Korea without any difficulties: “I don’t like that my Korean won’t be understood because it’s awkward when a visitor from South Korea like you comes” (Interview 1, K, 28/05/2013). Min-u and Na-yŏng articulated their preference for learning the South Korean standard language (*P’yojunŏ*) and reported that they studied it while watching South Korean TV programs at home: “There will be more chances to talk with South Koreans [in the future]. At that time, it would be a shame to use my country’s language awkwardly (Na-yŏng, Interview 3, K, 10/03/2104). In reality, I realized during interviews and daily conversation with them that they accommodated their Korean to my speech style, as if they were practicing with me, by using the *hayyo* form more dominantly than when speaking to their teachers, and by employing more varied sentence-ending forms (e.g., *-ketunyo* for indicating a reason) and vocabulary from South Korea (e.g., *hakwen* and not *swuk* for a cram school). Yet, what is interesting and important to point out here is that these linguistic forms were rarely observed when they conversed with their classmates and teachers. For them, in other words, it was the local variety of Korean or Zainichi Korean that was legitimate for informal interactions with peers and teachers (maybe in the presence of peers?).⁶⁴ Particularly, in the peer group, attempting to speak the standard language of South Korea (*P’yojunŏ*) was considered to

⁶⁴ This is further evinced by the illustration of a student from South Korea that was provided in Song (2012). In the Chongryun middle school where he conducted his fieldwork, there was a female student who had come from Pusan in South Korea one year before. However, the author who was born and raised in South Korea, could not discern her background at all until a schoolteacher informed him that she was from South Korea, because her Korean speech was so assimilated into the local Korean. Song (2012) attributed her language use (or attrition?) to her awareness of Chongryun schools’ culture or “collectivism” (p. 187).

run the risk of provoking a chilly and derogatory reception. During an interview, Chi-min clearly displayed her strong dislike of Min-u who suddenly changed his way of speaking when he addressed me. According to her, Min-u normally spoke “Zainichi Korean (*cayil kyophomal*)” with his classmates, but as soon as he started talking to me, his Korean shifted to the style of “South Korean language (*Hankwukmal*),” including his intonation. Chi-min described it as “creepy (*kimochi warui*)” and “showing-off (*mise tsuke*).” A similar comment was received from Min-jōng, a graduate of Kansai Korean School. Min-jōng was an admirer of South Korean pop culture and the South Korean standard language, *P’yojunŏ* (see Chapter 7 for details). When I asked her if she had tried to practice *P’yojunŏ* at school, the answer I received was an emphatic denial with her explanation that such language behaviour could be taken as “being arrogant (*ikitteru*)” by other students. Because local or Zainichi Korean was their in-group language that embodied community identity and solidarity, attempts to speak other Korean varieties (particularly, *P’yojunŏ* that had been historically distant from the community) was perceived as an act of asserting superiority over others and a lack of self-esteem about being Zainichi.⁶⁵

Last but not least, not all of the students in my study viewed their Korean as problematic and in need of correction. Some of them, particularly Chi-min, Min-a, and Yu-ri, proclaimed that they were happy with their current Korean fluency and were disinterested in developing their command of Korean further, even if they were also aware of limitations in their Korean competence. For that reason, Chi-min brought up a story that she had heard from Mrs. Song and been quite impressed by. That day, Mrs. Song seemed to share with the class a story about a former student that had gone to South Korea to learn “correct” Korean. The main point she wanted to make through the story was apparently that the students in the class had already

⁶⁵ Kim and Duff (2012) reports a similar finding among Korean teenagers in Canada. In the peer group of Korean ‘1.5-generation’ speakers, speaking English among Korean peers who were also fluent in Korean was regarded as “an act of betrayal or lack of allegiance to one’s Koreanness” (p. 89).

reached a high standard of Korean proficiency – as high as the fourth out of the six levels in South Korean language programs – and that therefore it was unnecessary to go to South Korea. Mrs. Song may have wanted to encourage the students’ self-confidence in their Korean competency and also, emphasize the authority of Chongryun schools on the strength of their own Korean language education system. Conceivably, it was not her intention to suggest that the students no longer needed to improve their Korean abilities, given her evaluation of the students’ Korean as being at the fourth level, with two higher levels remaining. However, after retelling me the story, Chi-min expressed her surprise at the fact that her Korean would be rated higher than she expected, and said that she was very satisfied with her current level and had no desire to pursue a more advanced level.

While aligning with Chi-min’s stance, Min-a emphasized the legitimacy of the local Korean or *Zainichi* Korean within the space of the school. In response to my question about the difference between the Korean I spoke and that the students spoke at school, Min-a exemplified their Korean intonation based on the Osaka dialect. However, she added, “even though it is incorrect, it’s fine as it is, right?” (Interview 1, K, 17/04/2013). Furthermore, when I asked her view regarding the importance of learning and speaking correct Korean like all the teachers emphasized, she replied, “I think it is unacceptable to speak Japanese at school, but speaking *Zainichi* Korean (*cayil tongphomal*) is fine” because “I think *Zainichi* Korean is also *wulimal* (Korean)” (Interview 3, K, 06/08/2013). That is to say, Min-a authorized *Zainichi* Korean as one of the legitimate Korean varieties (not one that should be corrected) and saw speaking it at school as a proper language choice. Mina’s insistence on ‘*Zainichi* ways of speaking Korean’ (cf. Makihara, 2005b) when she spoke to me can also be interpreted as a reflection of her viewpoint on the local Korean variety.

5.5.3 'My Korean Proficiency is Perfect as a Korean'

The students were unanimous in declaring that they were Koreans and not Japanese and that therefore, it was important to learn and speak Korean. For some, in addition to being a marker of ethnic identity, expertise in Korean was considered a resource to gain access to useful knowledge (e.g., South Korean pop culture) and a symbolic asset to become 'cool':

[It is important to learn Korean] because it's my country's language (*caki nala mal*) ... I feel like it's [the same as] the Japanese if [I only speak] Japanese. (Min-a, Interview 1, K, 17/04/2013)

Even though living in Japan, [we are] not Japanese and [our] nationality is *Han'guk* or *Chosŏn*. [Knowing] the language of one's own country is necessary and if one cannot use it, rather something - with a little ice-cold eye - it is possible that such eyes are given. ((JH: by whom?)) My mother often goes to South Korea, but Zainichi Koreans - well, I think it depends on the person though, in South Korea, South Koreans - for people living in South Korea, Zainichi Koreans are similar to the Japanese and there are many people who cannot speak *wuli mal* (our language) and thus, they feel like [Zainichi Koreans] are the same as Japanese, similar to the Japanese. But I heard that if it is possible to speak *wuli mal*, one gets a warm reception and so - it is cool to speak many languages and in that sense, it is necessary. (Min-u, Interview 1, K, 28/05/2013)

It's convenient. Because I like K-pop (South Korean pop music), I can understand the song lyrics and it is beneficial if [we] know many languages, isn't it? (Na-yŏng, Interview 2, K, 10/05/2013)

However, of particular interest from the students' interviews were their wide-ranging perceptions about how proficient one needs to be in the Korean language to be regarded as Korean. Some students desired to have full competence in Korean in order to be cool, have competence as Koreans, and effectively communicate with Koreans from South Korea, but others were satisfied with their current proficiency of Korean and did not show much intent to further develop their command of Korean. For instance, Min-u and Na-yŏng proclaimed that they were keen to become as fluent as native-speakers in the standard language of South Korea (*P'yojunŏ*). Min-u

described *P'yojunŏ* as sounding “natural (*cayensulepta*)” and “cool (*mesissta*)” and opined that he wanted to speak *P'yojunŏ* “perfectly” like native speakers living in South Korea and “tell other countries’ people with confidence that I speak *wuli mal* (our language) well” (Interview 1, K, 28/05/2013). Na-yŏng also expressed her hope to become fluent so she could pass for a native speaker from South Korea with the desire to communicate with Koreans from South Korea confidently.

Yet, other students did not consider complete proficiency in Korean to be essential for being Korean. Su-ji said that although she wanted to correct some awkward features in her Korean speech, she did not aim to achieve a native-like level. Even now, she did not have much trouble communicating with people from South Korea like me and she did not find the Korean language so beneficial and thus, she remarked, she would be satisfied with upholding her current proficiency. As well, Na-rae expressed her lack of desire to continue studying Korean after she went on to a Japanese high school (she was preparing for an examination of a Japanese high school at that time). Because her father, who was educated in Chongryun schools, still maintained Korean competence to some extent, she assumed that she would not completely forget Korean in the future and said that should be enough for her:

JH: Do you think you will continue studying Korean in a Japanese school?

Su-ji: I won’t.

Na-rae: I won’t either.

JH: Why not? Isn’t it a waste?

Su-ji: It would be good to be able to use Korean, but there is no discomfort even if I can’t use it.

Na-rae: My father went up to a Chongryun high school and he doesn’t forget [Korean]

even now and [I am] ok if I can communicate. I can understand when I watch TV or talk with South Koreans and it will be ok for me.
(Interview 3, K, 14/08/2013)

Yu-ri, Min-a, and Chi-min also provided me with similar accounts. In response to my question of how proficient one needed to be in Korean to be regarded as Korean, Min-a and Chi-min answered that it would be adequate for one to be able to lead everyday life in “*wuli nala* (our country)” (it is uncertain which Korea Chi-min was referring to); Chi-min presupposed that she had Korean competence near enough for this purpose. Interestingly and surprisingly, Yu-ri said that mere basic ability to greet in Korean qualified someone as being Korean: “to the extent of being able to greet in *wuli mal* (our language) or talk” (Interview 1, K, 17/04/2013).

In short, all of the students positively associated having Korean competence with Korean identity. However, my interview analysis revealed that the degree of Korean proficiency required to claim Koreanness varied among the students.⁶⁶ Min-u and Na-yong desired to have ‘full’ competency in Korean on the basis of the language ideology that the attainment of highly advanced Korean would lead them to gain full membership in the Korean ethno-linguistic community. In contrast, other students did not articulate their hope for a high level of Korean expertise and asserted their legitimacy of being Korean even with their restricted language competence. Thus, the students’ understanding of Korean proficiency to become ‘legitimate’ and ‘true’ Koreans was not consistent all the time with the one proposed by the school and teachers, and it is not monolithic but diverse.

⁶⁶ Canagarajah (2013) shows how varied the way of defining proficiency in Tamil was in the Sri Lankan diaspora. For some Sri Lankan Tamil migrants, knowledge of a few lexical items and Sri Lankan English, receptive competence of Tamil and/or familiarity with ritualized practices in the community were perceived as sufficient to display their Tamil ethnic identity.

5.6 Summary and Discussion

This chapter investigated how Kansai Korean School and other Chongryun schools attempted to socialize their students into learning and speaking (correct) Korean at school. As a result, it was found that the schools (re)produced and socialized manifold ideologies of language, some of which were not explicitly indicated by teachers during interviews (Chapter 4), through various language socialization practices. Chongryun schools inarguably regard the Korean language as an essential resource to foster Koreanness in their students and mark them as Koreans. Therefore, they significantly concentrated on developing their students' appropriate command of Korean by employing a variety of language socialization practices and strategies. For example, in order to create a space that the students could focus on their Korean learning and speaking, the schools imposed a language-use-monitoring practice among students; praised students, classes, and schools reaching a high achievement of Korean use by giving them material and symbolic rewards (e.g., a gift, certificate of award, titles of a model student and King *Sejong*) whereas students who habitually used Japanese were put to shame by giving them penalties (e.g., a pledge of better performance in front of the class, a title of *Nolbu*); led students to create posters with their duties in relation to language acquisition and use; and explicitly explained the significance of speaking Korean to students. Furthermore, in order to exhort their students not only to speak Korean but also to speak *correct* Korean – pure Korean that is not mixed with Japanese and prescriptive Korean that accords with the standard language norms – school teachers often initiated correction of students' inappropriate use of Korean (whether they were within or outside of classroom) and led the students to play a major role in socializing other students and community members into self-monitoring their own Korean forms through participating in school events such as speech contests. During these processes of language

socialization, the students came not only to speak (correct) Korean at school, but also to learn and sometimes, engaged in co-constructing multiple language ideologies regarding speaking and not speaking (correct) Korean. The language ideologies are: Korean is the only legitimate language at school and thus, speaking (correct) Korean is good and praiseworthy, whereas speaking Japanese is bad and scold-worthy; learning and speaking Korean equates with being Koreans and loving the country; speaking Korean is Zainichi Koreans' duty to enhance and maintain Korean in Japan; standard Korean is more authentic and authoritative than the local Korean variety or Zainichi Korean; and having correct Korean competence is essential to be defined as true and legitimate Koreans.

The students in my study were quite well socialized into the practice of speaking Korean at school and the indexical meanings. When they walked past the school gate, they naturally shifted their language from Japanese to Korean and took it for granted the reasons that their school was a Korean school and not a Japanese school and they were Koreans and good-hearted and not Japanese and disorderly students. That is, they associated speaking Korean with Chongryun schools, Korean-ness, and a good disposition, and conversely linked speaking Japanese with Japanese schools, Japanese-ness, and a bad disposition.

Nonetheless, what is compelling is that the students did not take up all of the language practices and language ideologies which the teachers and schools assigned to them. They took away “from their socialization experiences different things at different rates” (Duff, 2003: 11) from what the teachers expected. For instance, in spite of the strong encouragement of speaking correct Korean at school, the students in my study did not accord great importance to it, especially in their peer interactions. The students saw the local Korean variety or Zainichi Korean as the legitimate peer language. Therefore, even though some of the students knew

‘correct’ forms used on the Korean peninsula, they did not use the forms when they talked with classmates and stuck to the Zainichi Korean forms. For them, the local Korean variety or Zainichi Korean was more valuable and a valid language form than standard Korean in promoting and sustaining a close alliance with their classmates.

In addition, even though the school aimed to equip the students with a high standard of prescriptive Korean to nurture them as ‘true’ Koreans, some of the students countered the argument and language ideology. They claimed that their current Korean proficiency, one that was regarded by many teachers as still deficient, was adequate to declare the legitimacy of their Korean identity. Yu-ri even validated knowing of simple greeting words in Korean as enough to identify the person as Korean.

The students candidly provided me with varying opinions about Korean learning and speaking, the local variety of Korean, and standard Korean, some of which conflicted with the dominant discourses circulating in Chongryun schools. However, interestingly, I have observed none of students articulately rebelling against the prevailing language practices and language ideologies in front of their teachers. Notice that whereas Chi-min strongly declared her lack of intention to further improve ‘incorrect’ features in her Korean speech and the legitimacy of Zainichi Korean, she appropriated the practice of corrective feedback to play the role of a Korean language chairperson at school (section 5.4.1). This can be viewed as a reflection of the students’ acknowledgement about what language ideologies and language behavior were preferred at school, who had power at school, and what damage they would sustain if they challenged the authority of teachers. Therefore, their language ideologies were negotiated and enacted situationally.

CHAPTER 6

CONSTRUCTING, NEGOTIATING, AND RESISTING IDENTITIES

Children, let's go to the fatherland.
How do we get there?
I will go by ship.
I will go by plane.
Let's go to Pyongyang and *Man'gyŏngdae*.⁶⁷
(‘Let's Go to the Fatherland’ in the 1st-grade Korean textbook)

The man who threw away his own nationality and ethnicity and eventually, his roots! Doesn't he have any regrets at all when he lives? Is he really at ease and happy with it? No way. He must feel uncomfortable because he abandoned what he shouldn't have and so, did he not vehemently provoke a quarrel and insult the Korean language and *ch'ima chŏgori* (Korean traditional dress)? Yes. He can't be happy. After he encountered a ‘confident *Chosŏn saram* (Korean)’ in Japanese society it can't be said that one is happy by abandoning one's nationality; he must have a sense of shame for discarding his roots ... Thus, how important, essential and truthful it is not to abandon one's roots and to retain one's ethnicity!
(‘Reality More than Fiction’ in the 9th-grade Korean textbook)

6.1 Introduction

On the Korean peninsula, there are two different national and standard languages due to the ideological and geographic division of North and South Korea. The national language of North Korea called *Munhwaŏ* (Cultured Language) is based on the regional dialect of Pyongyang (the capital of North Korea). On the other hand, the national language of South Korea called *P'yojunŏ* (Standard Language) is based on the dialect of Seoul. These two national languages diverge to varying degrees in phonology, morphology, usage, lexicon, and orthography, which is caused by “(a) complete physical insulation for over fifty [sixty] years, (b) polarized political, ideological, and social distinctions (with socialism in the North and capitalism in the South), and

⁶⁷ *Man'gyŏngdae* is located in Pyongyang and is famous for being Kim Il-sung's birthplace.

(c) the different language policies implemented by the two governments” (Sohn, 1999: 76; see also King, 1997).

In Chongryun schools, it is *Munhwaŏ* (the standard language of North Korea) and not *P’yojunŏ* (the standard language of South Korea) that is the basis of their Korean language education, at least *in theory*. As presented in Chapter 4, Professor Pak of *Chosŏn* University notes that all education about Korean lexicon, pronunciation, grammar, and intonation in Chongryun schools is grounded in *Munhwaŏ* and the students should read books and speak Korean with a *Munhwaŏ* intonation at school, although deviation from this norm outside of school is acceptable. In addition, all Chongryun school textbooks are written in *Munhwaŏ* and *Munhwaŏ* is designated as the national language (*kugŏ*) of their students. This status of *Munhwaŏ* in Chongryun schools reflects the schools’ unchanged stance toward North Korea. As presented in Chapter 3, Chongryun schools removed the subjects for ideological education from their curriculum after the 1993 curricular reform. In early 2000, the two North Korean leaders’ portraits that had for long been placed high above the blackboard in each classroom vanished from primary and middle Chongryun school classrooms (Song, 2012). However, as will be discussed below, even now, the signs of their affiliation with North Korea and their efforts to promote students’ identity as overseas nationals of North Korea are observed in various places. In spite of the increased financial pressure on Chongryun schools by the Japanese federal and local governments, it still seems to be hard to withdraw their loyalty to North Korea, given the benevolence that North Korea (or Kim Il-sung) has provided to Zainichi Koreans, to rephrase the words of the Kansai Korean School principal, Mr. Han.

However, in this chapter, I highlight that the socializing process to develop overseas nationals of North Korea was not always consistent, but often contradictory and ambivalent,

which results partially from the increased opportunities to access the standard language of South Korea (*P'yojunŏ*) in Japan. I start this chapter by investigating how teachers in Kansai Korean School attempted to socialize their students not only to become Koreans and overseas nationals of North Korea, but also not to become Japanese and overseas nationals of South Korea. In doing so, it becomes evident that the target language into which the teachers socialized their students was not always the standard language of North Korea. In the closing section, I demonstrate how the students identified themselves and reveal that there were gaps between school-ascribed identity and student-ascribed identity.

6.2 Socialization *not* to Become Japanese

Establishing the sameness of a certain group and constructing a shared identity among group members often requires “an Other who can be positioned against those socially constituted as the same” (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004: 371). In the ensuing sections, I will examine how teachers attempted to otherize the Japanese and disassociate their students from Japan where they were born and living, particularly focusing on their linguistic usage of referencing terms.

6.2.1 ‘We’ Speak English Better than ‘the Japanese’

The example below is extracted from a Korean class, which involved a lesson about the Korean script (the same class where Example 5.1 and 5.2 in Chapter 5 took place). After reading the part that she would cover that day and heightening the students’ understanding of the section through a question-and-answer routine, Mrs. Song asked the class to pronounce each Korean consonant in order to let them know about the position of the tongue when the consonants were articulated. Mrs. Song’s statement below was made after she demonstrated the shape of the tongue for the Korean consonant ‘ \equiv (*l*)’ by using an illustration of the inside of the mouth on the

blackboard. Notice how Mrs. Song categorized the students and herself in contrast to the way she categorized the Japanese.

Example 6.1 A Korean Class about the Korean Script (3)

((Mrs. Song asked the class about where the tongue was placed when the Korean consonant ‘ㄹ(l)’ was articulated and explained the shape of the tongue at the time of articulation))

01 Mrs. Song: *wuli ka yenge lul kulayto cal - paywumyen un cal palum hal swu*
02 *isstako hapnita. wuli salam tul un. ilpon salam tul un i ‘l’ ul mos haki*
03 *ttaymun ey palum i ne? cohci mos - cayensulepkey mos hantako mal*
04 *tutko issupnita. wuli nun ‘l’ ilanun i patchim i isski ttaymun ey yenge*
05 *lul paywutelato ‘R’ ((she tries to pronounce the English ‘R’ while*
06 *exaggeratedly rolling her tongue and it elicits laughter among*
07 *students)) mweya? (xxx) ‘R’ i tulekan tane? cal palum hal swu*
08 *issupnita.*

We can [speak] English well - if [we] learn, it is said that [we can] pronounce [English] well. Our people. Because the Japanese can’t speak the ‘l,’ their [English] pronunciation is not good - it is said that [they] can’t pronounce [English] naturally. Because we have the final consonant ‘l,’ if we learn English, ‘R’ ((she tries to pronounce the English ‘R’ while exaggeratedly rolling her tongue and it elicits laughter among students)) What is it? (xxx) What word has ‘R’? [That’s why we] can pronounce [English] well [or better than the Japanese].

Mrs. Song tells the students that ‘we’ have an advantage in speaking (or pronouncing) English better than ‘the Japanese’ because in the Korean language, the liquid consonant ‘ㄹ(l)’ can be produced in coda (or syllable-final) position and consequently, it enables ‘us’ to pronounce the English ‘r’ sound more easily or authentically than ‘the Japanese.’ By using the first-person plural “*wuli* (we)” in line 1, Mrs. Song first identifies the students and herself as belonging to the same group or the group of “*wuli salam tul* (our people = Koreans)” (line 2). Then she positions the group of “*wuli salam* (our people)” as completely different from the group of “*ilpon salam tul* (the Japanese)” (line 2) by suggesting that the Japanese cannot pronounce English words

“naturally” (line 3) as ‘we’ do. In doing so, Mrs. Song downplays any difference among members within each group – the ethnic categories of Koreans and Japanese – and underscores only the difference between the two groups, thereby drawing a clear and impervious line between in-group members (the Koreans) and out-group members (the Japanese).

This framing of identity reemerged in her subsequent comments on the way that the students could enhance the Korean language in Japan as seen in Example 5.2 in Chapter 5. While emphasizing that speaking, enhancing, and protecting the Korean language was ‘our’ responsibility and not the responsibility of the Japanese who were studying Korean in private language institutes, Mrs. Song identified the students and herself as exclusively Koreans. She excluded any possibility that the students could self-identify as Japanese or hybrid subjects such as a Korean-Japanese or Japanese-Korean;⁶⁸

In this environment, our language won’t survive if WE don’t use it. Will you assign [this task] to the Japanese who are studying in *Han’gul kōza* (class)? ((students laugh)) To enhance our language? No, right? That’s why we should use it on our own.

6.2.2 Japan is a Country of ‘Others’

The idea that the students are Koreans and not Japanese was also socialized through the manner in which the school referred to Japan and Korea. According to the educational ideas of Chongryun schools, Japan or the birthplace of the majority of students, is not the students’ country, but it is a country of others. The country that the students belong to is the (re)united Korea of the past and future and present-day North Korea. Therefore, both in the textbooks and as expressed by the schoolteachers, Japan is by no means referred to as “*wuli nala* (our country)” but is designated as “*iyek ttang* (a foreign land)” or “*nam uy nala* (a country of others).”

⁶⁸ See García-Sánchez (2010), He (2004), Lo (2006), and Vogel (2008) for a similar process of identity construction in schools.

To give an example, in the fifth-grade Korean textbook, there is a unit about *Chosŏn* University. The protagonist (a young student) of the story visits the university for the first time and cannot help but marvel at the variety of trees in a garden, the fossils and historical relics in museums, and birds in a cage received from the *choguk* (fatherland = North Korea; see below for detail). Also, s/he admires the current university students and graduates who built the auditorium, museums, and gymnasium “by themselves” (perhaps meaning ‘with their own financial support’) and have a strong attachment to the university. Then lastly, the protagonist closes the story by expressing great “pride that such an excellent university exists in the land of Japan that is *a country of others* (*nam uy nala in ilpon ttang*).”

The *Chosŏn* University is our power and pride. That is why not only the Japanese visit, but also foreign guests. I left the university full of pride that such an excellent university exists in the land of Japan that is *a country of others*. (Unit 5. ‘*Chosŏn* University’ in the fifth-grade Korean textbook, emphasis added)

Other similar examples that conceptualize Japan as a country of others are found in several other units in Korean textbooks and in a narrative performance during a school event, as noted in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1 References to Japan

Korean Textbooks

I clearly recognize that our compatriots were dragged to *a country of others*, how much hardship they went through, and died on false charges. I thought that we should not forget the bitter past of our compatriots and what they went through because of the loss of the country.
(‘Visiting *Matsumae*’ in 4th-grade textbook)

Ch’öl-gyu meditated on what his grandparents had always said. “We are living in *a country of others*, right? So please get along with school friends and relatives without fighting each other.”
(‘On Ancestral Rites’ in 5th-grade textbook)

I was born and raised in *a country of others*: Japan. So was my father. Therefore, I only heard about my hometown from my grandfather. (‘My Hometown’ in 6th-grade textbook)

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Compatriots who were brought to *the foreign land (iyek ttang)* where mountains and water [all scenery] were unfamiliar and underwent more hardships than horses and oxen due to being deprived of [our] country, strived to establish schools through many sacrifices on the grounds that [we] would experience the misfortune of a ruined people once again if [we] did not know [our] country’s language, script, and history. (Narrative of Kansai Korean School history by a former teacher)

This understanding that Japan is not the students’ country was evident in classes as well. Teachers in Kansai Korean School routinely referred to the entire Korean peninsula as “*wuli nala* (our country)” and “*wuli Cosen panto* (our Korean peninsula),” but they always referred to Japan as “*ilpon* (Japan)” and “*ilcey* (the Japanese Empire)” and kept a distance from Japan. The following excerpts illustrate the contexts of how Mr. Ch’oe employed the word “*wuli nala* (our country)” in opposition to the word “*ilpon* (Japan)” in his class.

After a quiz on the content the students had learned in a previous class as usual, Mr. Ch’oe called the students’ attention to what they would learn in today’s class by using the linguistic marker “*kulem* (then; in that case)” signaling a topic change; “Yes, then, [we will]

learn today about anti-Japanese movements by the [Korean] people in colonized *Chosŏn*.” The excerpt below began with Mr. Ch’oe calling on Hye-jin to explain the literal meaning of “*panil uypyeng thwucayng* (anti-Japanese struggle by righteous armies)” that he wrote down on the blackboard.

Example 6.2 A History Class on Anti-Japanese Armed Struggle in Colonized Korea (1)

- 01 Mr. Ch’oe: *Hye-jin*
Hye-jin
- 02 Hye-jin: *yey.*
Yes.
- 03 Mr. Ch’oe: *panil uypyeng thwucayng etten ttus ipnikka?*
What is the meaning of *panil uypyeng thwucayng*?
- 04 Hye-jin: *Ilpon ey pantayhanun uypyeng uy thwucayng*
Troops’ fighting in opposition to Japan
- 05 Mr. Ch’oe: *e. cohsupnita. (xxx) kulemyen com te mule pokeyssupnita.*
06 *panil ilan etten ttus?*
Yes. good. (xxx) Then I will ask you more. What does *panil* mean?
- 07 Hye-jin: *Ilpon ey pantay hanta*
Opposing Japan
- 08 Mr. Ch’oe: [*pantay hanta. cohcyo. thwucayng ilan kesun?*
(xxx) *thwucayng ilan etten ttus?*
[To Oppose. Good. What is *thwucayng*? (xxx)
What does *thwucayng* mean?
- 09 Hye-jin: *ssawunta*
Fight
- 10 Mr. Ch’oe: *e. ssawunta. kulem uypyeng ilan kes un?*
Yup, fight. What about *uypyeng*?
- 11 Hye-jin: *kecismal uy =*
Untrue (or fake) =

- 12 Mr. Ch'oe: ((surprising)) = *kecismal uy?*
= Untrue?
- 13 Hye-jin: *kecismal uy pyengsa*
Untrue soldiers
- 14 Mr. Ch'oe: *kecismal uy pyengsa lul uypyeng ila hapnikka?*
[Do we] call untrue soldiers *uypyeng*?
- 15 Hye-jin: *ung.*
Yeah.
- 16 Mr. Ch'oe: *kulemyen iese ttus phuli hapnita. ilcey lul pantay hayse*
17 *ssawunun kecismal uy pyengsa?* ((students laugh)) *kecismal uy*
18 *pyengsa?*
Then I will clarify the meaning. Untrue soldiers who fight to
oppose the Japanese Empire? ((students laugh)) Untrue
soldiers?
- 19 Hye-jin: *ey?* (xxx)
Eh? (xxx)
- 20 Mr. Ch'oe: *cokum taluciyo? uypyeng ilan kes un?* ((looking at the class as
21 he seems to press the students for another answer))
It's a little different, right? *Uypyeng* means? ((looking at the
class as he seems to press the students for another answer))
- 22 Boy: *hyengsa kathun ke?*
It's like a detective?
- 23 Mr. Ch'oe: *hyengsa?* =
Detective? =
- 24 Hye-jin: = *nongmin ka* =
= Peasants (+ subject marker *-ka*) =
- 25 Mr. Ch'oe: = *nongmin ka? nongmin I.*
= Peasants *ka?* Peasants *I.*
- 26 Hye-jin: ((repeating)) *nongmin i*
((repeating)) Peasants *i*
- ((A few more turns are exchanged between Mr. Ch'oe and Hye-jin, but Mr. Ch'oe claims that Hye-jin's further attempt to define *uypyeng* does not make sense))
- 27 Mr. Ch'oe: ((to the class)) *melis sok eyse pyengsa lanun kes ul alcyo?*

28 *kulem uypyeng ilan etten pyengsa inka lul cal ala twuseyyo.*
 29 (xxx) *motwu ttusphuli lul ssuseyyo.*
 You know what *pyengsa* (soldiers) means, right? Then, please remember well what kind of soldiers *uypyeng* are. (xxx) Please note the meaning of *uypyeng*.

((Mr. Ch'oe starts writing the meaning of *uypyeng* on the blackboard while reading it aloud))

As she explains the meaning of *panil uypyeng thwucayng* in response to Mr. Ch'oe's question, Hye-jin only rewords the meaning of *panil* (anti-Japan) in line 4, whereas she simply repeats two other words (*uypyeng* and *thwucayng*) intact. Although Mr. Ch'oe affirms Hye-jin's answer as in line 5 ("Yes. Good"), he continuously seeks further clarification from Hye-jin, this time by asking her about the definition of each word in the noun phrase, as if he wants to ascertain whether or not Hye-jin and other students are well acquainted with the meaning of each vocabulary item. As can be seen from Mr. Ch'oe's positive assessment and repetition of Hye-jin's replies in line 8 and line 10, Hye-jin's responses about the meanings of *panil* (anti-Japan) and *thwucayng* (fight; struggle) are enough to satisfy Mr. Ch'oe. However, in line 11, when she speaks the very first word (*kecismal uy*) to answer Mr. Ch'oe's question about the meaning of *uypyeng* (line 10), Mr. Ch'oe immediately interrupts her and repeats what she said with a questioning intonation (line 12), which is an indication of his discontent with Hye-jin's answer. Nevertheless, Hye-jin does not seem to understand it as a sign that her answer is inappropriate. In the following turns, she continues to attempt to articulate what she wants to say by completing her answer that was first interrupted by the teacher ("*kecismal uy pyengsa* (untrue soldiers)" in line 13) and confidently provides Mr. Ch'oe with a positive answer ("Yeah" in line 15) in response to his question verifying what she meant (line 14). Even after Mr. Ch'oe rejected Hye-jin's explanation about *uypyeng* and sent a signal seeking a different answer from other students (line 20-21), Hye-jin once again tries to elaborate on the meaning of *uypyeng* as in line 24. Yet,

this time she misuses the subject marker after the consonant-final word *nongmin* (peasant): in Korean, the subject marker *-i* follows a consonant-ending word, as in *nongmin i*, while the subject marker *-ka* follows a vowel-ending word such as *hakkyo* (school) *ka*. As soon as Hye-jin utters the incorrect form, Mr. Ch'oe indicates the problematic source by repeating it with a rising intonation and completes the correction by offering a replacement with emphasis on the subject marker *-i* (line 25). Hye-jin acknowledges the correction by repeating “*nongmin i*” (line 26) and continues to try to elucidate the meaning of *uyppyeng* again. Despite several attempts to articulate her thoughts throughout her interaction with the teacher, her effort is consistently treated as being unsuccessful and making no sense by Mr. Ch'oe.⁶⁹

From this excerpt, three implications can be elicited. First, the interactions between Mr. Ch'oe and the students show once again that in Kansai Korean School, all classes are Korean classes and all teachers play the role of Korean language teachers. Because of the school language policy that requires all school activities and classes to be conducted in Korean, even during the Korean history class as seen above, it is required for a teacher to make certain not only that the students understand the background and significance of historical events, but also that students become fully aware of the meanings of a wide range of Korean vocabulary items that are related to the subject and are different from what students encounter in Korean language class. How well students grasp the meanings of Korean words related to each subject may be crucial to improving their comprehension of class content and their test scores.

Second, the above excerpt shows the construction of power relations between the teacher and students (Oral, 2013; Talmy, 2004, 2008; Jo, 2002). With his institutionalized authority as a teacher, Mr. Ch'oe displays his power over the students by arbitrarily calling on particular

⁶⁹ I assume from the entire interaction between Mr. Ch'oe and Hye-jin that what she wanted to mean was that *uyppyeng* were not professional soldiers (so not real soldiers) and that the term referred to peasants who were armed.

students to answer his questions, making assessments about their responses, and initiating and completing correction of Hye-jin's incorrect Korean form. That is, Mr. Ch'oe controls who should speak and what should be spoken in the classroom. Even so, of interest are Hye-jin's consistent efforts to elucidate her thoughts about the meaning of *uypyeng*, defending the validity of her answer and soliciting Mr. Ch'oe's acknowledgement, even if he signals her answer as inappropriate several times. These can be construed as Hye-jin's challenge to the teacher's authority and expertise, although it was subject to restriction by the teacher who continued to disapprove of her answers without careful attention to what she was trying to say.

Third, it is appreciable that throughout the interactions, the teacher and Hye-jin invariably encode Japan as *ilpon* (Japan) and *ilcey* (the Japanese Empire) as in line 4, 7, and 16 and this way of referring to Japan remained unchanged until the class was over. This is distinct from the fact that Mr. Ch'oe referred to the Korean peninsula as "*wuli nala* (our country)" as seen in the example below.

Example 6.3 A History Class on Anti-Japanese Armed Struggle in Colonized Korea (2)

30 Mr. Ch'oe: ((pointing at what he wrote down on the blackboard)) *kulemyen*
 31 *i ke pwa posipsita. panil uypyeng thwucayng. ttus phuli hay*
 32 *poca. ilcey lul pantayhanun -*
 ((pointing at what he wrote down on the blackboard)) Then,
 look at this. Anti-Japanese armed struggle. Let's clarify the
 meaning. Opposing the Japanese Empire -

((Mr. Ch'oe pauses and looks at the class, which signals to the students to continue reading the definition of *uypyeng*. A male student responds to the signal and says "*thwucayng ul (xxx)*")

33 Mr. Ch'oe: ((affirming)) *e. thwucayng ul olhtako sayngkak hanun salam*
 34 *tul i cocikhan pyengsa tul i cinhayngghan thwucayng. (xxx)*
 35 *kulehkey toycoyo ne? (0.2) kantanhi ilcey lul pantay hayse*
 36 *Cosen ul ettehkey hacanun salam tul i moin kulehan kwuntay*
 37 *ipnikka?*
 ((affirming)) Yeah. Fighting that troops organized with people

who considered fighting [opposing the Japanese Empire] was right to proceed with. (xxx) It [the meaning]’s like this, right? (0.2) In short, because they opposed the Japanese empire, what did the army want to do for *Chosŏn*?

38 Girl 1: *ilpon thato*
Overthrowing Japan

39 Mr. Ch’oe: ((affirming)) *e. ilcey lul thato hako nala lul* ((pausing and
40 looking at the class))
((affirming)) Yeah. To overthrow the Japanese Empire and the
country ((pausing and looking at the class))

41 Girl 2: *toychacca*
Let’s take back [the country].

42 Mr. Ch’oe: ((affirming)) *e. toychacca. haypang sikhica ne? ku kes i yekise*
43 *malhanun olhtako sayngkak hanun kes ipnita. ku kes ul wihayse*
44 *kwuntay lul - kulehan salam tul i cinhayng han thwucayng. i kes ul*
45 *panil uypyeng ilehkey mal hapnita. yey kulem wuli nala eyse Cosen*
46 *eyse ilcey lul pantay hanun uypyeng thwucayng i onul un encey puthe*
47 *sicak toyeyssstenka ttohan ettehkey hwaktay palcenhay nakasstenka i*
48 *kes ul onul un tongmu tul un cal tule* (xxx) *kulehkey hay cwupsyo.*
((affirming)) Yeah. Let’s take back [the country]. Let’s liberate
[the country] right? That is what the people regarded as right. To do it,
army - fighting that such people proceeded with. It is called the anti-
Japanese armed struggle. Okay, then, in our country, in *Chosŏn*, from
when did the anti-Japanese armed struggle begin? And, how did it
spread and develop? Please, listen well to (xxx) these issues today.

After he had completed writing the meaning of *uypyeng* on the blackboard, Mr. Ch’oe reconfirmed the meaning while attempting to elicit it from the students and asked them for the ultimate purpose of the troops: to overthrow the Japanese Empire and liberate Korea, *Chosŏn*. Then he announced what he would cover during that day’s class (when the troops began the anti-Japanese armed struggle and how they spread and developed the movement). Notice that when he mentioned these lesson points, Mr. Ch’oe referred to Korea in colonial times as “*wuli nala* (our country)” in line 45. Whereas he steadfastly encodes Japan as *ilpon* and *ilcey* during the entire class and disassociates the students and himself from the Japan of the past (when Korea

was subordinated to the Japanese empire and Koreans were officially Japanese), Mr. Ch'oe collectively links the students and himself to the Korea of the past by designating it as “*wuli nala* (our country).” This way of encoding Japan and the Korean peninsula was continually observed in Mr. Ch'oe's and Mrs. Song's classes (e.g., *wuli Cosen panto* (our Korean peninsula), *wuli nala sinhwa* (our country's myth) vs. *ilpon sinhwa* (Japanese myth), and *iyek* (a foreign land = Japan)). Consequently, through the routine use of these references, the teachers repeatedly conveyed to the students the socializing message that they are exclusively Koreans and not Japanese.

6.2.3 Our School is Our Hometown

When one is asked about where one's hometown or *kohyang* is by someone in the Chongryun school community, it is not to ask about where the person was born and/or raised in Japan. It is a question to learn the place whence the person's ancestors (specifically, the first generation on the paternal side) originated on the Korean peninsula. Therefore, in spite of the fact that the students in my study were born and raised in the city of Midori (a pseudonymous city for where Kansai Korean School is located), it was not regarded as their 'hometown' in classroom discourses, and on some occasions, the city was presented as a place that was disconnected from the students and to which they were not obligated to show their loyalty, as evident in the following examples.⁷⁰

It was the first class after a long break due to Golden Week⁷¹ and Mrs. Song and the students pleasantly exchanged their delight in seeing each other after so long by asking what they did during the break. As a result, the lesson began a little later than usual with Mrs. Song

⁷⁰ The strong connection between Zainichi Koreans and their hometowns may be caused by the homeland-oriented ideology after the foundation of Chongryun, as presented in Chapter 3.

⁷¹ Golden Week is the longest holiday in Japan, combining four national holidays: Shōwa Day (the former emperor Shōwa's birthday), Constitution Day, Green Day, and Children's Day.

reminding the class of what they talked about in the unit ‘*kohyang uy mosup* (the image of hometown)’ from the previous class (where I was absent):

Example 6.4 A Korean Class about *Kohyang* (Hometown) (1)

- 01 Mrs. Song: *ca kelemyen onul puthe saylowun kwa ey tulekakeysssunnita. cen*
02 *sikan ey i kwa ey tayhan selmyeng ul haysssunnita. ilcwuil ccum cen*
03 *ey ilkessulkkayo? wusen ceymok i mues ipnikka?*
So, we will start a new unit from today. In the previous class, I explained this unit. About a week ago we read it perhaps? First of all, what is the title?
- 04 Girl: *kohyang uy mosup =*
The image of hometown =
- 05 Mrs. Song: = *kohyang uy mosup ilako hayssunnita. kohyang uy mosup ilako*
06 *hayssul ttay mues i tteolununka hanun yayki lul haysssunnita.*
07 *tongmu tul un acik kohyang ey mos ka poassko kohyang uy mosup*
08 *ilako hayto tteolunun key epstako kulehan yayki to selo nanwuesscyo*
09 *ne? yey kulayse nehuy tul ey issese cey i uy kohyang ilako halkka*
10 *kulen kes un wuli hakkyo'ta hanun yayki to hayse – kulemyen*
11 *[school name] hamyen mues i tteolununka hanun yayki to*
12 *haysssunnita. kiek i napnikka? ney sensayngnim tul uy elkwal ina*
13 *culkewun swinun sikan ina yelekaci tteoluntako haysssunnita. ca*
14 *kulayse i kyocay uy - i kyocay nun kulchey ka muesipnikka?*
= It was ‘The image of hometown.’ [You] talked about what occurs to [you] when thinking of hometown. [You] spoke to each other that you haven’t been in your hometown yet and you came up with almost nothing when you think of your hometown, right? Yes, so for you guys, the secondary hometown? [You] said that such a thing is *wuli hakkyo* - if so, [you] talked about what occurs to you when you think of Kansai Korean School. Remember? Yes, [you] said teachers’ faces or pleasant break times or various things that you came up with. So this unit - what is the unit’s style of writing?

In the above excerpt, Mrs. Song and the students talk about the images of their *kohyang* (hometown) from the previous class. The term *kohyang* here certainly indicates the place from which each student’s ancestors originated on the Korean peninsula and not their birthplaces, as perceived from Mrs. Song’s statement in line 7, “you haven’t been in your hometown yet.”

However, it seems that the students revealed the dearth of information about their *kohyang* and had difficulty in expressing their impressions of the places because they had never visited there. So they likely reached the conclusion that “*wuli hakkyo*” or Kansai Korean School could serve as their secondary hometown, “*cey i uy kohyang*” (line 9). It is intriguing that the actual place where the students were born and raised in Japan was not counted as their additional *kohyang* and instead, Kansai Korean School was taken into account as a space that the students were (or should be) attached to with fond memories. This conceptualization of the students’ *kohyang* is, in fact, inconsistent with Mrs. Song’s definition of *kohyang* – a place where a person was born and raised – in a subsequent explanation of where the unit’s story took place: “The hometown of these young people (i.e., protagonists of the story) is the capital Pyongyang. A young boy and young girl who were born and raised in Pyongyang.”

Mrs. Song’s attempt to orient the students to put an emotional distance between themselves and the city of Midori was observed at the end of the day’s class once again. That day, the lesson mainly focused on the great affection and dedication of the story’s protagonists toward their *kohyang* by making sacrifices for their personal desire and friendship. The story was about Tu-nam, a bus driver who helped Sŏn-hŭi, a traffic policeman, catch a truck running away after breaking traffic rules. At first, Tu-nam had no desire to help her because the truck driver was his old friend. However, when he found out that Sŏn-hŭi was chasing the truck out of the love for her hometown (Pyongyang) and not merely as her work, he changed his mind and cooperated with Sŏn-hŭi. In order to improve the students’ comprehension of the story, Mrs. Song led the students to discuss the two protagonists’ personalities and grasp the critical point of the story or the protagonists’ affection for their hometown (*kohyang’ae*). Then she abruptly posed the question to the class whether they had such a feeling of love for Midori City:

Example 6.5 A Korean Class about *Kohyang* (Hometown) (2)

- 15 Mrs. Song: ((toward the class)) *tongmu tul un* (city name) *eyse nase calassciman*
16 (city name) *ey tayhan kohyang'ay ka isssupnikka?* (city name) *uy*
17 *simin itanun* ((laughing softly)) *salang uy kamceng i isseyo?*
((toward the class)) You were born and raised in Midori but do you
have an affection for Midori? [I am] a local citizen of Midori
((laughing softly)) do you have such feeling of love?
- 18 Chi-min: *kulena* (city name) *'la cohasstanun maum un isseyo.*
But [I] have a good feeling because it is Midori.
- 19 Ss: ((agreeing with Chimin)) (xxx)
- 20 Mrs. Song: (city name) *'la cohasstanun maum un isseyo? kulentey ssuleyki lul*
21 *cwuwese* (city name) *lul kkaykkusi haca 'nun maum* [un
[Do you] have a good feeling because it is Midori? But [do you have]
the mind to make Midori clean by picking up [garbage
- 22 Chi-min: [epsta
[I don't have
- 23 Mrs. Song: ((satisfactorily)) *keki kkaci nun epsta.*
((satisfactorily)) [You] don't have [the mind] to do that.
- 24 Chi-min: *caki lossenun pelici anhcyo.*
I don't throw away [garbage] by myself.
- 25 Mrs. Song: *caki lossenun pelici anhta.*
[You] don't throw away by yourself.
- 26 Chi-min: (xxx) *tele* (xxx) ((laughing))
(xxx) *dirty* (xxx) ((laughing))
- 27 Mrs. Song: *ney cohsupnita. yeksi* (city name) *ey sanun kes i cohtanun sayngkak*
28 *un isseto* (city name) *ey tayhan sayngkak kkacinun wuli tul un moc*
29 *kacicyo ne?*
OK, good. As expected, even though thinking it is good to live in
Midori, we can't have [good] consideration of Midori City, right?
- 30 A girl: (xxx) ((perhaps, "It's a lie, right?"))
- 31 Mrs. Song: *kulayyo. nato cham kuken kecismal ilako sayngkakhayyo.*
Right. I also think that is a lie.

Mrs. Song frames her first question (yes/no question) in line 15-16 to orient the students to responding negatively by connecting the antecedent clause (“you were born and raised in Midori”) and the following clause (“do you have an affection for Midori?”) with the conjunctive suffix for contrast *-ciman* (but). Her second question (line 16-17) is likewise formulated to be driven to the specific answer Mrs. Song seeks from the students. Her soft laughter with a pause between the adnominal clause (“[I am] a local citizen of Midori”) and the head noun phrase (“a feeling of love”) displays her view that the question is too ridiculous to ask because the answer is more than obvious. Thus, the formulation of her questions gives the students clear contextualization cues (Gumperz, 1992) for what the preferred responses to the questions are.

Nevertheless, in lieu of offering the answer that Mrs. Song expected, Chi-min voluntarily opines that she is pleased and satisfied with the fact that she was born and is living in Midori and not another area of Japan (line 18). She starts her turn with the conjunctive adverb *kulena* (but, however). It is uncertain whether it is used to oppose Mrs. Song’s presumption that all students do not have a feeling of love for Midori or whether it is used for the concessive meaning to the effect that ‘even though I don’t have a deep affection for Midori.’ Either way, it is apparent that this response by Chi-min and other students’ sympathy with her (line 19) was not what Mrs. Song expected from the class. In the following sequence, Mrs. Song simply repeats what Chi-min stated with a question intonation (line 20) as a mark that she heard her, rather than aligned with Chi-min’s opinion. Then she immediately tries to change the direction of the discussion by using the conjunctive adverb *kulentey* (but, by the way) in line 20 and frames another question to elicit the students’ alignment with her own stance once again. This time, Mrs. Song provides the class with more concrete context that links the moral behavior of willingly picking up garbage on the street to the students’ loyalty to Midori (line 20-21). Before Mrs. Song completes her turn,

Chi-min intervenes and clearly replies that she has no intention of doing that (line 22), which must be the very response that Mrs. Song anticipated. But shortly thereafter it is proved that Mrs. Song's socializing attempt was not completely accepted by Chi-min again. Chi-min's follow-up account in line 24 ("I don't throw away [garbage] by myself") can be seen as another emotional display that she has regarding the city of Midori, following her previous assertion, "But [I] have a good feeling because it is Midori" in line 18. In addition, her subsequent comment in line 26 ("xxx) dirty (xxx)") reflects that Chi-min's refusal to clean Midori is not due to her strong detachment from Midori, the point that Mrs. Song wanted to highlight, but to feeling dirty about picking up garbage.

Mrs. Song does not give any feedback on Chi-min's comment and no longer tries to gain further support from the students. Instead, she marks the closing of the interaction with the words "*ney cohsupnita* (Ok, good)," and goes on to sum up what they have talked about so far. What is interesting here is Mrs. Song's ratification of Chi-min's attitude to Midori and her self-repair of the term from Midori to Midori City: "As expected, even though thinking it is good to live in Midori we can't have [good] consideration of Midori City, right?" (line 27-29). I believe that Mrs. Song's goal in initiating the sequence of Example 6.5 was to emphasize or remind the students of the fact that they are completely discrete entities from Midori and that they belong to Chongryun schools, their secondary hometown, and not to Midori. Yet, Chi-min's unexpected expression of alternative understandings and some students' alignment with a part of those made Mrs. Song reformulate her intended socializing message by partially accepting Chi-min's idea ("it is good to live in Midori") and narrowing the target from which she wanted to dissociate her students from Midori municipality, the political force that they should resist in order to secure their rights for the high school tuition-waiver program and an educational subsidy.

Finally, Mrs. Song's viewpoint achieves full accord on the part of an unascertainable girl who (perhaps) said that having a good feeling for the Midori municipality is untrue (line 30). Mrs. Song provides a positive assessment to her response ("Right") and sympathizes with her stance by saying "I also think that is a lie" (line 31). That is to say, even if Mrs. Song first attempted to socialize the students into detached and uncommitted subjects of the entire area of Midori, this was resisted and negotiated within the interaction between Mrs. Song and the students and a new identity – political opponents of Midori municipality – emerged, co-constructed, and embraced.

Before closing this section, I present below the lyrics of a song called '*uri hakkyo nŭn uri kohyang* (Our School is our Hometown).' This song was frequently sung by Chongryun school students and the school community members at school events and gatherings for the rights of Chongryun schools and the students. In the lyrics as well, Japan is described as a country of others and Chongryun schools are the hometown or *kohyang* of the community members.

Table 6.2 The Lyrics of 'Our School is Our Hometown'

Original in Korean	English Translation
<p style="text-align: center;">【First Verse】</p> <p><i>halapeci yaykihasiten kohyang ttang ey mos kassciman wuli eykey to wuli eykey to cengtun kohyang ttang i isstaney mincok uy neks sime cwunun mal kwa kul ul paywuko nay nala nay ttang uy socwungham ul paywunun wuli hakkyo nun wuli hakkyo nun wuli kohyang ilaney</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;">【First Verse】</p> <p>Although we have not been in the land of the hometown that grandfather would talk about To us, to us, there is our dear hometown Learning the language and script that inculcate our ethnic spirit Learning value of my country and my land Our school, our school is our hometown</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">【Second Verse】</p> <p><i>halmeni kuliwehasin kohyang sanchen mos pwassciman wuli eykey to wuli eykey to maum uy kohayng i isstaney mincok uy hyangchwi kuukhan nolayssoli tullye oko nay nala nay ttang uy swumkyel i tullye onun wuli hakkyo nun wuli hakkyo nun wuli kohyang ilaney</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;">【Second Verse】</p> <p>Although I have not seen the mountains and streams of the hometown that my grandmother missed To us, to us, there is our hometown in our hearts Ethnic savour and mellow singing sounds come into hearing The breath of my country and my land comes into hearing Our school, our school is our hometown</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">【Third Verse】</p> <p><i>thayenase calan kos un cokwuk ttang i aniciman wuli eykey to wuli eykey to calangchan kohyang i isstaney mincok uy sowen ilwunun khun kkwum ul khiwuko nay nala nay ttang uy aphnal ul kulye ponun wuli hakkyo ka wuli hakkyo ka wuli kohyang ilaney</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;">【Third Verse】</p> <p>Although it is not the homeland we were born and raised in To us, to us, there is our proud hometown Having a grand dream of achieving our ethnic wish Envisioning the future of my country and my land Our school, our school is our hometown</p>

6.3 Socializing to Overseas Nationals of North Korea

In the preceding sections, I have focused on describing how Kansai Korean School teachers tried to socialize the students to identify themselves exclusively as Koreans and not as Japanese. In other words, the earlier sections discussed the process of socializing students into becoming Koreans in a more inclusive sense, or as members of the ethnic category that is determined by descent beyond the border of the nation-states of North Korea and South Korea. In this section, I will illustrate how Chongryun schools drew a clear boundary between North Korea and South Korea in their education system, and tried to socialize the students to dis-identify with South Korea and harbor national affiliation with North Korea. However, at the same time, I will argue that the border between North Korea and South Korea became ambiguous from time to time in the interactions between teacher and students, particularly when it comes to what variety of Korean language is legitimate within the school domain.

6.3.1 Our School is not a South Korean School

Under the 1993 curricular reform, the academic subjects for ‘ideological education’ disappeared from Chongryun schools and references to Kim Il-sung and Kim Jong-il in textbooks significantly decreased. During interviews, some Kansai Korean School teachers claimed that left-leaning ideological and political education was not in the least conducted in Chongryun schools at present. The teachers instead accentuated the schools’ role in raising children as a new generation of ethnic Koreans, as evident from their choosing the more inclusive word *minjok* (ethnic group) and/or making self-repairs from *Chosŏn* (North Korea) to *Korian* (a loanword from English ‘Korean’). However, not long after I commenced my fieldwork in Kansai Korean School, it was apparent to me that Chongryun schools still stood up for North Korea today and tried to socialize the students into overseas nationals of North Korea.

For example, although the Korean peninsula was portrayed by students as reunited on a poster in a hallway, the information that was offered on the side of the reunited blue map of the peninsula was all related to North Korea and it was, needless to say, all positive (Figure 6.1). In order to boast how powerful and prosperous ‘our country’ is, the poster introduced a water treatment plant that was established in *Hŭich’ŏn* (the southern part of *Chagang* province) in North Korea in 2012, a fruit tree farm in Pyongyang where all manufacturing processes were operated by computer systems, and the *Hana* music information center in Pyongyang where voluminous materials about Korean and world music and dances have been collected. Moreover, on certificates that were awarded to the classes that performed the best during the Alliance Movement (*lyŏnhapdan undong*), the North Korean flag (called the *Inmingi*) was clearly printed at the top of the certificates. On a school field day and at a soccer tournament as well, the North Korean flag was flying in the schoolyard and soccer arenas (Figure 6.1) along with the Korean unification flag on which the reunited peninsula was portrayed in blue (*T’ongilgi* or *Hanbandogi*), but not along with the South Korean flag, the *T’aegŭkki*.⁷² On banners hung in every room for a speech contest, a North Korean era name, *Chuch’e* 101,⁷³ was printed along with the expression “A.D. 2012.” In turn, all visible signs of political alignment found in the school building and school events were related to North Korea and I hardly saw any signs that indexed South Korea.

⁷² The united Korean flag was displayed only on the school field day and not at the soccer arena for a soccer tournament among Chongryun school teams.

⁷³ North Korea has its own era system, a *Chuch’e* year based on the birth year of Kim Il-sung (1912).

Figure 6.1

A Poster about ‘Strong Chosŏn’ and the North Korean Flag at a Soccer Tournament



The affiliation of Chongryun schools with North Korea – to put it another way, their lack of affiliation with South Korea – surfaced more straightforwardly in a performance by Kansai Korean School students in the 2013 speech contest. The middle school students in my study joined the artistic propaganda (*yesul sŏnjŏn*) section. As the name suggests, the performance in this section consisted of short play-like performances that were intended to raise students’ consciousness on certain issues, such as appropriate behaviour as Korean students, commitment to the Young Pioneer (*Sonyŏndan*) Movement, the discriminatory education policy of the Japanese authorities toward Chongryun schools, and so forth. The performance that was put on by the Kansai Korean School students was titled ‘*uri uri sŏnjŏndae ch’ulbal!* (Let’s start our-our-propaganda squad!).’ The story was created by Mrs. Song and the students had rehearsed the performance under her guidance for several weeks at the expense of a few Korean classes and extracurricular activities after school. To recap briefly, the story was about the significance of

the students having pride as Chongryun school students and their role in informing the Japanese of the “real” picture of their country.

The performance starts with a conversation among students encouraging one another to prepare for the concert to celebrate the 55th anniversary of the school’s founding with gratitude to the first generation, who built Korean ethnic schools to lead younger generations to “live as *Chosŏn saram* (Korean people) puffing out their chests with confidence.” But suddenly a girl (let’s say Su-jŏng) poses a question to the other students as to whether or not they could say without hesitation, “I am a *Chosŏn* student.” Then she shares an experience that she had at a cram school:

Example 6.6 The Performance of ‘Let’s Start Our-Our-Propaganda Squad!’ (1)

((The students rotate places to signal a shift of scene and sit at the rear of the stage, except for two girls who play Su-jŏng and a Japanese girl))

- 01 Japanese girl: *Su-jŏng Su-jŏng ccang ilum ilpon ilum anici? enu hakkyo tanini?*
Sujŏng, Sujŏng, your name is not a Japanese name right? Which school do you go to?
- 02 Su-jŏng: ((hesitatingly)) *hankwuk key uy hakkyo.*
((hesitatingly)) South Korean school.
- 03 Japanese girl: ((excitedly)) *kulem Su-jŏng ccang hankwukin?*
((excitedly)) Then, are you a South Korean?
- 04 Su-jŏng: ((with a small voice)) *u::ng. ilpon eyse thayye nassciman kwukcek*
05 *un hankwuk.*
((with a small voice)) Ye::ah. I was born in Japan but my nationality is South Korea.
- 06 Japanese girl: *cham mesissney! kulem hankwukmal to hal cwul ani?*
Awesome! Then do you speak South Korean language as well?
- 07 Su-jŏng: ((diffidently)) *ung.*
((diffidently)) Yeah.

((The students rotate places again and come back to the present))

- 08 Su-jöng: *wuli ka taninun hakkyo 'n hankwuk key uy hakkyo ka anintey kulen*
09 *mal ul hay pelyesse.*
Even though the school we are attending is not a South Korean school, I ended up saying that.

Su-jöng confesses to concealing that she is attending a *Chosön* (North Korean or Chongryun) school and instead tells a lie that she is attending a *Han'guk* (South Korean or Mindan) school. Some students who hear Su-jöng's story reprimand her for telling a lie, while others express sympathy for her. However, at the end, the students ascribe Su-jöng's dilemma to the Japanese mass media. Because of the biased reports to the effect that "*Chosön* (North Korea) is a scary country" and "*Chosön* is a bad country," they assert, many people in Japan "frown whenever they hear the word *Chosön*" and as a result, *Chosön* schools or Chongryun schools and students have continued to be in a dire predicament. They reach an agreement to develop their strength of mind by widening their knowledge about "*cokwuk uy cham mosup* (the true picture of the fatherland)," thereby overcoming the difficulties they are facing in present-day Japanese society, and to persuade "people who speak disparagingly of our country."

Example 6.7 The Performance of 'Let's Start Our-Our-Propaganda Squad!' (2)

- 10 Girl 1: *hwankyeng i nappun ke ya. ilpon masukhomi nun ip man pellimyen*
11 *"Cosen un musewun nala," "Cosen un nappun nala" 'la sencen haci?*
The environment is bad. Every time they open their mouth, the Japanese mass media propagates that "*Chosön* (North Korea) is a scary country" and "*Chosön* is a bad country," right?
- 12 Girl 2: *kuleni Cosen ilan mal ul tutkiman hayto elkwul ul ccingkulinun salam tul i*
13 *elmana manhni?*
That's why there are so many people who frown every time they hear the word *Chosön*, right?
- 14 Girl 3: *ilpon sahoi ka tallacici anhnun han wuli nun nul ilen muncney lo*

- 15 *kominhakey toynun keya.*
We will always worry about this matter as long as Japanese society doesn't change.
- 16 Boy 1: *kulehtako ilpon sahoi ka pyenhaki lul kamanhi kitaliko man isskeyssni?*
Even so, would [you] just wait around until the Japanese society changes?
- 17 All Ss: *kulel swun epse!*
No way!
- 18 Girl 4: *kulehtamyen wuli ka i sahoi lul ikyenayl swul issnun kanghan salam i*
19 *toyye ya hay.*
If so, we need to become strong persons who can overcome this society.
- 20 Boys: ((thinking)) *kanghan salam.* ((epiphany)) *chesccay to twulccay to mom*
21 *tanlyen. kulay ya kanghan him ul khiwul swu isse.*
((thinking)) A strong person. ((epiphany)) The first thing and the second thing are also working out. That's the way that we can develop our strength.
- 22 Girl 5: *ai cham ku him i anila maum uy him iya.*
No, it's not such [physical] strength but strength of mind.
- 23 Girl 2: *wuli nala lul nappukey malhanun salam tul ul seltuk sikhil man han cisik.*
Knowledge as much as [we] can to persuade people who speak disparagingly of our country.
- 24 Girl 3: ((surprising)) *seltuk? muli muli! tocehi mulihay.* ((diffidently)) *casin i*
25 *epse.*
((surprising)) Persuade? Impossible, impossible! It's totally impossible.
((diffidently)) I can't.
- 26 Girl 6: *anun kes i cekese mal mos hal ppun.*
[We] just can't say anything because [we] don't know enough yet.
- 27 Girl 1: *cokwuk uy cham mosup ul manhi almyen casin ul kacil swu issko*
If [we] learn the true picture of the fatherland as much as possible, [we] will be able to have confidence and
- 28 Girl 7: *kulay ya Cosen hakkyo lul taninun capusim to sayngkinun ke ya.*
In doing so, [we] will be able to have pride in going to a *Chosŏn* school as well.
- 29 Boy 2: *anun kes i him. ku mal ici?*
Knowledge is power. That's what [you] are saying, right?
- 30 All Ss: ((chorally)) *olha!*

((chorally)) Right!

When students mentioned the motivation that the first generation built the schools at the start of the performance – “to live as *Chosŏn saram* (Korean people) puffing out our chests with confidence” – *Chosŏn* seems to be used with an inclusive meaning that refers to the entire peninsula and thus, *Chosŏn saram* denotes the Korean ethnic people.⁷⁴ Yet, from the scene where Su-jŏng draws a clear line between *Han ’guk* schools and *Chosŏn* schools (line 8-9), the referential scope of *Chosŏn* changes. Through identifying and reaffirming their school as a *Chosŏn* school and not as a *Han ’guk* school by Su-jŏng and other students, the lexical item *Chosŏn* comes to no longer index the entire peninsula that includes *Han ’guk* or South Korea but instead indexes only North Korea. As a result, the staging explicitly reveals that *Chosŏn* or Chongryun schools are aligned with North Korea (and not with South Korea) and conveys this overt message, not only to the audience consisting of Chongryun school students and parents, but also to the students who perform the play.

However, of note is the fact that the performance is socializing the students in the play and audience not only into the linkage between Chongryun schools and North Korea, but also into the linkage between Chongryun school students and the identity of North Korean nationals. In the segment where the students criticize the Japanese mass media for reporting only the negative sides of North Korea, Girl 2 in line 23 encodes North Korea to “*wuli nala* (our country)” and Girl 1 in line 27 calls North Korea “*cokwuk* (homeland; henceforth, fatherland).” As the story progresses, the words *wuli nala* and *cokwuk* appear more and more frequently to refer to North Korea. In the flashback to the question-and-answer contest about *cokwuk* that students had at school, following Example 6.8, “*wuli nala*,” “*cokwuk*,” and “*Cosen*,”

⁷⁴ The word *Chosŏn* can index two different referents according to context. One is the unified Korea in the past and the other is North Korea.

respectively, encode North Korea twice. In the last part of the performance that shows Su-jǒng's epiphany about who she is and her self-confidence as a Chongryun school student, *wuli nala* is used once, *cokwuk* four times and *Cosen* three times, all to signify North Korea (see Table 6.2). Therefore, in this performance, North Korea is identified as Chongryun school students' country, regardless of their legal nationality and their own self-identification, and also as their native land, even though the majority of their ancestors originated in the southern part of the Korean peninsula, namely present-day South Korea.

Another interesting part in the play occurred when the students entirely blamed Japan for their plight living as Chongryun school students in Japan and thus, they call for only Japan to change; "We will always worry about this matter as long as Japanese society doesn't change" in 14-15. They neither hold North Korea at all accountable for it, nor do they request any changes from their fatherland, North Korea. Rather than claiming mutual responsibility and changes, they take a favorable view of one side: North Korea. What's more, they assert that they should become active agents promoting changes in Japan by amassing sufficient knowledge of their fatherland and educating the Japanese to have a "correct standpoint (*olhpalun kwancem*)" on the fatherland. In other words, this performance positions Chongryun school students as representatives of North Korea in Japan and also shows how they are able to become faithful and proud overseas nationals of North Korea – building up knowledge of the fatherland, having great pride in the fatherland, taking initiative in widely introducing positive aspects of the fatherland, and protecting and defending the fatherland's position against Others.

Table 6.3 References for North Korea in the Performance

References	Context
<p><i>wuli nala</i> (<i>caki nala</i>)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A: What is the name of the satellite that was successfully launched last December in Tongch’ang-li in Ph’yōngan province? B: <i>Kwangmyōngseng</i> No. 3. (...) A: But people who insist that it was a missile and criticize <i>wuli nala</i> are ... All students: Only Japanese politicians! • <i>Wuli nala</i> is a country that sings songs not only in happy times but also in hard times to overcome hardship. • A: To do so, we first need to know more about <i>caki nala</i>, B: [we need to] propagate it, C: [we need to] know other countries’ cultures and customs.
<p><i>cokwuk</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A: Cell phones receive a lot of attention in <i>cokwuk</i> as well now. What is the cable company that serves cell phones? B: Koryō Link. A: It is said that the number of subscribers is more than 800,000 people. B: Wow, the proud scene of the <i>cokwuk</i> taking the lead as a ‘strong country’ seems to appear before my eyes. • A: The more we sing songs, the more invigorated we become. B: And the more powerful our pride in <i>cokwuk</i> becomes. • Me too. I felt that we, attending a Chongryun school, should become a propaganda squad introducing the true picture of <i>cokwuk</i>. But let’s not misunderstand that all Japanese are against <i>cokwuk</i>. • A: Right; to do so, we need to know more about our <i>cokwuk</i> and B: [we need to] establish an unmovable pillar in our mind.
<p><i>cosen</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A: Guys, we gained a new impetus through the activity of ‘learning <i>Cosen</i> songs,’ right? B: Right. I thought <i>Cosen</i> songs were mostly stiff, but I have learned there are more songs that are cheerful and invigorating. (After dancing the horse dance from the South Korean pop song Kangnam Style while singing a North Korean song) A: But, isn’t this the ‘Kangnam style’ that gained popularity in South Korea? B: No, this is ‘Pyongyang style’! A: The ‘Pyongyang style’ of <i>Cosen</i> that shows dignity to the world by riding <i>ch’ōllima</i> (swift horses).⁷⁵ • Su-jōng: Um, I feel like I can proudly say ‘I am a <i>Cosen</i> school student’ now. It seems like I can take the first step toward living as a <i>Cosen salam</i> with confidence. Anyways, I feel much relieved.

⁷⁵ *Ch’ōllima* (swift horse) is a mythical horse that can run a thousand miles a day. North Korea began the *Ch’ōllima* Movement to promote economic development in 1958.

In recent years, Chongryun schools seem to have de-emphasized the association between the schools and North Korea and the Kim family leaders as compared to previously. This may proceed from several factors: the antagonistic political situation between North Korea and Japan and its allied countries; a generational shift in the community from the first generation who positioned Zainichi Koreans as sojourners in Japan, to younger generations who began to identify themselves as an ethnic minority in Japan (Chapman, 2008); community members' dismay at North Korea from the disclosure of its connection to the abduction of Japanese citizens; financial pressure from the federal and local governments of Japan; and so on. Therefore, for outsiders, the connection between the education in Chongryun schools (especially, primary and middle schools) and North Korea may become increasingly invisible and inaudible. However, as seen above, if we peer inside more closely, it is evident that Chongryun schools still position themselves as affiliated with North Korea and promote among their students a sense of belonging to North Korea. That is, through participating in daily classes where not only the Korean peninsula but also North Korea in the here and now was defined as "*wuli nala*" and "*cokwuk*" and through performing their identity as overseas nationals of North Korea in school events, the students are exhorted to align themselves with North Korea and at the same time, are socialized to use the terms *wuli nala* and *cokwuk* to refer to North Korea and not to South Korea. Ryang (1997), a study on the basis of her fieldwork at a Chongryun school in the early 1990s, assumed that the loss of the language related to Kim Il-Sung after the 1993 curricular reform put Chongryun schools at risk of losing their teaching tool to link their students to North Korean and would reproduce only *ethnic* Koreans (not North Koreans) through "the blanket term, *Korea*" (p.62, emphasis original). However, as seen above, her assumption did not turn out to be realized yet.

6.3.2 Blurred Boundary between Languages

Because Chongryun schools affiliate themselves with North Korea, all Chongryun school textbooks are written in the standard language and orthography of North Korea (*Munhwaŏ*, the Cultured Language), another symbolic mark that links Chongryun schools to North Korea. In those textbooks, consequently, linguistic features that are hardly found in the standard language of South Korea, *P'yojunŏ*, are carried: for example, lexical items unfamiliar in South Korea such as *ssangtay meli* (hair braided in two plaits; *kalang meli* or *kallay meil* in South Korea (SK)), *tanimkil* (sidewalk; *indo* in SK), *twipichim kewul* (back mirror; *payk mile* in SK) and *keypalita* (be messy with; *telephyecita* in SK) and divergent orthography from that in South Korea such as *lyeksa* (history; *yeksa* in SK), *nyemwen* (desire; *yemwen* in SK), *liyu* (reason; *iyu* in SK) and *lakyep* (fallen leaves; *nakyep* in SK), just to name a few. Moreover, posters in hallways and on classroom bulletin boards seemed to follow the North Korean linguistic norms, and teachers and students complied with North Korean pronunciation rules such as pronouncing word-initial *l* before the vowel *i* (e.g., *lihay* (understanding)). Therefore, this audible and visible landscape of language in Kansai Korean School was powerful enough at first to lead me to judge that the school's official and model language was the standard language of North Korea, *Munhwaŏ*. However, as my fieldwork progressed, I came to question the nature of official language in the school and realized that the boundaries of 'legitimate' Korean language were not always clear-cut, but occasionally ambiguous (seemingly, in more private spaces), as I discuss below.

6.3.2.1 'It is a Mixed Language'

When I conducted my first interview with Mrs. Song a few months after my fieldwork started, I asked her if it might be reasonable to think that all school activities and practices were

conducted on the basis of *Munhwaŏ*, while assuming a positive answer from her. However, contrary to my expectations, she flatly denied it and said that was only the case for the textbooks. According to her, there were not sufficient (North Korean) materials for teachers and students to refer to and utilize at present, apart from textbooks, in great contrast to the fact that it was a trivial matter to access the Korean spoken in South Korea these days. As a result, she added, it often occurred that teachers provided students with expressions that they had learned from South Korean dramas when they gave students corrective feedback, and students also used those expressions from South Korean TV shows at school. That is, she confessed that the standard languages of North Korea and South Korea were mixed in teachers' and students' Korean speeches: “*ccamppong toyko isseyo* (it is a mixed language).

Figure 6.2 ‘Our Language Class’ on a Classroom Bulletin Board



Mrs. Song also shared with me a past interaction she had had with the students in my study, which offers an interesting glimpse into a more nuanced picture of the language socialization process. From the new academic term in 2013, a small section called ‘Our

Language Class' was created on the large bulletin board located on the back wall of the classroom (Figure 6.2). When I asked Mrs. Song how the section was run, I was informed that the students posted memos of Korean expressions that were pointed out as "awkward" by Mrs. Song along with their corrections. In general, it was Mrs. Song who gave the students replacements for their incorrect Korean use, but at times the students were also allowed to post by themselves what they considered to be correct. However, Mrs. Song expressed doubt about the accuracy of some Korean expressions that the students proposed as corrections:

If I ask them if they properly looked them up, they answer, "No, but they are used in South Korea, right?" For example, *caymiisskeyssta* (It looks interesting) and *masisskeyssta* (It looks delicious). I think it would be better for the students to look them up accurately, though. I wondered [had doubts] in my head about whether grammatically - *keys*- can follow adjectives, but language is alive and spoken language doesn't coincide with grammar sometimes. (Interview 1, K, 29/04/2013).

What is interesting in this interview segment is first the students' response to Mrs. Song's question about the accuracy of the Korean expressions they posted. Many of the students I interviewed were aware of the fact that Chongryun schools were aligned with North Korea, that the referent of "*wuli nala* (our country)" was North Korea when it was used in the school, and that the Korean language used in their textbooks was the standard language of North Korea. Nevertheless, the students' response, "No, but they are used in South Korea, right?" suggests that some, if not all, of the students regarded the Korean language spoken in South Korea as an acceptable and legitimate one to be learned in school.

Another remarkable thing was Mrs. Song's reaction to the students' response. She did not raise any objections to the students' implication about the legitimacy of South Korean (standard) language, *P'yojunŏ* on the school premises. By doing so, Mrs. Song authorized the students' claim and reinforced their view that *P'yojunŏ* was also one of the model languages for

their Korean learning at school. This episode is a striking contrast from another case related to me by a mathematics teacher. On an end-of-term Korean examination, Min-u (who was into South Korean pop culture) ‘misspelled’ a word by following the orthography of South Korea and not of North Korea.⁷⁶ This happening seems to have become the talk of the school: the mathematics teacher relayed the story to me as if it was too preposterous and the English teacher, Ms. Hwang, also knew about the occurrence. In a follow-up interview with Mrs. Song, I asked her how she handled it and she replied that she explicitly made the point to Min-u that “It was not the orthography that our school follows.”

This conflicting language socialization by Mrs. Song may be interpreted as a display of her recent struggles in her own educational direction. Earlier in the interview with her, she brought up the gap between what she wanted to pursue in her Korean education and what some students and parents sought from Korean education in Chongryun schools in response to my question about challenges in conducting her class. According to her, several parents and students came to demand the teaching of *P’yojunŏ* in Chongryun schools because they believed that “it is South Korea that takes an active part in international society” and “it is the Korean language that is related to South Korea that will become a weapon” in society. Even though she said that she believed in her mind that there was no need to teach *P’yojunŏ* in Chongryun schools because there were not many differences between the two Koreas’ languages and her students’ Korean proficiency was effective enough to communicate with other Korean speakers, she confessed to me that she was still seeking her own solution to the challenge.

⁷⁶ When I asked Min-u about the happening, he told me that it was simply his mistake rather than intentional.

6.3.2.2 ‘Let’s Listen to Softer, Colloquial Korean’

In Mrs. Song’s class, I once observed that *P’yojunŏ* was ratified as an acceptable model language by her. The following excerpt came from the lesson about the Korean script, *Han’gŭl*, when I first attended her class. It was the first class for the unit and Mrs. Song started with instruction on Sino-Korean words, followed by her reading of the unit, dividing the unit into four sections, and eliciting the main theme of the unit from the students. She then broached a newspaper article that featured ‘euphonious’ world languages (“*wullim i cohun mal*”). According to the (non-attributable) newspaper, French was the most melodious in the world and Korean was ranked in third place (Mrs. Song did not remember the second-place language). So, emphasizing the internationally acknowledged superiority of Korean, Mrs. Song told the class that they needed to improve their Korean to speak it more softly and naturally:

Example 6.8 A Korean Class about the Korean Script (4)

- 01 Mrs. Song: *sil un wuli to te cengmal putulepkey cayensulepkey mal ul hal swu*
02 *issumyen cohkeyssnuntey amulayto wuli nun kulmal cisik ulo mal ul*
03 *hay pelicyo. “hayssupnita” “hapnita”* ((students laugh))
04 *“cohsupnikka” ilehkey ttaktakhakey mal ul hay pelinuntey te*
05 *putulepkey cayensulepkey mal ul hal swu issumyen te te cohkeysstako*
06 *sayngkak hapnita. kulem acwu putulewun malthwu lul tule popsita.*
07 ((looking at me)) *Son Jŏnghye sensayngnim caki sokay com puthak*
08 *tulipnita.*

In fact, it would be better if we can speak the [Korean] language more softly and naturally, but we speak [Korean] on the basis of the written language knowledge, right? “*hayssupnita* (did)” “*hapnita* (do)” ((students laugh)) “*cohsupnikka* (did you like?; is it good?)” like these, [we] speak stiffly but I think it’d be better, better if [we] speak more softly and naturally. So, let’s listen to a very soft way of speaking. ((looking at me)) Teacher Son Jeonghye, please introduce yourself.

Here, Mrs. Song describes the Korean language spoken by “*wuli* (we)” (line 1-2), including not only her and the students in the classroom but also perhaps, all members of the Chongryun school community, as sounding less soft and less natural than that spoken by native speakers and further, as sounding “stiff” (line 4). She attributes the ‘stiff’ sound of their spoken Korean to their predominant use of the written version of Korean (or the deferential or *hapnita* form as in line 3-4) in their spoken language. On the other hand, Mrs. Song labeled my spoken Korean as sounding “very soft” (line 6) when she asked me to introduce myself. This view might derive from her belief that my Korean speech was characterized by the predominant use of the polite or *hayyo* form in contrast to their Korean speech. After I finished introducing myself to the class with a brief explanation of my research goals, Mrs. Song called on the class to ask me for help whenever they had questions about the Korean language.

Worth noting here is the way in which Mrs. Song positions my spoken Korean and me, a person who was born and raised in South Korea and speaking the standard language of South Korea (*P’yojunǒ*). By framing their Korean as “stiff” and lacking in naturalness in contrast to my “soft” Korean, Mrs. Song exalts my spoken Korean based on *P’yojunǒ* as the paragon that the students should make an effort to learn. Meanwhile, she placed me, a speaker of *P’yojunǒ*, in the position of a Korean language expert, arguably a more knowledgeable expert than herself, given the fact that she included herself in the category of “*wuli* (we)” (line 1-2) and asked the class for my help in improving their “awkward” Korean. As a result, it can be said that Mrs. Song constructed and presented the socializing message to the class that the spoken (standard) Korean of South Korea is not only more legitimate than the local variety of Korean (Zainichi Korean), but is also acceptable for speaking within the space of Chongryun schools.

While doing my fieldwork, I found that at a Chongryun high school, South Korean dramas were often utilized as materials to improve students' competence in translating Korean to Japanese, which seems to have started from the early years of the twentieth century (according to Mr. Han). Moreover, not long after I began my fieldwork in Kansai Korean School, I was asked by a primary school teacher to read aloud a children's picture book published in South Korea so that she could record my voice and practice my intonation by herself while listening to it, and have her students listen to it as well. From other researchers who had conducted fieldwork in a Chongryun school, I was also informed that children's picture books from South Korea were used as auxiliary textbooks in Chongryun primary schools. Although Chongryun schools still link themselves to North Korea through various cultural and linguistic activities and practices, the answer to the question of which standard language of Korea constitutes the legitimate and model language in Chongryun schools is therefore not straightforward but rather ambiguous, blurring the linguistic boundary between North Korea and South Korea.

6.4 Students' Self-Identification

Throughout the entire period of observing classes in Kansai Korean School, I rarely saw students resisting teachers' attempts to identify them as ethnic Koreans and nationals of North Korea; the interaction between Mrs. Song and Chi-min in section 6.2.3 was the only example of a student challenging the teacher, evoking identity negotiation. However, this is not to say that all of the students agreed with the school-ascribed identities. During interviews, some of the students expressed dissenting opinions. In what follows, I will focus on demonstrating the students' voices.

6.4.1 Negotiating Identities

All of the students in my study unequivocally labeled themselves as Koreans and not Japanese. They proclaimed their Koreanness on the basis of a shared Korean bloodline, their legal status (*Han'guk* or *Chosŏn*), knowledge about Korean culture and language, status as a Chongryun school student, and/or strong self-consciousness as Koreans. From their perspective, elements that were constitutive of Koreanness seemed to vary widely and did not depend on any single determinant. The students also presented their understanding of an impermeable boundary between the ethnic categories of Korean and Japanese; that is, being Korean was not mutually compatible with being Japanese. To my question of whether they had considered themselves as Japanese or Japanese-Korean/Korean-Japanese, Na-rae and Su-ji answered, “I have been in *uri hakkyo* (our school) entirely from kindergarten and I have never thought that I am Japanese” (Na-rae, Interview 3, K, 14/08/2013) and “I don’t have a sense that I am Japanese because I have thought of myself as being a Korean living in Japan until now” (Su-ji, Interview 3, K, 14/08/2013). In addition, when I asked Min-a about her opportunities for interacting with Japanese peers outside of the school, rather than giving a direct answer to my question, she said, “I hate saying that I am Japanese. It’s a lie, right? Because the truth is [I am] Korean” (Interview 1, K, 17/04/2013, emphasis added).⁷⁷

Despite their strong self-identification with Koreans, it is important to note that the social and political circumstances surrounding them often rendered some of the students reluctant to openly expose their Korean identity – in other words, their foreignness or otherness – and pass for Japanese on some occasions. As mentioned in earlier chapters, it is a ground rule that

⁷⁷ Before asking Min-a the question, Chi-min talked about a Japanese peer she had met in an abacus school and who stopped talking to Chi-min after the news of a missile launch by North Korea. It seemed that Min-a’s response to my question was a reaction to the story by Chi-min (i.e., despite the biased viewpoint of her surroundings, she did not want to tell a lie that she was Japanese).

Chongryun school students must speak Korean in all school-related activities and there are no exceptions such as when they leave the school on a school trip. However, several students reported to me that they attempted not to speak Korean in a loud voice on school trips because they were uncomfortable attracting the attention of others. Min-u told me that he disliked receiving others' looks "like what are these people saying, a cold stare and a strange look" and it "embarrassed" him (Interview 1, K, 28/05/2013). Similarly, Su-ji noted, "Because I also turn my gaze to foreigners [speaking a foreign language], I don't want to receive [such attention]" (Interview 1, K, 28/05/2013). Hye-jin cited the upsurge of anti-North Korean/ Chongryun sentiment as the reason for her disinclination to speak Korean loudly on a school trip and potentially be overheard by others. That is, the fact that "the impression of Chongryun schools is not good in Japan" (Interview 1, K, 28/05/2013) led her to try not to publicly disclose her affiliation with Chongryun schools or her identity as a Chongryun school student.

Na-rae informed me that she would use her Japanese alias when she wanted to mask her Koreanness and perform as a Japanese, which is not an uncommon practice among Zainichi Koreans, as found in previous studies (Aoki, 2012; Matsunaga, 2007; Song, 2012; Yi and Pak, 2013). Na-rae explained that when she met new people (perhaps, Japanese), she would introduce herself with her Japanese name because she did not want to see the interlocutor's perplexed reaction caused by the unexpected foreignness of her Korean name: "If [the name] has three syllables, [the interlocutor] will think that [I am] Korean or Chinese, right? [I use my Japanese name] because I dislike it if the person's eyes change, looking like 'huh?'" (Interview 1, K, 07/05/2013). As reminded in many studies (e.g., Bucholtz and Hall, 2004; Kanno, 2000; Morita, 2004; Pavlenko and Blackedge, 2003), identity is not consistent all of the time. It is context-sensitive and oftentimes, individuals position themselves differently to meet distinct

circumstances. The students' statements above exemplify the nature of their identity as multiple, changeable, fragile, and situated in both ongoing interactions and wider social contexts⁷⁸ and that their identity affected their investment in Korean (Blackledge and Creese, 2008; Norton [Peirce], 1995; 2001).

6.4.2. Resisting the School-imposed Identity

Among the students in my study, Na-rae is worth particular attention for the fact that she not only left the realm of Chongryun schools for high school education in a Japanese school, but also very candidly articulated her discontent with the educational system of Chongryun schools and maintained her distance from the school-imposed identity of overseas nationals of North Korea. Out of the eight students in the 9th grade, Na-rae and Min-u chose to advance to a Japanese high school in the academic year following my fieldwork, whereas the other six students decided to continue studying in a Chongryun high school.⁷⁹ Min-u explained that his ambition to develop his English proficiency and achieve his future goals of studying and working abroad (specifically in the US because “the US is the top of the world”) and becoming a global citizen beyond the boundaries of Japan, motivated him to go to a Japanese high school, where a better English education and an opportunity to visit an English-speaking country as an exchange student were provided. He also affirmed (as if he wanted to make sure that I would not confuse

⁷⁸ Cho (2011) and Song (2012) also highlight the flexibility of Zainichi Koreans' identities. Cho (2011), a study that examined Zainichi Koreans' experiences in South Korea, argues that Zainichi Koreans manipulated their 'ambiguous' and 'insecure' identities as useful resources to manage their lives both in Japan and South Korea, rather than fitting under one fixed identity category. Song (2012) also highlights the multiple identities of Chongryun school students and claims that they enacted their identities differently according to different situations; for example, using Korean names at school but Japanese names outside of school.

⁷⁹ Su-ji also considered entering a Japanese high school and prepared for it while regularly attending a cram school. The motivations were reportedly free tuition in a Japanese high school and her parents' unpleasant experience with the Chongryun high school with regard to her elder brother's university admission. However, at the end of the academic year, Su-ji changed her mind and advanced to a Chongryun high school with her school friends.

his motives with dissatisfaction with Chongryun schools) that his choice to attend a Japanese high school was not because he did not like Chongryun schools, but was to pursue his future dreams.

On the other hand, for Na-rae, it was the gaps and conflicts between the educational ideologies of Chongryun schools and her personal views that motivated her to leave the realm of Chongryun schools. According to her, she would often question why she had to learn so many Korea-related subjects at the expense of Japanese topics despite the fact that she was living in Japan and would continue to do so in the future. In her view, it was not knowledge of Korea, but a wide knowledge of Japan that was needed in order to become a competent and successful member of society in Japan. That is, even though Chongryun schools allocated more hours to teach Japan-related content after the 1993 curriculum reform, it was not fully satisfactory to Na-rae.

This perception seemed to be constructed and reinforced through her daily experiences. Na-rae described that she began to realize her lack of common knowledge that was essential for living in Japan. When she spoke with her brother, a university student who had experienced Japanese education from the high school level, Korean words would unconsciously come out from her mouth and as well, there were so many questions that she had no clue how to answer when she watched television quiz shows. Her brother often told her about his experience in Japanese schools and critically evaluated Chongryun schools as academically falling far behind:⁸⁰

⁸⁰ In the last term of the academic year, there seemed to be some rifts within the students, particularly between some who prepared for a Japanese high school and others who advanced to a Chongryun high school. The students who chose a Chongryun high school felt excluded when others were talking about the high school entrance examination, and offended by Na-rae, who often criticized Chongryun schools in terms of the curriculum system that did not support students who aimed to take an entrance examination for a Japanese school.

When I watch TV - my elder brother went to a Japanese university and when I spoke with him as well, Korean often comes out of my mouth and there are times when Japanese words don't come out. In addition, when questions are given on television quiz shows, I don't know [the answers to] the questions about common knowledge. And because I am living in Japan and will live in Japan, it will be inconvenient if I don't know [common knowledge] and it shouldn't be that I do not know common knowledge well when working and living [in Japan] in the future. (Interview 1, K, 07/05/2013).

On top of that, it was interesting to see how Na-rae explicitly and implicitly positioned herself vis à vis the categories of national identities, South Koreans and North Koreans. As I discussed above, one of the language socialization goals that Chongryun schools pursue is to inculcate in the students a sense of belonging to present-day North Korea. However, during interviews, Na-rae continuously constructed herself as a South Korean and not a North Korean. For instance, when I asked her about the strong points of Chongryun schools, Na-rae replied, “The good things were that I could learn a lot about my, my ethnic group’s history because *South Koreans*’ (*Han’guk saram*) blood flows [in my veins]” (Interview 1, K, 07/05/2013, emphasis added). It is remarkable that she used the specific identity label, “*Han’guk saram* (South Koreans)” when she rationalized the importance of her studying Korean history. Rather than choosing the inclusive term, ‘*Chosŏn saram*’ or ‘*Chosŏn minjok*’ that can encompass all members of ethnic Koreans, Na-rae specifically used the term “*Han’guk saram*” and suggested not to identify her as a national of North Korea for being a Chongryun school student. Her self-identification as a South Korean – put differently, her disassociation from North Korea – was more clearly declared when she pointed out the weakness of Chongryun schools:

JH: What aspects do you think Chongryun schools have to improve?

Na-rae: Even though I will live in Japan [in the future], that I can learn Japan-related knowledge only partially and [I feel] it’s wrong if I am told that I am a *Chosŏn saram* (North Korean) because the blood of South Korea is connected to

me. (Interview 1, K, 07/05/2013)

As one of the weak points of Chongryun schools, Na-rae indicated the gap between school-ascribed identity and self-ascribed identity. The school instructed her that her country or her fatherland was North Korea and not South Korea, and that she was a North Korean and not a South Korean. But this was absolutely a “wrong” fact for Na-rae. Her ancestors originated in the southern area of the Korean peninsula (North *Kyöngsang* Province), namely present-day South Korea, and she holds South Korean nationality. Consequently, Na-rae asserted that she was a South Korean and not a North Korean and resisted the school-imposed identity.

In fact, it was not only Na-rae but also several other students who identified themselves as South Koreans and not North Koreans in the interviews, as in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4 Paraphrased Interview Comments about Identity

JH	Students
Why do you need to learn Korean even though you are living in Japan?	I was just born in Japan, but my <i>kohyang</i> (hometown) is located in South Korea and so, [I] should know my country’s language. (Hye-jin, Interview 2, K, 04/06/2013)
What would you say if someone asks you if you are a <i>Han’guk saram</i> (South Korean) or a <i>Chosŏn saram</i> (North Korean)?	((immediately)) <i>Han’guk saram</i> . Because my nationality is South Korea and [I] won’t get a weird look [from others] if I say so. (Su-ji, interview 3, K, 14/08/2013)
What would you say if someone asks you where you are from?	I talked with Japanese students in a cram school and I told them I am unique for being a Zainichi Korean. Even though I was born and raised in Japan, my <i>kohyang</i> (hometown) is <i>Hang’uk</i> (South Korea). A little unique. If asked where I am from, I would say Japan. But I would say my race (<i>injong</i>) is <i>Han’guk saram</i> because my nationality is <i>Han’guk</i> . (Min-u, Interview 3, K, 28/02/2014)

Yet for Na-yŏng, it was not a simple question to answer when asked about defining herself in relation to national identity. Na-yŏng evidently declared that she was not Japanese because her roots were on the Korean peninsula and she had a strong self-consciousness as a Korean. In addition, she said that even if she was born and grew up in Japan, Japan was not her country and Japan was little more than a country she was living in now. However, when it came to defining her national identity, she presented a dilemma. Because whereas her *kohyang* (hometown) was in present-day South Korea (North *Kyŏngsang* Province) and her legal nationality was South Korea, the school taught her that her “fatherland is North Korea,” she confessed that the question about her national identity made her wrestle with this. For now, the best term to define her was “*Korian* (Korean)” that connoted all ethnic Koreans, covering both South Koreans and North Koreans, she said (Interview 3, K, 10/03/2014).⁸¹

The school attempted to socialize the students into overseas nationals of North Korea and exhorted them to express their affiliation with Chongryun schools and North Korea with confidence and pride. But as we have seen, some of the students displayed resistance and struggled to be positioned as North Korean nationals by reason of their ‘hometown’ being located in current South Korea, their legal nationality of South Korea, and/or the hostile climate towards North Korea in Japanese and global societies. So, even though they performed the identity of a new generation of North Koreans in school activities, this did not correspond to their self-ascribed identities and in Na-rae’s particular case, the disparity prompted her to leave the Kansai Korean School.

⁸¹ I did not have a chance to ask all of the students the same question about their national identity and it is uncertain how Chi-min, Min-a, and Yu-ri define themselves. However, somewhere in the interview, Chi-min said “*Chosŏn* and *Han’guk* are the same, right?” (Interview 3, K, 06/08/2013), which suggests that North Korea and South Korea were the same to her and that both Korea were her country.

6.5 Summary and Discussion

To assert one's ethnic/national identity does not necessarily mean to deny another ethnic/national identity. As several studies have documented (e.g., Giampapa, 2003; Guardado, 2008, 2009; Shin, 2016), some people associate themselves with a number of different ethnic/national categories such as Korean-Canadian, Japanese-American, or Italian-Canadian. However, as we have seen in this chapter, in the educational system of Chongryun schools, this kind of hybrid and biethnic/binational identity was not acknowledged or accepted. The students in Kansai Korean School were socialized to Korean identity in a black-and-white/either-or way, such that being Korean means not being Japanese, and being Japanese means not being Korean. To paraphrase what García-Sánchez (2010: 192) said, therefore, Kansai Korean School teachers attempted to socialize their students to identify Japanese society as a place that they have to learn how to live *in*, but not as a space that the students are necessarily a part *of*.

From the vantage point of Chongryun schools, it should be North Korea and Chongryun schools to which their students belong. Kansai Korean School identified the school as affiliated with North Korea and refused alignment with South Korea. In addition, the school positioned their students as overseas nationals of North Korea and disassociated them from South Korea. Teaching their students Korean on the basis of the standard language of North Korea, *Munhwaŏ*, and Mrs. Song's disapproval of Min-u's use of South Korean orthography are also socializing practices that promote their students' identification as overseas nationals of North Korea. However, of note is that the process of socializing the students into learning and using *Munhwaŏ* and the identity of North Korean nationals was not always consistent. While strongly expressing the inappropriateness of spelling using the South Korean standard on a certain occasion, Mrs. Song accepted the standard language of South Korea, *P'yojunŏ*, as a legitimate variety to be used

in the realm of the school at other times. This inconsistent and contradictory socialization process can be explained by two factors. First is the lack of North Korean materials that teachers can refer to so as to improve their knowledge of the North Korean standard, *Munhwaŏ*, while access to the standard language of South Korea, *P'yojunŏ*, is easier. Second is the fact that Zainichi Korean parents' and students' demand for teaching *P'yojunŏ* in Chongryun schools is increasing. Following the phenomenon of the Korean Wave in Japan, Zainichi Koreans may have more chances to encounter *P'yojunŏ*, thereby realizing how different the Korean learned in Chongryun schools is from *P'yojunŏ*. Their increasing visits to South Korea also seem to lead them to re-evaluate their command of Korean and Korean education in Chongryun schools. One parent told me that when she first visited Seoul on a family trip, she became aware that her Korean was perceived as strange by the local people and she stopped speaking Korean during the trip.

This chapter also identified gaps between school-ascribed identity and students' self-ascribed identity. Even though the school attempted to make relevant students' identity as North Koreans, some of the students expressed unwillingness to accept such identification during their interviews with me. However, I rarely saw the students challenging the schoolteachers identifying them with North Korea during the course of my observations at Kansai Korean School. The students seemed to be well aware and acknowledge the fact that the school stands for North Korea and not South Korea and that this was a non-negotiable matter. Thus, rather than explicitly and openly resisting the school-sanctioned identity at school, they seemed to negotiate it by situationally displaying different identities – conforming to the identity of North Korean nationals at school but demonstrating the identity of South Korean nationals outside of

school – or in a more extreme case, as Na-rae did, leaving the realm of Chongryun schools entirely.

CHAPTER 7

**SCHOOL CHOICE AND LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION PRACTICES
AT HOME AND IN THE COMMUNITY**

7.1 Introduction

In present-day Japan, a majority of school-aged Korean children are attending Japanese schools (Kim Yu-na, 2004; Rohlen, 1981; Tai, 2007). As early as 1988, about 86% of the total population was enrolled in Japanese schools, whereas about 13% were in Chongryun schools and 1% were in Mindan schools (Kim Yu-na, 2004). Given the declining number of Chongryun schools and enrolment in recent decades, it may be fair to say that the majority of Korean children still remain enrolled in Japanese schools. One of the purposes of this chapter is to understand the motivations of Korean parents in enrolling their children in Chongryun schools despite several disadvantages such as tuition fees, academic achievement levels, and safety and security after the 9/17 Incident. I examine what factors motivated the parents in this study to send their children to Chongryun schools and why some of them chose to transfer their children to another type of school later on. Another purpose of this chapter is to look into the ways in which Korean children were socialized to use (or not to use) Korean outside of school. I seek to describe how the parents encouraged their children to improve Korean at home and how community members interacted with each other in Korean.

The findings show that the parents' school choice was grounded not only in the interests of their children's future trajectories, but also in the parents' engagement in the immediate environment (e.g., their social network and child-rearing) and sometimes the journey engendered conflicts and negotiations within a family and individuals. Furthermore, this chapter reveals that language socialization practices within families were mediated by several language ideologies of

the parents and little encouragement to speak Korean in the community and households resulted in socializing Korean children not to use Korean outside of school except in limited contexts and functions.

I start this chapter by unfolding the stories of two focal families where I interviewed the parents and children and was provided with their audio- or video-recorded interactions during mealtimes, and move on to the sections documenting other parents' views.

7.2 The Yang-Kim Family

7.2.1 Family Background

Mrs. Kim was a middle-aged, third-generation Korean who was managing a *Hanbok* (Korean traditional clothing) shop with her mother. Her husband, Mr. Yang, was also a third-generation Korean and since he graduated from university, he has been working for a company. Originally from the same hometown, Mr. Yang and Mrs. Kim met for the first time at *Chosŏn* University and later got married.

They have two daughters, Min-jŏng and Na-yŏng. The girls started attending a Chongryun school from the kindergarten level and when I commenced my fieldwork, Min-jŏng was a ninth grader and Na-yŏng was an eighth grader at Kansai Korean School. However, with the start of the new academic year in 2013, Min-jŏng began studying in a Japanese high school that has a special program for music so she could pursue her dream of becoming a classical pianist in earnest.

Similar to many other parents with children attending Kansai Korean School, Mr. Yang and Mrs. Kim actively participated in school-related affairs. They were always present at various school events, such as the school cultural festival, speech contest, school open house, and so on. One day, Mr. Yang took a day off to see his daughter's performance at the school event.

Moreover, both of the parents had worked as a chairperson of the fathers' association (*abŏji hoe*) and mothers' association (*ŏmŏni hoe*) of Kansai Korean School for several years and they also had regularly donated money to help the school financially. Mrs. Kim half-jokingly said that they were a "model family (*mopem kachok*)" in the sense that they had devoted themselves to the Kansai Korean School by actively participating in the school's management and events.

All of the family members have South Korean nationality now. Mr. Yang first changed his nationality from *Chosŏn* to South Korea several years ago for convenience in going to South Korea on business trips. Other members of the family acquired South Korean nationality and passport recently in order to go on a family trip to South Korea after Na-yŏng's middle school graduation. Mr. Yang and Mrs. Kim said that it did not matter so much to them whether or not they had *Chosŏn* or *Han'guk* (South Korea) nationality because the two Koreas would be reunited someday and they belonged to the united Korea in the past and future. That is, they chose to have South Korean nationality merely for the sake of their convenience – for the South Korea trips and not for political affiliation to South Korea.

Table 7.1 The Yang-Kim Family Profile

	Mr. Yang	Mrs. Kim
Year of birth	1967	1968
Generation	Third generation	Third generation
Birthplace	Osaka	Osaka
Hometown in Korea	<i>Kyōngsang</i> province	<i>Cheju</i> Island
Parents' occupation	Father: carpentering service Mother: running a restaurant	Father: Chongryun school teacher Mother: running a <i>Hanbok</i> store
Current nationality	South Korea	South Korea
Current occupation	Businessman	Managing a <i>Hanbok</i> store
Formal education	K-12: Chongryun school University: <i>Chosŏn</i> University	K-12: Chongryun school University: dropped out of <i>Chosŏn</i> University
Children	Two girls	
	Na-yŏng	14 years old (eighth grade in Kansai Korean School)
	Min-jŏng	15 years old (ninth grade in Kansai Korean School)

* The children's ages and grades are as when I first met them.

7.2.2 Motivations for School Choice

7.2.2.1 To Cultivate Koreanness

When asked about her motivations in sending Min-jŏng and Na-yŏng to a Chongryun school, Mrs. Kim responded that it was only natural and that her husband and she had never given it much thought. This is accounted through various, but interrelated, reasons. First, it was the desire of Mrs. Kim's father who had worked as a Chongryun schoolteacher. When Mr. Yang visited Mrs. Kim's parents to ask them for permission to marry their daughter, her father gave only one condition: to send his future grandchildren to a Chongryun school. Mr. Yang and Mrs. Kim, who fully understood her father's wish to cultivate his grandchildren as Koreans, accepted his request without question and they had kept the promise to her father until recently.

Unsurprisingly, however, the decision with regard to their children's education was not solely determined by the promise to Mrs. Kim's father. During interviews, both Mr. Yang and Mrs. Kim also emphasized that they wanted to raise their daughters as Koreans – *not as Japanese* – and thus, there was not the slightest hesitation in their decision-making to send their children to a Chongryun school. In a similar vein to the remarks made by the principal of Kansai Korean School, Mr. Han (as described in Chapter 4), Mr. Yang and Mrs. Kim reported that Korean identity could be constructed only within the educational system of Chongryun schools and not in Japanese schools and Mindan schools.

I want them to live in Japan as *Chosŏn saram* (Korean people) with confidence. Being Korean is not being part of a shameful ethnic group. While they recognize that they are Korean, I want them to make Japanese friends. Because Japan is a country that discriminates against *Chosŏn saram* and *Han'guk saram*, I was worried they would be bullied [at a Japanese school] and might lose themselves. So, after graduating from our schools (= Chongryun schools) and establishing self-awareness, I want them to launch into Japanese society and the world. (Mrs. Kim, Interview 1, J, 11/03/2013)

In response to my question of why she had never thought about sending her daughters to a Japanese school, Mrs. Kim expressed uneasiness and anxiety about revealing her daughters' ethno-national background in a Japanese school, particularly while they are still at a young age. Because Japan is intolerant of difference, or of being Koreans, she assumed that Japanese schools were not a safe place where her daughters could be themselves and freely express who they are. In other words, she feared the possibility that her daughters would be bullied merely due to being Korean in a Japanese school and as a result, they would feel shame in being Korean and end up denying their ethnic/national background. Obviously, this was not a scenario that she wanted her daughters to experience. Instead, she wanted them to live in Japan with ethnic and cultural pride and a secured and positive self-awareness as Koreans. In her view, such senses

could only be shaped through an education in Korean culture, history, and language and interactions with co-ethnic members of the sort that Chongryun schools provide.

Mrs. Kim reaffirmed this point during a second interview by sharing with me Min-jöng's experience in the Japanese high school. Not long after Min-jöng started her new school life in the Japanese high school, one of her classmates approached her and confessed that she was also a Zainichi Korean. However, the girl asked her to keep it a secret because she was not ready to reveal this to other classmates. Telling me this story, Mrs. Kim very proudly underscored that whereas many Zainichi Koreans concealed their ethnic roots in Japanese-dominant communities like Min-jöng's classmate, Min-jöng openly publicized her ethno-national background in the high school by using her official Korean name and telling all of her classmates that she had been educated in a Chongryun school. Mrs. Kim attributed Min-jöng's positive identity and self-confidence as Korean to the ethnic education that she had received in a Chongryun school, as opposed to her classmate who had never received such education in Japanese schools and as a result, attempted to cover her true self due to a fear of being discriminated against.⁸²

Interestingly, it seems that Min-jöng's experience in the Japanese high school contributed to reinforcing Mrs. Kim's erstwhile perceptions about Chongryun and Japanese schooling, which holds up the findings of previous studies that the process of language socialization is not unidirectional from adults to children, but reciprocal and bidirectional in the sense that children also often socialize adults.

In addition to Japanese schools, Mr. Yang and Mrs. Kim expressed their dissatisfaction with the education system in Mindan schools. Mr. Yang said:

⁸² Cho (2013) examined the differences in ethnic identity between Korean young generations who had been educated in Chongryun schools and those in Japanese schools through interviews. He found that the graduates of Chongryun schools had reportedly never experienced resisting their Korean identity, whereas the graduates of Japanese schools would experience inner conflicts in identifying and displaying their ethnic background in Japanese schools. A similar finding is reported in Im and Kim (2008).

There are *Kōn'guk* and *Kūmgang* schools, but they are the same as Japanese schools. They are *ichi jōkō* [Article 1 schools] and in Japan, *ichi jōkō* means Japanese schools. Ones that the government accredited. Because they are schools that the Japanese government has accredited, the Korean language subject they want to teach became an extracurricular subject. It is not *kugō* (national language). They teach it as *Han'guk mal* (South Korean language). However, Chongryun schools are different, right? *Kugō* is *Han'guk mal*, *Chosŏn mal*. And Japanese is *Nihongo*, *Ilbonmal*, right? That is the difference [between Mindan schools and Chongryun schools].
(Interview, K, 04/03/2014)

Mr. Yang calls into question the curriculum of Mindan schools that follow the curriculum set by the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) due to their status as *ichi jōkō* (Article 1 schools). As he pointed out, in those schools, the Korean language is taught as an extracurricular subject and thus, the allocated class time and hours are far less than those in Chongryun schools (Chapter 4). Also, the subject of the Korean language in those schools is designated as *Han'gugō* (South Korean language) and not *kugō* (national language), which contrasts with Chongryun schools. Therefore, Mr. Yang problematizes the structure of those school curricula in which the Korean language is considered a *foreign* language to students whereas the Japanese language is prescribed as students' national language and consequently, students are positioned as Japanese and not Koreans.

Mr. Yang additionally expressed his doubts about the Korean proficiency of students in those Mindan schools. Because of the lack of devotion to Korean language learning, he supposed that the school students' competency in Korean (except for those who recently came to Japan from South Korea) was not good enough to be identified as Koreans. As seen below, he strongly asserted the inseparable connection between Korean language ability and Koreanness.

((After Mr. Yang expressed his view that the students at Mindan schools could not speak Korean well))

JH: Do you think Korean language education is important to Zainichi Koreans?

Mr. Yang: It is *the most important thing*. If you don't know the language, you can't learn anything, right? Both culture and politics.

JH: Aren't there many Japanese books about Korean culture and politics? Don't you think Zainichi Koreans can learn about Korea from those books?

Mr. Yang: I think that [we] could know the country only if [we] can speak the language. It is normal that the Japanese speak Japanese, Americans speak English and Koreans speak Korean. If we don't know the language, if we can't speak the language, even though we have South Korean nationality, Koreans in South Korea may consider us *abnormal*, not normal, and *strange*.
(Interview, K, 04/03/2014, emphasis added)

His articulation about the value of the Korean language echoes the hegemonic language ideology that equates language with people and nation. For him, simply knowing about Korean culture and politics is not sufficient to become Korean. In order to be legitimate Koreans and ensure full membership in the (imagined) Korean communities, it is imperative to have Korean competence. Zainichi Koreans without Korean abilities are simply “*abnormal*” and “*strange*” even if they hold Korean nationality. Attributing his belief about the symbolic value of Korean to the education he had received in Chongryun schools, Mr. Yang emphatically underscored that language was the prime determinant in sending his daughters to a Chongryun school (not a Mindan school) and that there would have been no need to study at Chongryun schools unless his daughters could acquire Korean competence.

Without exception, Mrs. Kim also regarded speaking Korean as a key component in being Korean. In response to my question about the strengths of Chongryun schools, she first pointed out the fact that her children became able to use “their own country's language (*caki nala mal*).” And she elaborated, having Korean competence along with knowledge of Korean culture and customs would lead her daughters to have “a recognition they have a Korean *tamashi*

(spirit)” and be accepted as Koreans by people around the world. She provided an example of her relative to support her claim:

When my relative went to the U.S. to study - s/he continued to study in Japanese schools and s/he had never felt shame about her/his incompetence in Korean in Japan, but when s/he went to the U.S., s/he became friends with people from various countries and was asked by them why s/he couldn't speak her/his own country's language, s/he seemed to think “Ah, it's so true. Why is it?” In that aspect, I think that it would be better [for my daughters] to speak their own country's language first and the language that they grew up with and if possible, English as well. (Interview 1, J, 11/03/2013).

It is interesting that the characteristic of identity formation – the interplay between self-definition and identification by other – is reflected in both Mr. Yang and Mrs. Kim's statements. In his interview above, Mr. Yang underscores that linguistic competence is a significant factor in being accepted as a Korean by Koreans living in South Korea. Mrs. Kim reports that Korean competence is essential to be acknowledged as a Korean around the world. Both of them therefore contend that Korean ability allows not only for them and their children to position themselves as Koreans, but also to be positioned as legitimate and authentic Koreans by others in South Korea and around the world.

7.2.2.2 Struggles for Children's Future, Identities, and Networks

Mr. Yang and Mrs. Kim foregrounded the key role of Chongryun schools in cultivating Koreanness into their children through teaching Korean language, culture, and history and leading them to live in Japan as Koreans and not Japanese. Despite the parents voicing strong support and admiration for Chongryun schools, however, it is worth noting that they decided to enroll Min-jöng in a Japanese school from the high school level. In this regard, Mr. Yang and Mrs. Kim explained that it was to pursue Min-jöng's dream of becoming a classical pianist. That is, because the professional field of classical music was extremely competitive, they thought that

it would be better for Min-jǒng to invest in this future career from an early stage. At first, Min-jǒng did not want to change her school and wished to advance to a Chongryun high school with her middle school friends. Nevertheless, Mr. Yang highly encouraged her to take an entrance examination for a Japanese high school specializing in music. To support his daughter's dream, he sought advice from several people (or experts) who had majored in music at *Chosŏn* University and he was told by many of them that it would be better to send Min-jǒng to a Japanese music school because they often regretted not beginning to study music seriously sooner. Hence, the parents' choice for Min-jǒng's high school was motivated by their belief that earlier access to valuable resources for Min-jǒng's future career (e.g., professional knowledge of music, information on reputable piano competitions, a social network with fellows and experts in the same field, etc.) would help her to reach her dream more quickly and readily.

However, this is not to say that there was no conflict over Min-jǒng's educational path. Mrs. Kim said that initially she was half-hearted about the idea of transferring Min-jǒng to a Japanese high school:

Mrs. Kim: We are living in Japan. So we should live in Japanese society in the future. That's why we sent Min-jǒng to a Japanese school and she has to network with Japanese who are studying music. Before that, I thought she must establish her mind [as a Korean] until the junior-high school level in order to live in Japan as a Zainichi.

JH: Min-jǒng and Na-yǒng have never said they wanted to go to a Japanese school?

Mrs. Kim: Never. They have never said that. I thought it was not enough [for my daughters] to construct their self-consciousness as Koreans only through education at the elementary level. Whatever may happen, I wanted to send them to a Chongryun school until the junior-high level. I wanted to send them [to a Chongryun middle school] somehow. To be honest, I wanted to send Min-jǒng to a Chongryun high school and wanted her to do what she wanted to do at the next stage (i.e., at the university level), but I was told that it would be advantageous for her to start studying music early because of the

severe competition in the field and I decided to send her to a Japanese music school. In my view, it would be a little too fast, though.
(Interview 1, J, 11/03/2013)

Her interview excerpt above implies her viewpoint that a certain period of time is required for her daughters to establish a stable Korean identity under the educational system in Chongryun schools. She says only six years of elementary education at a Chongryun school is insufficient to inculcate a sense of strong and secured Koreanness in the girls. At the very least, in her opinion, it is essential for them to complete their ethnic education up to the junior-high school level and it would be more ideal if they received all of their secondary education at Chongryun schools. Consequently, at first, Mrs. Kim wished that Min-jǒng would advance to a Chongryun high school and build up a secure Korean identity before going to university. However, after discussing with Mr. Yang (who believed that an ethnic education up to the middle school level was enough for the formation of a positive Korean identity) and other experienced people, Mrs. Kim compromised on her initial thought for the perceived career-related benefits Min-jǒng would obtain from a Japanese high school.

On the other hand, it is intriguing that the second daughter, Na-yǒng, was not allowed to take an entrance examination for a Japanese high school even if she had also considered it, which indicates the complex processes of children's school choices even within the same family. Na-yǒng thought that a Japanese high school would have a more systematic and rigorous academic program to prepare for the competitive Japanese university system compared to a Chongryun high school and hence, it would give her an advantage in entering a prestigious university. However, when she announced to her parents her interest in going to a Japanese high school, huge arguments occurred between the parents because Mrs. Kim opposed it, but Mr. Yang agreed with Na-yǒng's stance.

Mr. Yang said to me that he supported Na-yŏng, not only because Min-jŏng was attending a Japanese high school, but also because times are now different from when he was their age.

JH: I heard before that Na-yŏng was considering going to a Japanese high school, but how did it come that she decided to advance to a Chongryun high school?

Mrs. Kim: We fought a lot. ((laugh)) We had quarrels with each other.

Mr. Yang: The times of today's children are different from our times. During our times, we could only go to *Chosŏn* University, if we wanted to go to university. Because we were poor at studying. It was difficult to go [to a Japanese university]. [We] didn't go to a preparatory school. Even if we went to a preparatory school, it was [would had been] too difficult.

Mrs. Kim: Only students who were good at studying went [to a Japanese university]. Normal people couldn't go.

Mr. Yang: We did school activities as well - we didn't even have an intention to go [to a Japanese university]. There were more people who worked right after graduating from Chongryun high schools. More than people who advanced to university. But now it's different. Only going to Chongryun schools isn't an alternative. And not all Japanese discriminate [against Koreans]. We won't return to *Han'guk* (South Korea) or *Chosŏn* (North Korea) and we are living in Japan and we move out into Japanese society after graduating from university so isn't it enough with a Japanese school? That's what I think. (Interview, K, 04/03/2014)

During the 1980s when Mr. Yang was in high school, he stated, many students in Chongryun high schools could not enter Japanese universities because of their lower academic knowledge to pass an entrance examination for a Japanese university (caused in part, presumably, by the differences in curriculum between Chongryun high schools focused on North Korea-related education with the goal of homecoming and Japanese high schools largely focused on university entrance examinations in general). Furthermore, he recounted that in those days, the majority of Chongryun school students did not have a strong desire for Japanese university admission and

rather, jumped into the workforce after high school. This might be partially due to the fact(s) that they had to pass an extra examination to be qualified to sit for an entrance examination for a Japanese university and/or that with the status of non-Japanese, there were many challenges for them in finding a job in a Japanese company despite having a Japanese university degree. However, times have changed, he highlights. The perception of many Japanese toward Koreans has changed and more opportunities for social and career mobility have opened up to Zainichi Koreans. Zainichi Koreans' perceptions of their homeland and their status in Japan has also changed. Nowadays, the majority of Zainichi Koreans no longer idealize returning home to the peninsula like the first generation had used to before. Mr. Yang points out that they will not return to either of the two Koreas, and that their life is based in the land of Japan and will be in the future as well. He therefore suggested, as an ethnic minority in Japan (not as sojourners but as permanent residents), it is reasonable for his daughters to enter a Japanese high school and learn how to build a relationship with the Japanese and acquire the relevant academic knowledge to help getting into a prestigious university, which is closely connected to their economic and social status in the future.

In fact, Mr. Yang's perception of Japanese schools was not consistently positive to begin with. It changed through his experience with Japanese parents and teachers. In the past, he believed that "Chongryun schools were the best." However, with increased opportunities to interact with parents and teachers in several local Japanese schools by participating in PTA meetings as a chairman of the fathers' association of Kansai Korean School,⁸³ Mr. Hwang came

⁸³ When Japanese society was overflowing with anti-North Korean sentiment due to the 9/17 Incident, a Japanese teacher in a nearby Japanese middle school visited Kansai Korean School to have a better understanding of Chongryun schools and thus, educate his students to have an accurate understanding of Chongryun schools and prevent them from becoming perpetrators of assault and verbal abuse of Kansai Korean school students. By virtue of a close tie with the teacher since then, parents in Kansai Korean School began to engage in the PTA of Japanese schools in the local area.

to realize the similarities between Japanese schools and Chongryun schools and came to have a better image of Japanese schools as a result.

I had studied at Chongryun schools. So mostly I know the contents of their education. I didn't know about Japanese schools. I didn't have a good impression about Japanese schools. I thought Chongryun schools were the best. However, when I went to the PTA of Japanese schools, I realized Japanese schools were also not bad. They are similar to us. (Interview, K, 04/03/2014)

Contrary to Mr. Yang, Mrs. Kim stuck to her opposition to the idea of Na-yŏng transferring to a Japanese high school from the outset. During the second interview, Mrs. Kim explained that she disagreed with Na-yŏng's proposal because it was too late for Na-yŏng to notify her intent and there was not sufficient time left to prepare for an entrance examination for a high-ranking Japanese high school; she said it was almost the end of the academic year (December) when Na-yŏng showed a strong will for it. Yet, considering the fact that Na-yŏng expressed her interest in a Japanese high school when I first interviewed her in May and she informed me of her mother's stance against it at that time as well, I could speculate that there was another factor that affected Mrs. Kim's position; in effect, it emerged explicitly when I interviewed Na-yŏng again a few days after the second interview with Mrs. Kim.

In response to my question about her view of why her mother disagreed with her studying for a Japanese high school, Na-yŏng reported as follows:

Min-jŏng went to a Japanese school, right? My mother is running a *Hanbok* store and my grandmother has engaged in a lot of work for Chongryun schools. Also, there is a family member who is working for Chongryun. In doing so, my mother seems to think that it is contradictory to send her children to a Japanese school. (Interview 3, K, 10/03/2014)

Mrs. Kim's father had worked as a Chongryun schoolteacher for a long time. Her mother seems to have had a profound relationship with people involved in Chongryun and the community of

Chongryun schools while supporting her husband and managing her own business in the Korea town. Nowadays, Mrs. Kim is assisting in the management of her mother's store, a majority of whose customers are Zainichi Koreans. Her brother has been working for the local headquarters of Chongryun. Hence, Na-yŏng suggests that her mother's opposition was motivated to a certain extent in order to save her own and her extended family's face and hold on to a close-knit and trusted relationship with the Chongryun- and Chongryun school-related people she has been affiliated with for a long time by demonstrating dedication to Chongryun schools and the community.

Within the Chongryun school community, it seems to be perceived as an act of betrayal when a parent transfers their child from a Chongryun school to another type of school, such as a Japanese or Mindan school. A parent who moved her son from a Chongryun school to Hana Korean School from the junior-high level told me her experience at a local coffee shop when she overheard some Chongryun school parents (whose children were at the same Chongryun primary school with her son) refer to her as "a traitor."⁸⁴ When I attended Min-jŏng's graduation ceremony in Kansai Korean School, I also noticed the existence of a stigma attached to people who had their child leave the realm of Chongryun schools. After the official ceremony, each graduate and parent had time to express their gratitude to the school and teachers over lunch at the assembly hall. When Mr. Yang and Mrs. Kim's turn came around, Mrs. Kim asked the audience for their understanding for their decision to enroll Min-jŏng in a Japanese high school and explicitly stated that it was not an act of "betrayal," but it was so as to work towards Min-jŏng's future dream. This observation effectively reveals the popular view in the community that seems to affect Mrs. Kim's opposition to Na-yŏng's challenge. That is, it is understandable and

⁸⁴ Yamamoto (2012) also documents an experience of a Zainichi Korean mother who received cold stares from other Chongryun school parents when she transferred her child to a Japanese primary school.

forgivable to transfer a child from a Chongryun school to another school in order to acquire the necessary resources for the child's future goals, particularly those that Chongryun schools cannot fully provide for the child (such as in Min-jōng's case). But otherwise, the act is tantamount to betraying the school and community members who have dedicated themselves to reviving Chongryun schools that are in danger of disappearing in Japan due to a decrease in student enrollment and deficiency of financial support.

Lastly, Mrs. Kim's strong belief in Na-yōng's academic prowess might have led her to feel that it wasn't essential to transfer Na-yōng to a Japanese high school. Na-yōng was academically a very ambitious and successful student. She was always one of the top students in her middle school class and Mrs. Kim described her as a perfectionist who would cry over losing one point on a test. So, Mrs. Kim seemed to be convinced that Na-yōng would make persistent efforts and study hard to achieve her goal of entering a reputable university, although a Chongryun high school would not provide her with the best environment for her academic progress.

I want to send Na-yōng to a Chongryun school. I think so, though. I believe that Na-yōng will work hard to enter a Japanese university. I think she will try hard. (Interview 1, J, 11/03/2013)

[I told Na-yōng] if you began to study [for an entrance examination of a Japanese school] from now, you would end up going to a moderate school. So, I told her "go to a Chongryun high school and study [hard] there." Because I believe in Na-yōng. I believe that she will be able to go to a good university even though she goes to a Chongryun high school. (Interview 2, J, 04/03/2014)

In the end, the tension surrounding Na-yōng's high school choice within the family concluded in her mother's favour. Na-yōng articulated that she decided to advance to a Chongryun high school because "it was more natural" to her and it would be more beneficial for

her potential career. At the time I interviewed her, she did not have a specific dream yet, but she was interested in making *Hanbok* and running her mother's store in the future. So, she said, if she went to a Chongryun high school, it would be helpful in taking over and running the family-owned business in any way.

7.2.3 Home Language Socialization Practices and Language Ideologies

7.2.3.1 Language Use at Home: '*Because We are Living in Japan*'

As seen above, Mr. Yang and Mrs. Kim expressed a positive attitude towards Korean language development and maintenance for their children. However, both of them were in agreement that they did not make conscious attempts to help their children improve and use Korean, except for enrolling their children in a Chongryun school. That is, it seems that to a great extent, they entrusted the task of transmitting the Korean language to their children to Chongryun schools, which is consistent with the findings from other families I interviewed.

With reference to language use at home, Mr. Yang and Mrs. Kim reported identically that the family's daily communication was carried out almost exclusively in Japanese. This is verified by the audio-recorded data of the family members' interactions; they used kinship terms in Korean such as *omma* (mom) and *appa* (dad), which is a prevailing practice within Zainichi Korean families. According to the two girls, Japanese was used when their family speaks with their extended families in Japan. Mrs. Kim explained the difficulty of using Korean at home on the grounds that speaking Korean was "tiresome" for her. Contrary to Japanese that naturally and quickly comes out without thinking, speaking Korean requires "energy" and "using her brain." Furthermore, she expressed her frustration when she once could not find an appropriate Korean word for a certain meaning. Mr. Yang also echoed a feeling of greater ease and comfort

in speaking Japanese than speaking Korean by pointing out the burden of double labour – thinking first in Japanese and then translating it into Korean – when he needed to speak Korean:

Because we were born in Japan. We learned Korean [like as a foreign language]. (xxx)
We first learned Japanese. So we think in Japanese and translate it into Korean.
(Interview, K, 04/03/2014)

However, it should be noted that Mr. Yang's perceived values and roles of each language, Korean and Japanese, for his family's life in Japan guide his own language use and expectations of his children's language use. Once when I asked his opinion about some first-generation Korean parents in the U.S. and Canada who not only encourage their children to speak only English at home, but also attempt themselves to speak only English at home despite their limited proficiency in English (e.g., Jeon, 2008; Shin, 2005), he answered:

It's because they are living in those [English-speaking] countries. We are living in Japan, right? So we are fine with [speaking] Japanese. *Because we need to live in Japan. [If one asks] which language between Japanese and Korean is used more [in Japan], it is overwhelmingly Japanese, right?* ((He went on to say that he came to speak Korean as much as he could now because he studied at Chongryun schools, and not at Mindan schools.)) If I go to [live in] South Korea, I will use Korean. ((JH: at home as well?)) At home as well. If I don't do that, it's hard to live [there], right? If I use Japanese at home [in South Korea], I can't use Korean outside. If I go outside, everybody uses Japanese [in Japan] and if I only use Korean, I will become a weird person, right?
(Interview, K, 04/03/2014, emphasis added)

In the statement, Mr. Yang alludes to the context-specific nature of language use (cf. Song, 2010). English is the *de facto* language of the U.S. and Canada, and Japanese and Korean are so in Japan and South Korea, respectively, and thus, in order to integrate with and survive in the host country, it is natural for the Korean immigrant parents in the U.S. and Canada and his family in Japan and (hypothetically) in South Korea to comply with the normative communication form of the host country. That is, he rationalized his family's Japanese use at

home with an emphasis on the instrumental value of Japanese in Japan. Although he sees having Korean ability as very significant for his children's identity construction as Koreans (section 7.2.2.1), Korean has a limited pragmatic value as compared to Japanese within the linguistic market of Japan: “[If one asks] which language between Japanese and Korean is used more [in Japan], it is overwhelmingly Japanese, right?” As a result, from his perspective, there is no need for his family to invest in Korean to the extent of speaking it at home.

JH: What language do you think is the most important for your children?

Mr. Yang: If they live in Japan, Japanese is the most important. If they go to an English-speaking country for study, English will be the most important. If they come back to Japan, Japanese is important and when they talk with overseas Koreans or teachers, Korean is important. Isn't it fine this way?
(Interview, K, 04/03/2014)

This is Mr. Yang's answer to my question asking about the most important language for his daughters. This time as well, he explicitly gives Japanese higher priority than Korean for his children's lives *in Japan*. Korean is positioned as important only when his children talk with “*kyopho*” (overseas Koreans) and Chongryun schoolteachers. For him, consequently, Korean is beneficial only in restricted contexts, whereas Japanese is a must for his children's daily lives in Japan (see Curdt-Christiansen, 2014; Jeon, 2008; King, 2000; Shin, 2005; Song, 2010 for a similar perception of other bilingual/minority language families).

Mr. Yang's viewpoint on the different practical values attached to Korean and Japanese within Japan seems to impact his expectations of his daughters' Korean proficiency levels. Mr. Yang did not expect his daughters to have a very high level of Korean proficiency, such as native-like. He said it would be unavoidable and fine even if his daughters used Japanized Korean expressions and intonation because they “are living in Japan.” Although he was clearly

aware of some gaps between the local variety of Korean used in the Chongryun school community and Korean used in South Korea, Mr. Yang stressed that his Korean was obviously understood by South Koreans when he visited South Korea for a business trip and many of them were very pleased with his Korean proficiency. Therefore, he articulated a feeling of satisfaction if Min-jǒng and Na-yǒng could have a command of Korean to the extent that they were able to communicate with other Korean speakers, regardless of how accurate and correct their Korean is in terms of Korean linguistic norms, as they are living in Japan (not in South Korea or North Korea) and they will possibly do so in the future.

7.2.3.2 Korean Language Development and South Korean Pop Culture

It was not an intended activity for the children's Korean development, but the family's practice of watching South Korean dramas and TV shows for pleasure at home resulted in expanding Min-jǒng and Na-yǒng's Korean repertoires. The family often rented DVDs of South Korean TV dramas and shows and watched them together. When I first visited their home for an interview with Mrs. Kim, Min-jǒng was watching a South Korean music program with her (Chongryun) school friends and on my second visit, Mrs. Kim was making dinner while a South Korean drama was playing on the TV. Mrs. Kim said that watching South Korean dramas was her daily routine after returning home from work. Accordingly, this daily practice increased opportunities for Min-jǒng and Na-yǒng to be exposed to the Korean spoken in South Korea (particularly, the standard language of South Korea, *P'yojunǒ*) and they reportedly picked up various expressions used in South Korea – “more natural expressions” to borrow Na-yǒng's words – from those TV programs. The girls told me that they often imitated the actors/actresses' speech while watching TV dramas for laughs.

Min-jǒng actively utilized online resources and Social Networking Services (SNS) to access a variety of information on her favorite idol groups in South Korea, which involved her in Korean literacy practices. She frequently watched YouTube video clips that the idol groups appeared in and read news about them on the Internet. Moreover, she followed their Twitter and Instagram accounts and at times, left messages on their accounts in Korean. According to Min-jǒng, because of the increased popularity of Korean pop culture in Japan and the expanding opportunities to visit South Korea, many of her Zainichi Korean friends wanted to learn popular words and internet slang used by young people in South Korea, and she also made attempts to learn such expressions from others' SNS writings and often tried to use them.

The exposure to South Korean TV programs led Min-jǒng to realize the differences between the Korean variety spoken within the Chongryun school community and *P'yojunǒ* and to have a desire to have 'full bilingual competence' in Japanese and Korean, specifically *P'yojunǒ*. To my question for the reasons why she wanted to learn *P'yojunǒ*, she first replied that the standard language was intelligible to more people than the variety used in the Chongryun school community. In a similar vein to school discourses (see Chapter 4), Min-jǒng valued having competence in the standard language for the aspect of intelligibility. However, what is interesting is that she attached higher prestige to *P'yojunǒ* than to *Munhwaǒ* (the standard language of North Korea), which shows a contrast with the view of Chongryun schools (Chapter 6). When I asked her desire to learn *Munhwaǒ*, she flatly answered negatively with an explanation that, "It is spoken only in Pyongyang." She regarded *Munhwaǒ* as a less valued and powerful language in the global market than *P'yojunǒ* (one that is "used more internationally") because of the nature of "a low-mobility-resource" (Blommaert et al., 2005: 205).

In addition to the broader communicability and globality of *P'yojunǒ*, Min-jǒng's desire to acquire *P'yojunǒ* proficiency was driven by its 'coolness.' Min-jǒng viewed her bilingual ability as affirmative, which was perhaps strengthened further by her Japanese schoolmates. She mentioned that her school friends often asked her to speak Korean in front of them and to translate the instructions written in Korean on South Korean cosmetics and she "felt good" about their positive responses, such as "awesome (*koyngcanghata*)." Yet, that is not to say that she was fully satisfied with her current Korean ability. Rather, she strongly aspired to have a 'native-like' competence in Korean or *P'yojunǒ*, because "it's cool."

JH: Why do you want to speak Korean as it is in South Korea? Because it is more intelligible [as you said before]? Or because it's cool?

Min-jǒng: Because I am envious. And it's cool.

JH: What is cool?

Min-jǒng: South Koreans living in South Korea are *real* South Koreans, right? I envy them a lot.

JH: Do you envy them because they speak the South Korean language (*Han'guk mal*)? Or they are more South Korean? About what do you envy them?

Min-jǒng: Because they use the South Korean language *by birth*, it becomes *P'yojun mal* (= *P'yojunǒ*). From the beginning. Although we are good at Japanese because we were born in Japan, our South Korean language is not as good as South Koreans [in South Korea].

JH: But you speak Japanese better than them, don't you? South Koreans in South Korea can't speak Japanese. ((laugh))

Min-jǒng: ((laugh)) Yes, it's good. It's good that I can do both, but I want to become better at both languages.

JH: How well do you want to speak [the South Korean language]?

Min-jǒng: I wish I could speak like South Koreans.
(Interview, K, 10/03/2014, emphasis added)

In this interaction, Min-jǒng reveals her envy of South Koreans who were born and are living in South Korea because they are “*real South Koreans*” who speak *P’yojunǒ* “*by birth*.”⁸⁵ In other words, her passion for *P’yojunǒ* is derived from her appreciation of the *authenticity* in language and identity that South Koreans in South Korea own. As a result, Min-jǒng aims to have a much higher proficiency level in Korean than her father expects of her. In contrast to Mr. Hwang who proclaimed his satisfaction with his daughters having Korean skills for daily conversation, Min-jǒng wants to improve her Korean or *P’yojunǒ* ability as much as she can to speak like natives, not only in terms of grammar and vocabulary/expressions but also in terms of intonation, so nobody identifies her as a Zainichi Korean. To that end, she said, she was considering going to South Korea for university or to attend a short language-training course in the future. During an interview, I could notice her efforts to speak colloquial forms of *P’yojunǒ* and not so-called ‘Zainichi Korean’; for example, she continued using the *hayyo* form and not the *hapnita* form, self-repaired *kulen kes-un* (that kind of thing) to the abbreviated form *kulen ken*, pronounced the conjunctive suffix *-ko* (and, as well) as *-kwu*, and so on. To let her speak more comfortably, I told her in the middle of the interview that she could speak ‘Zainichi Korean’ because it was intelligible to me, but she said that she wanted to practice *P’yojunǒ* because there were few opportunities to do so.

7.2.3.3 Summary

Mr. Yang and Mrs. Kim’s choice of school for their children resulted from taking various aspects into account and going through conflicts and negotiations within the family and by Mrs.

⁸⁵ Of course, it is a fallacy to say that all South Koreans are competent speakers of *P’yojunǒ*. Although official publication and multimedia broadcasting are based on *P’yojunǒ*, people who were born and raised outside of *Kyǒnggi* province areas speak their local dialects in their daily lives. In addition, it is an oft-told tale that regional dialect speakers (particularly from *kyǒngsang* province) experience great difficulties in mastering *P’yojunǒ* after moving to Seoul.

Kim herself. The parents chose Chongryun schools hoping to nurture their children as Koreans. However, as their first daughter, Min-jǒng, reached high-school age, they decided to transfer her to a Japanese high school. They perceived that the Japanese high school would provide Min-jǒng with valuable resources and networks for her future career. On the other hand, interesting was that their second daughter, Na-yǒng, was not given a chance to challenge taking an examination of a Japanese high school in spite of the fact that entering a Japanese high school would increase her potential for admission to a high-ranking university. Mrs. Kim strongly opposed the idea that Na-yǒng would enter a Japanese high school due to her familial and social relations. Mrs. Kim and her mother were conducting a business whose customers were mainly Chongryun-related community members and her brother was working in a regional headquarters of Chongryun. Thus, it seems that Mrs. Kim thought that sending Na-yǒng to a Japanese high school along with Min-jǒng would worsen their relationship with the community members and injure her family's prestige. In other words, to keep her family members' face and maintain close ties with the community members, Mrs. Kim was against Na-yǒng's suggestion about applying to a Japanese high school and accepted confrontation with Mr. Yang.

In the view of Mr. Yang and Mrs. Kim, having their children acquire the Korean language was a very important responsibility of parenthood because they regarded the Korean language as a crucial marker of Korean identity. Mr. Yang articulated that the high emphasis on Korean education in Chongryun schools was the most decisive factor that led him to send his daughters to a Chongryun school. Nevertheless, they did not pay much attention to their children's Korean use outside of school and they did not deliberate about how to support their Korean development at home. In this regard, they explained that Japanese was their first language and thus, the most "comfortable language" (Guardado, 2008: 216) to speak. In

addition to this, Mr. Yang pointed out the less valued status of Korean in Japan. That is, Japanese is an essential language for their children to live in Japan in the present and future, but Korean is not – Korean competence is required only for special occasions such as when talking to schoolteachers and Koreans in other speech communities. For him, therefore, it is enough that their children learn and speak Korean at school and no further effort and action needs to be made outside of school.

7.3 The Ch’a-Shin Family

7.3.1 Family Background

Mr. Ch’a and Mrs. Shin were also third-generation Zainichi Koreans and had three children, two boys and a girl: Tong-hwa was an eleventh grader in a Japanese high school, Ho-jin was a ninth grader in a Chongryun middle school, and A-ra was a three-year-old girl. Both Mr. Ch’a and Mrs. Shin received an education in Chongryun schools up to the high school level and went on to a Japanese university. After university, Mr. Ch’a and Mrs. Shin started working at Japanese companies as full-time employees. However, having been interested in early childhood education for a long time, Mrs. Shin decided after marriage to study abroad and went to an English-speaking country⁸⁶ with her two sons (A-ra was not born yet back then). When I met her for my research in 2013, she was teaching English to local children in her own house.

Mrs. Shin provided me with more details about the migration history of her grandparents than other interviewees did. Her maternal grandfather, the eldest son from a large farm in South *Chōlla* province on the peninsula, crossed over to Japan to evade conscription and study in Japan before the outbreak of the Second World War; and her paternal grandfather also came to Japan from *Cheju* Island for study and worked as a political activist while publishing a “dangerous”

⁸⁶ For confidentiality, I do not specify the country where she went to study.

newspaper before Korea's liberation. Therefore, unlike the dominant local discourse that collectively identifies today's Zainichi Koreans as descendants of poor, forced labourers during the colonial period, Mrs. Shin's ancestors moved to Japan for educational purposes from the middle strata of Korea. After Korea's liberation, Mrs. Shin's maternal grandparents continuously spent the rest of their lives in Japan, but her paternal grandparents chose to journey to North Korea with their two daughters and son (but not their first son, Mrs. Shin's father) by joining the repatriation movement. Mrs. Shin told me that her father, who was working as a music teacher at a Chongryun primary school at the time, had a plan to follow his parents after finishing the current semester, but he changed his mind because many compatriots asked him "not to go and stay behind in Japan" for them. Currently, her father's siblings and their children reside in North Korea and Mrs. Shin's mother often exchanges letters with them.

Mrs. Shin's life trajectory is interesting in the sense that she had frequent opportunities to mingle with Japanese children from an early age and had several transnational experiences for a certain period of time, which seems to have had an impact on her view of children's education and activities for Chongryun school children. Her father, who had worked in the teaching profession not only at a Chongryun primary school but also *Chosŏn* University for a long time, led Mrs. Shin to participate in various extracurricular activities such as piano, English, calligraphy, and abacus lessons from her early years. As a result, she had ample opportunities to interact with local Japanese children while attending Chongryun schools. Mrs. Shin explained that her father seemed to think that having more abilities than the Japanese was the only way for future generations of Zainichi Koreans to survive and succeed in the discriminatory society, Japan.

My father is of the second-generation and his generation lived with absolute discrimination. My father might have studied at a Japanese school for the elementary level. Because my father lived in a place where even teachers discriminated against him, he thought that from now on, our generation, the third and fourth generations, must not lock ourselves in discrimination. [He used to say] because [we] can't live in this society just yet unless we have ability, for example, if there are two people who have the same qualifications, everything is exactly the same and the only difference is nationality, Japanese or Korean, this society takes Japanese, absolutely takes [Japanese]. That's why [we] must certainly build up our abilities. And because we [will] go on to live in Japanese society, not only here, the society of *uri hakgyo* (our schools), but also Japanese society, he used to say since I was a kid that we need to get along with the surrounding Japanese. (Interview 1, J, 10/06/2013)

Through this childhood experience surrounded by many Japanese children, Mrs. Shin said that she came to understand that not all Japanese children were her “enemies” – only some annoyed her – and also, Japanese children’s lack of experience with Koreans resulted in their negative attitude towards Zainichi Koreans.

In contrast to other Chongryun school parents I interviewed, furthermore, Mrs. Shin chose to go to a Japanese university and not *Chosŏn* University despite her schoolteachers’ attempts to dissuade her. She recalled her high school days as tumultuous times for her, which was triggered by the Korean Air Flight 858 bombing incident. In 1987, two North Korean agents planted a bomb in an overhead bin of the flight to Seoul, South Korea from Baghdad, Iraq and it exploded in mid-air causing many casualties. After the incident, Mrs. Shin reportedly felt a loss of her own judgement due to considerable disparities between news coverage by Japanese media and reports by schoolteachers about the terrorist act. And the confusion eventually led her to feel strongly the need to strengthen her own ability to think for herself outside of the Chongryun-related community. Mrs. Shin described her university life as a “very good” experience on the grounds that it gave her a chance to see “a new world” while meeting different people and

learning how the Japanese perceived issues about Zainichi Koreans (e.g., their indifference rather than discrimination).

Studying in the department of international culture at a Japanese university, Mrs. Shin had an overseas experience in China while studying Chinese. In addition, after marriage, she quit a job she had worked in since university graduation and studied abroad. After two-and-a-half years, Mrs. Shin earned another bachelor's degree in early childhood education and a preschool and elementary school teacher's license. Mrs. Shin wished to give her youngest daughter, A-ra, a chance to experience living abroad when she was still in lower grades like her two sons. Even though it was ultimately for her own study, Mrs. Shin believed that living abroad (unexpectedly) enabled her two sons to naturally embrace various ethnic groups and their culture "with their heart" and not "with their head," an experience that they never would have had in "a closed society" such as Japan, in her opinion. Furthermore, Mrs. Shin added that their exposure to diversity in race, ethnicity, and culture during their early years allowed her sons to be fearless of 'differences' and become immediately close to different ethnic/national groups. Therefore, whenever she saw the boys acting in this manner, she felt a need to give her daughter a chance to live in a multiracial and multicultural country.

Currently, all of Mrs. Shin's family members are South Korea nationality holders. Because Mr. Ch'a changed his nationality from *Chosŏn* to South Korea in his early-twenties, his children naturally became South Korea nationality holders by birth, but Mrs. Shin maintained the national status of *Chosŏn* (or *Chosŏn-jŏk*) until she decided to go study abroad. She said that she did not see the necessity to change her nationality because it was not so difficult to go abroad with *Chosŏn-jŏk* back then. Moreover, she added, her grandfather retained the status of *Chosŏn-jŏk* with hopes of going back to a reunited Korea before he passed away and she hesitated about

changing it alone. However, when she made the decision to go study abroad, she found out that a parent-child relationship between her and her sons could not be identified with their different nationalities, and she came to change her nationality to South Korea.

In a similar vein to Mr. Yang and Mrs. Kim, Mrs. Shin stated that her nationality did not have much of an effect on her sense of belonging. She claimed that she belonged to neither of the two Koreas nor Japan. Rather than a certain nation-state, she highlighted, she has been affiliated to Zainichi Koreans, the Zainichi Korean community, and the Chongryun school community and thus, it is significant for her and her children to protect the community from falling apart and disappearing in Japan.

Table 7.2 The Ch’a-Shin Family Profile

	Mr. Ch’a	Mrs. Shin
Year of birth	1965	1970
Generation	Third generation	Third generation
Birthplace	Osaka	Tokyo
Hometown in Korea	<i>Ch’olla</i> province	<i>Cheju</i> Island
Parents’ occupation	Father: unknown Mother: running a real estate business	Father: Chongryun school teacher Mother: unknown
Current nationality	South Korea	South Korea
Current occupation	Architect	Teaching English at home
Formal education	K-12: Chongryun school University: Japanese university	K-12: Chongryun school University: Japanese university
Children	Two sons and one daughter	
	Tong-hwa	16 years old (tenth grader in a Japanese high school)
	Ho-jin	15 years old (ninth grader in a Chongryun school)
	A-ra	Three years old

7.3.2 Motivations for School Choice

7.3.2.1 Education in a Safe Space

Although Tong-hwa, the first son, was attending a Japanese high school when I first visited Mrs. Shin, he had been educated at Chongryun schools up to the junior-high level. And the second son, Ho-jin, was actively playing rugby for his middle school team (his dream was to become a professional rugby player) and had a plan to continue playing rugby in a Chongryun high school. The youngest girl, A-ra, started her school education at a Chongryun preschool in the year after my fieldwork. Mrs. Shin named several reasons for sending her children to a Chongryun school, some of which coincide with those reported by Mr. Yang and Mrs. Kim above. One of the reasons she cited was to have her children educated in “a safe place” where their presence was fully accepted.

People who criticize *uri hakkyo* ask what [the children] will learn while being brought up in such a sheltered environment and there are also many people who say that [Chongryun schools] narrow children’s possibilities. However, I think that as a child, children must be raised in a protected environment, a very safe place for both their feelings and bodies. For example, we were born as *Zainichi* and it’s nobody’s fault and there is nothing we can do about it. [Nevertheless, children] may suffer from it, for example, if they go to a Japanese school because Japan is not such a society, right? I don’t want them [my children] to agonize about such an inevitable thing and it isn’t a thing they should worry about. The self is rejected; something they can’t help is rejected. Because it’s absolutely not good for their life that they feel it as a child, I enrolled my children in a Chongryun school. I also went to Chongryun schools up to high school. No matter what others say, no matter if they say it’s a shelter or something, I could spend time there with an easy mind. And no matter what I was told from outside, even though a stone would be thrown at me and I would be discriminated against, I feel like my comrades are here. Something like the feeling of solidarity is still alive [in my mind] and in that sense, I think it was really good [for me to be educated in Chongryun schools]. (Interview 1, J, 10/06/2013)

Through the seamless statement without long pauses, she highlights that children should be nurtured and educated in a safe space where “their feelings and bodies” can be protected.

Similarly to Mrs. Kim, Mrs. Shin does not suppose Japanese schools offer the same environment. In her view, the realm of Japanese schools is a dangerous and threatening zone for her children in that it may compel them to suffer from being Zainichi Koreans by rejecting them for a factor that is beyond their control. In contrast, on the basis of her own experience and feelings in and after Chongryun schools, she counts Chongryun schools as a safe and comfortable zone in which her children can enjoy the sense of ‘sameness’ with co-ethnic fellows and where being Zainichi is validated and protected.

Even so, Mrs. Shin revealed that she wavered on enrolling Tong-hwa in a Chongryun school at first because of the 9/17 Incident. As opposed to her principle that children should be educated in a safe place, she became afraid that Tong-hwa might be unsafe on his way to-and-from a Chongryun school in the aftermath of the 9/17 Incident and as a result, he would turn against Chongryun schools. So, prior to the year he entered elementary school, Mrs. Shin actively took part in briefing sessions at various schools, such as Japanese public and private schools, and international schools. Yet, she explained that “there were none that caught my fancy” and eventually it was Chongryun schools that her heart was bound to because of the very fond memories of her school years and the close and intimate network among the members in the community.

Because it was good that I went to Chongryun schools and community - I think children should be raised in a community. If so, someone may think it’s right to send children to a local Japanese school. But it’s not. Because I am teaching English [at home], many Japanese children also come and I sent my children to a Japanese nursery school and I worked at a PTA there and I get along with local mothers around here. Compared to *uri hakkyo*, no community is established. They don’t know who the children are in the same class [as their child] in an elementary school and they don’t know what kind of people the parents are in the house. There is no connection at all. It is just strangers living in the neighbourhood but this is unthinkable at *uri hakkyo*. For example, if a child’s mother in a class is sick or in hospital, the news spreads in an instant, and it is natural to [talk about]

who makes the child's lunch box in sequence at *uri hakkyo*. Of course, there are some who dislike it, saying "it's bothersome." However, I think it's originally a good thing to help each other like that and do it for a child. Sometimes it is bothersome, but I want [my] children to grow up in a place where many adults' eyes reach them like that. So I think if the Incident had not happened, I would have been in favor of sending [Tong-hwa to a Chongryun elementary school], but I hesitated because of it. (Interview 1, J, 10/06/2013)

Although she was concerned about the possible risks that the 9/17 Incident would cause to her son, her high valorization of the close-knit relationship and the shared moral values (i.e., mutual support and compassion for others) inherent within the Chongryun school community (but not within Japanese schools) led her to return to Chongryun schools.

7.3.2.2 Shared Language, Experiences, and Sentiments

Like many other parents, Mrs. Shin considered transmitting the Korean language to her children important and expected it would be carried out in Chongryun schools but not in Mindan schools. She noted that the Korean language was a key feature that she could not give up in order to raise her children as Koreans in Japan and thereby, it motivated her to send her children to a Chongryun school rather than a Mindan school, a place that is not only too far away from her house but also does not provide them with sufficient Korean proficiency, in her perspective.

JH: When you considered a Chongryun school, haven't you ever thought of sending your children to a Mindan school?

Mrs. Shin: It isn't that I have never thought about it, but there is a *uri hakkyo* near our house. *Kenkoku* may have changed a lot now, but [people said] one can't speak Korean by going to *Kenkoku*, my generation [who attended the school]. I am not sure now though. I know some from *Kenkoku*, but they said they can't speak Korean even though they graduated from *Kenkoku*. And it's an *ichi jōkō* (Article 1 school). I think it's meaningless to send [my children to the school] if they can't speak [Korean] and so, I guess I didn't consider it so much. There is also *Kongō* accessible by subway, but there is *uri hakkyo* [close at hand] and so, I didn't think that I would make my children go there intentionally using the subway, perhaps. (Interview 1, J, 10/06/2013)

In addition to fostering Korean identity in her children through Korean, interestingly Mrs. Shin claimed that her children required Korean abilities for their great-grandmother (or Mrs. Shin's maternal grandmother). Mrs. Shin's maternal grandmother was a first-generation Korean who came over to Japan when she was twenty years old, following her husband who was in Japan in advance. Because she was living nearby, the grandmother visited Mrs. Shin's family very often and interacted with her great-grandchildren.⁸⁷ Mrs. Shin said, "my grandmother is still healthy and for example, if my children couldn't speak one word of Korean when they speak with their grandmother, how *sad* she would have been (my emphasis)." Given the fact that Mrs. Shin's grandmother occasionally inserted Korean words in Japanese sentences when she spoke with Mrs. Shin's family (according to Mrs. Shin), Mrs. Shin's statement above may reflect her viewpoint that her children's ability to speak Korean is crucial for better communication with her grandmother, as found in several studies about other immigrant parents' motivations for Heitage language maintenance within the families (e.g., Cho, 2008; Guardado, 2008; Lopez, 2013; Nesteruk, 2010; Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe, 2009; Zhang, 2010).

However, at the same time, her link between the language maintenance of Korean and her grandmother can be understood as emerging from her emotional and moral senses. When I asked her about the language use between her grandmother and children, Mrs. Shin answered that their daily conversation with each other was Japanese-dominant, if not entirely Japanese-monolingual. Moreover, she added, even when students from South Korea visited Mrs. Shin's family,⁸⁸ the grandmother spoke Korean only for first few minutes and quickly shifted to

⁸⁷ Mrs. Shin's grandmother passed away the year after my fieldwork. I truly appreciate her making time and sharing with me her experiences in Japan after Korea's liberation, and her warm and kind embrace when I left Mrs. Shin's house. I hope that she is now sleeping peacefully in her *kohyang* (hometown) where she had longed to return for a long time.

⁸⁸ Tong-hwa's high school has an exchange program with high schools in South Korea and some students from South Korea often visit and stay in Mrs. Shin's house as a part of the exchange program.

Japanese, whether or not they understood her.⁸⁹ Namely, Mrs. Shin was aware that her grandmother was “more comfortable with speaking Japanese now” and the Korean language played a limited role in intergenerational communication. Despite that, it is intriguing that Mrs. Shin finalized her answer as follows: “But she [my grandmother] would *dislike* that my children don’t know Korean at all, wouldn’t she? (my emphasis)” Mrs. Shin once again linked her children’s lack of Korean competence with her grandmother’s feeling, “*dislike.*” Consequently, for Mrs. Shin, it seems that having children learn her grandmother’s mother tongue – whether or not it is often used in practice – is a way to enable her grandmother to feel delighted and satisfied and thus, a way to display her loyalty to and honour her grandmother.

Lastly, a story shared by Tong-hwa appears to have affected Mrs. Shin’s decision-making for a preschool for the youngest, A-ra. One day when she was wondering which preschool she should send A-ra to, Mrs. Shin asked Tong-hwa for his opinion. In contrast to her speculation that he must have a negative impression of Chongryun schools (Tong-hwa experienced bullying in a Chongryun middle school; see below), Tong-hwa suggested she should enrol A-ra in a Chongryun preschool. The reason he cited was, according to Mrs. Shin, “A-ra would be sad if only four of five [family members] could share similar experiences but only she couldn’t share.” Mr. Ch’a and Mrs. Shin have a close friendship with many Zainichi Koreans from Chongryun schools and they often exchange visits and have home parties together. During these frequent interactions, they talk predominantly about their past experiences at Chongryun schools, new information about their old-school friends, teachers, and their own children attending Chongryun schools, and various issues that Chongryun schools are currently facing (it is not hard to imagine this scene from my experience interacting with parents educated in Chongryun schools). So,

⁸⁹ This was also evident when I met her while I was interviewing Mrs. Shin. Even though Mrs. Shin introduced me as a person from South Korea and I talked to her entirely in Korean, it was only for a short time that the grandmother spoke to me in Korean before she suddenly started speaking Japanese.

Tong-hwa seems to propose that it would be better to let A-ra encounter and understand the culture of Chongryun schools and thereby build up a closer attachment with her family and her family's friends and not feel distance or be excluded from them.

7.3.2.3 Making Adjustment: 'Södang'

Through her own experiences having socialized with Japanese people from an early age and living in China and a western country while being affiliated with the Zainichi Korean community, Mrs. Shin came to hope that her children would grow up as people who “can live anywhere in the world.” Hence, she wanted to provide her children with various experiences that show them the wider world and broaden their perspectives and as a result, helping them become competent members in the global community. Mrs. Shin viewed Chongryun schools as a good educational venue for this purpose, if not the best, because the schools would teach her children two languages and a range of knowledge about the two Koreas and Japan and moreover, allow them to appreciate who they are and “our things (*wuli kes*).” She pointed out that individuals who cherish their culture and traditions could respect and value others' culture and live with other global citizens in harmony.

Yet, at the same time, Mrs. Shin was aware of some limitations that Chongryun schools have in fulfilling her desire for her children' education and future in all respects. For instance, she specified the lack of Chongryun schoolteachers' recognition and appreciation for diversity among their students. Her first son, Tong-hwa, opted to attend a Japanese high school because he could not adjust to Chongryun school culture and its strong emphasis on the idea of '*hamkke* (together)' or 'collectivism' in Song's (2012) words. In Chongryun schools, Mrs. Shin elucidated, students who do well at school and cheerfully and actively take the initiative in school activities and events were idealized, but Tong-hwa was not such a student. Rather than

working in a group, he preferred having his own time to enjoy reading and drawing. As a result, Tong-hwa had a very harsh time and was bullied by some students and eventually he chose a Japanese high school to avoid advancing to the same Chongryun high school along with the bullies. Mrs. Shin regretted, “Whereas Chongryun schools are very sensitive to discrimination against themselves, they are unconcerned about many other things. They [schoolteachers] don’t study much and they don’t care [about other things]. So, I really feel that there are parts that don't accept diversity.”

Additionally, Mrs. Shin found it unfortunate that many Chongryun schoolteachers were so-called ‘big fish in a little pond.’ She opined that the teachers have lived only within the boundaries of Chongryun schools and the Zainichi community and that they were lacking in a strong will to learn new things actively. If they were too busy for it, she went on to say, one alternative was to get support from the outside, but every time she put forward a new suggestion at a school meeting, she was told that “it is impossible to make a decision on their own because the school belongs to Chongryun.” One of her wishes for Chongryun schools was to recruit teachers who have undergone different experiences and were trained outside the realm of Chongryun, thereby enabling students to come into contact with a variety of viewpoints about the world through the teachers. In terms of Korean education as well, she wished that Chongryun schools could hire a native speaker as a Korean class teacher from either South or North Korea and not pass down “Zainichi Korean” to students, although she acknowledged the infeasibility in reality.

It is important to note, however, that Mrs. Shin did not merely reconcile herself with these limitations of Chongryun schools as an unavoidable fact of life. She took the initiative to create change with some like-minded parents out of the school’s sight. When I met first her, she

had a plan to open a small class or “*Sōdang*” (a Korean word referring to private village schools during the *Koryō* and *Chosŏn* dynasties of Korea) for students in the Chongryun middle school that her second son, Ho-jin, was attending, by making a room in a local Chongryun branch.⁹⁰ Through the class which ran for one or two weeks during school vacation, she said, the students would have opportunities not only to review what they had learned at school under the guidance of their seniors who were attending university, but also to encounter various people and issues beyond their lives in the school.

One of the purposes is to increase students’ academic ability and the other is to have them experience many things. The middle school years are a period when students start thinking about their future. But what kind - they don’t know what kind of jobs are out there in this world. What they come up with are businessmen and some kind of small store owners. But in reality, there are so many kinds of occupations and so, [I want to] invite their seniors who graduated from *uri hakkyo* and do active work in many job places and make students listen to their stories or do workshops. Even though the children won’t change soon, [I want to] give opportunities to them to think or to encounter things on the outside. In the same fashion as teachers, *uri hakkyo* students are too busy. They are busy EVERY DAY. They do *sojo* (school clubs) every day. Saturday and Sunday as well, *sojo*. Therefore, they don’t have time AT ALL to encounter other things except for attending school and *sojo*. They have no notion of and time for doing something, [like] reading a book or going out to see a movie. [I thought] these are real problems and I need to do something so I can make such opportunities [for the children] and thus, I think of going ahead with the plan. (Interview 1, J, 10/06/2013)

7.3.3 Home Language Socialization Practices and Language Ideologies

7.3.3.1 Investment in Multilingualism

Her hope for her children to become competent global members led Mrs. Shin to make an investment in her children’s multilingual competence. For their Korean development, she

⁹⁰ She said that if the plan became known to the school, it would be complicated in many ways and so, they decided to start the class without the school’s knowledge. However, when I met her the next year after my primary fieldwork, she told me that the principal of the middle school understood the motivations for the class (it is not to improve students’ academic ability for entrance examinations of Japanese high schools) and the class was coming along very well.

enrolled her children in a Chongryun school. And she reportedly read Japanese picture books to her sons every day in their early years with the belief that a solid foundation in the first language would become intellectual nourishment for their second language learning. Recently, she made Ho-jin transcribe Japanese books by hand to improve his knowledge of Sino-Japanese characters and Japanese vocabulary.⁹¹ After she came back from studying abroad, Mrs. Shin sent Tong-hwa and Ho-jin to a private English class for a while with the desire that they would retain their competence in English. During the past few years, she has compelled Ho-jin to listen to an English radio course for 15 minutes every morning and to watch English movies in the original language (not dubbed in Japanese). Mrs. Shin also had a plan to send Ho-jin to a private English class after advancing to a Chongryun high school to complement the English lessons at the Chongryun high school; she viewed the English class level in the school as falling behind those in general Japanese high schools. Tong-hwa seemed to be concentrating on expanding his English ability at his high school. He opted for English as a second language subject (not Korean) and actively participated in four different one-skill-intensive-courses (grammar, speaking, reading, and writing) while speaking only English with native teachers. In order to increase his reading ability in English, Tong-hwa also bought English comic books and attempted to read those (although this did not last long, according to him). For A-ra, Mrs. Shin reportedly started reading children's books to her not only in Japanese and English but also in Korean after she recently found Korean picture books stocked in a local library and then attempted to teach her new vocabulary in three languages. While assigning different roles to school and home, respectively, therefore, Mrs. Shin employed various strategies and resources to

⁹¹ Mrs. Shin was worried about Ho-jin's Japanese ability and pointed out the paucity of his Japanese vocabulary knowledge and communicative difficulties in Japanese. She attributed this partially to her own practice, whereby she read books to Tong-hwa and Ho-jin together in their early years by adjusting to Tong-hwa's intellectual level and as a result, Ho-jin lost interest in reading books in contrast to Tong-hwa who became a kind of a reading addict.

facilitate her children's multilingual development. Chongryun schools took the responsibility for her children's Korean acquisition and the home took charge of improving their Japanese and English, subjects that Chongryun schools do not provide sufficient instruction in and exposure to for her children.

Nevertheless, it may be worth noting that Mrs. Shin seems to have made little investment in improving and maintaining Tong-hwa's Korean ability after he left the regime of Chongryun schools and became much less likely to be exposed to Korean; in effect, Tong-hwa reported that there were few chances for him to speak Korean after he left the Chongryun school and expressed his lack of confidence in Korean. According to Mrs. Shin, she encouraged him to take a Korean language proficiency test, but she had never asked him to read Korean written materials such as books and newspapers or to watch South Korean TV programs for his Korean language development and maintenance. Tong-hwa also revealed that he currently gave English higher priority than Korean and had postponed studying Korean until he goes to university.

Mrs. Shin and Tong-hwa's lack of investment in his Korean language development can be accounted for with some contextual and ideological factors. First, Tong-hwa explained that he did not have enough time to study Korean on his own while focusing on his school studies and school club activities. And even if his high school provides Korean classes as a second language subject, he said that the class for his grade was only for beginners and was too easy for him. The school offered more advanced levels of Korean class to higher graders, but he was not allowed to take the class because he chose English as his second language when he entered the school. That is to say, the school curriculum and policy did not support Tong-hwa in improving and maintaining his Korean ability. Tong-hwa stated that he would restudy Korean after he got

into university because multilingual competence would be beneficial in his future, for example, in finding a job.

As for Mrs. Shin, she was considering sending Tong-hwa to South Korea during his university years in order to improve his Korean and make him experience life with his peers in the country where he would have been born. She said that Tong-hwa had mastered the fundamentals of Korean through nine years of education at Chongryun schools and that when he wanted to study it again, the knowledge would come back. Accordingly, her future plan to give Tong-hwa a chance to live in South Korea and her view that once acquired, language ability is preserved without recurrent use and exposure to the language, seem to have resulted in her lower concern for Tong-hwa's Korean learning at present.

Lastly, Mrs. Shin's language ideology that attached higher value to English than Korean can be a possible explanation for her lack of involvement in Tong-hwa's Korean study. When asked which language between Korean and English she wanted her children to become more competent in, Mrs. Shin replied that it was English because English is the international language and is useful for international communication, whereas Korean is only spoken in Korea. Moreover, she seemed to emphasize the importance of English to her sons for university entrance examinations; Ho-jin told me that Mrs. Shin often pressured him to improve his English skills so he could become more competitive in university entrance examinations. Currently, the national university examination in Japan (*senka shiken*, the National Center Test) used by public and some private universities is designed to provide examinees with a chance to choose one of five languages (Chinese, English, French, German and Korean) for a foreign language test.⁹² However, many other private universities are allowed to specify required subjects for their entrance examinations on their own and in general, they select English as the only foreign

⁹² The Korean language was added to the list of foreign languages in 2002.

language subject for examinees. As a result, students who have a good knowledge of English have much broader choices for their university. This structure of university entrance examinations in Japan, therefore, likely contributes to shaping Mrs. Shin's perception regarding her children's English education and leading her to intervene less in Tong-hwa's Korean development.

7.3.3.2 Language Use at Home: 'It's the First Generation's Fault'

Not surprisingly, the Ch'a-Shin family predominantly used Japanese for everyday home interactions and they did so with their expanded families in Japan as well. The only time some of the family spoke entirely in Korean to each other was when they talked about something that they did not want A-ra to hear; for example, that Mrs. Shin will go somewhere and leave A-ra behind at home. Yet, after A-ra started attending a Chongryun preschool, Ho-jin said that the function and effectiveness of Korean as a secret language was lost because she could sense what they were saying in Korean.

With respect to Japanese-dominant use at home, Mrs. Shin explained it with the fact that she felt more comfortable speaking Japanese than Korean and it allowed her a wider space to express her emotions freely and clearly, the same as Mr. Yang and Mrs. Kim's rationale above. In addition, she imputed the failure of current Zainichi Koreans families in speaking Korean at home to the first generation. In order to conceal their ethnic and cultural roots and help their children assimilate into Japanese society, Mrs. Shin speculated, the first generation did not make significant efforts to pass down the Korean language to their children by speaking Korean at home. As a result, she stressed that the home language practice had been carried from generation to generation. In effect, Mrs. Shin recalled that she had never seen her grandmother speaking Korean to her mother when she was a child: according to her, her grandmother told her that

whereas she used Korean at home during her daughter's (or Mrs. Shin's mother's) early age, she adjusted the home language to Japanese after the daughter entered a Japanese school so as "not to be treated as a dummy at school" (Interview 3, 26/02/2014).⁹³ Moreover, even though her father, who was a music teacher in Chongryun schools, consistently used Korean at home, Mrs. Shin recounted that he had never forced her and her brother to speak back to him in Korean and her mother was exclusively Japanese-dominant at home. Therefore, Mrs. Shin very convincingly suggested that when she was a child, there was no demand on her to speak Korean at home, let alone any reward for it, and as a result she was naturally socialized into speaking Japanese at home.

7.3.3.3 Summary

In a similar vein to Mr. Yang and Mrs. Kim, Mrs. Shin's desire to foster Korean identity in her children drove her to send them to a Chongryun school. She viewed Chongryun schools as providing her children with a space where they felt protected and respected as Zainichi Koreans and they could cultivate self-esteem. After the 9/17 Incident, her belief in Chongryun schools weakened and she looked for an alternative, but the qualities of Chongryun schools valorizing moral values such as mutual support and collaboration persuaded her to reconsider. Mrs. Kim's consideration of family relations also served as one factor motivating her to choose Chongryun schools. That is, her assumption that her grandmother would be happy with sharing her mother tongue with her great-grandchildren and family cohesion would solidify if all family members share the same educational culture and sentiments gained from Chongryun schools had an effect on her choice of Chongryun schools.

⁹³ Mrs. Shin's mother was educated in a Japanese school for primary and junior high school levels whereas she attended a Chongryun school at the high school level.

Mrs. Shin wanted her children to have multilingual abilities that would allow them to advance global citizenship and understanding. Therefore, she often emphasized the importance of improving their English proficiency to her sons and encouraged them to watch English movies in the original language and listen to an English lesson radio program every day. On the other hand, Mrs. Shin did not make special efforts to facilitate her children's Korean use and exposure to Korean at home. According to her, intergenerational transmission of the Korean language rested in the hands of Chongryun schools and first-generation Koreans. Furthermore, she assumed that the Korean knowledge and competence that her first son, Tong-hwa, acquired in Chongryun schools would be preserved and resurge when needed. Mrs. Shin's relativist view toward Korean and English also affected her lack of investment in Tong-hwa's Korean development; English is an international language in the global age and a beneficial asset for taking university entrance examinations in Japan whereas "Korean is used only on the peninsula."

7.4 Voices from Other Parents

In this section, I present how other parents, excluding the parents above, who were sending or sent their children to Chongryun schools, made sense of their school choices and their language use at home. Through the descriptions contained in interview data, it was found there were similar but also different conditions and perspectives from what was discussed above which have a bearing on the parents' choices of school and language, thereby enhancing our understanding of the diverse factors affecting their decision-making.

7.4.1 Motivations of School Choice

Similar to the earlier cases, many other parents I interviewed considered Chongryun schools ideal for raising their children as Koreans in Japan. Mr. Im, who was sending his three children to Chongryun schools noted, "Some people think that going to a Japanese school is

advantageous [to children], but we didn't think that and we thought it would be good for my children to go on to [Japanese] society after they learned their own roots" (Interview, K, 14/07/2013). Mr. Im and his wife Mrs. Cho explained that Chongryun school students came to have a positive self-concept as being Koreans in Japan by learning Korean history, songs, literature, and language with fellow co-ethnics, which could not be expected from Japanese and Mindan schools. Mrs. Kwŏn, who had two sons (one of them is Min-u, the student participant from Kansai Korean School), likewise asserted that she had enrolled her sons in Chongryun schools because they were the only places where her sons could learn Korean customs and language. Mrs. Kwŏn had high aspirations to raise and educate her first son, Min-u, as a transnational or global citizen. To become "international," she emphasized that it was a basic and crucial premise for Min-u to speak "his own language" and "be proud of being our people [Koreans]" (Interview, K, 28/02/2013) because otherwise, it would be hard to be globally recognized. Hence, she went on to contend that she wanted to make sure Min-u was educated in Chongryun schools somehow up to the junior high level, while defending her and Min-u's choice of a Japanese high school instead of a Chongryun high school, to support his ambition and future dream of enhancing his English skills and to "see the world"; a similar argument to Mrs. Kim in terms of Min-jŏng moving to a Japanese high school.

Enrolling her three children in Chongryun schools, Mrs. Oh expressed the naturalness of her choice; "Naturally. There was no need to hesitate" (Interview, J, 14/05/2013). That is, Mrs. Oh and her husband are also Chongryun school graduates and they identified themselves as Koreans and not Japanese and thus, it was very natural to send their children to Chongryun schools. Having said that, it is worth noting that her sense of the naturalness was somewhat derived from her absence of information about various types of schools in Japan. Like Mr. Yang

stated (in 7.2.2.2), Mrs. Oh said that whereas she was very knowledgeable about the Chongryun school system including the educational content and environment, she was uninformed about those in other schools. So, her restricted knowledge and network (e.g., few acquaintances with children studying in non-Chongryun schools) could not lead her to consider an alternative to Chongryun schools.

It was when her son was in the fifth grade that her orientation toward her children's schooling changed. Through a Japanese mother whom Mrs. Oh had been acquainted with since her son's nursery school years, she came across the reality that diverse types of schools, including Japanese private and international schools, existed in Japan; she described it as "seeing a new world." Reading pamphlets from different schools that she obtained from the Japanese mother, Mrs. Oh became aware that Chongryun school mothers, including herself, had too narrow a view. And to give him an opportunity to expand his perspectives, she suggested to her son that he take an entrance examination for a well-known international middle school. Yet this idea was rejected by her son who wanted to advance to the same Chongryun middle school with his school friends. A few years later, her son expressed his desire to go to the international school for high school, but unfortunately he failed the examination and had no choice but to continue studying at a Chongryun high school.

Interestingly, as another reason for her choice of Chongryun schools, Mrs. Oh cited the practicality of her time and labour. When her son was attending a Chongryun primary school and her first daughter was attending a Japanese nursery school, she said it was very time consuming for her to take part in all school events that occurred on different days while running her own restaurant business. To reduce the time and energy invested in her children's school-related matters, consequently, she enrolled her first daughter in a Chongryun preschool attached

to her son's primary school as soon as she reached four years of age, the minimum age for the preschool. After that, the two daughters became interested in Korean traditional dance and so, the first daughter decided to continue studying in Chongryun schools to learn Korean dance and the second daughter also did so. However, Mrs. Oh stated that her husband has frequently reminded their children of the importance of acquiring useful knowledge to live in Japan and that it was not a smart idea to go to *Chosŏn* University because it is not very acknowledged in Japanese society. Agreeing with her father, the first son went on to a Japanese university and Mrs. Oh and her husband were encouraging the two daughters to study for a Japanese or South Korean university.

The comments by Mrs. To who was sending her son to a Chongryun preschool offer an example of the extended familial impact on parents' decision-making in their children's school. Mrs. To's father-in-law has managed his own enterprise with assistance from Chongryun in many ways, particularly during its initial stages. In addition, he was one of the leaders in a local Chongryun commercial association (*sanggonghoe*); Mrs. To described her father-in-law as "a person who has quite a North-leaning mind" (Mr. To, Interview 1, J, 29/11/2012). Thus, Mrs. To recounted that it was her father-in-law's strong recommendation to enroll her son in a Chongryun preschool. Nevertheless, it was intriguing that Mrs. To was considering transferring her son to Hana Korean School from the middle school level to make him acquire "unmarked (*kuse no nai*)" and "pretty (*kireina*)" Korean along with English. Mrs. To characterized the Korean spoken in Chongryun schools as "*zainichigo* (Zainichi Korean)" and something rarely understood in South Korea.⁹⁴ Although she wanted Chongryun schools to hire a "proper"

⁹⁴ She resented that her Korean abilities were lacking despite the fact that she had learned it for such a long time in Chongryun schools. Her negative perspective of her Korean abilities was possibly constructed or reinforced through her encounter with South Korean international students in the USA

Korean teacher (perhaps referring to a native South Korean speaker), she acknowledged that it was impossible and therefore, she viewed sending her son to Hana Korean School as another option. Furthermore, she expressed her wish to go to South Korea with her children for language learning in the future. Highlighting the importance of learning *P'yojunŏ* (among many varieties of Korean) with respect to its instrumental value for communication, Mrs. To said that she wanted to improve her own Korean proficiency and her children to learn unmarked Korean (or *P'yojunŏ*) from an early age in South Korea.

The discourse that devalues, if not in every respect, the Korean variety spoken in Chongryun schools was found in interviews with other parents as well. Mrs. Kwŏn, Min-u's mother, manifested her wish for Chongryun schools to teach "correct" and "universally comprehensible" Korean and not pass down the Japanized local Korean (Interview, K, 28/02/2013). Mrs. Nam, who transferred her daughter and son to Hana Korean School from a Chongryun school due to their association with North Korea and narrow viewpoint, criticized Chongryun schoolteachers' Korean for being "strange" and "randomly created Korean" (Interview 1, K, 07/03/1013). A similar view was echoed by Mrs. Kang as well. Mrs. Kang first enrolled the youngest son, Chae-jun, in a Chongryun primary school because it "teaches [academic subjects] in Korean and gives the students lessons in manners for sure" (Interview 1, J, 19/01/2013). However, she and her husband came to want to cut their relationship with Chongryun after the 9/17 Incident. Every time the Japanese media covered North Korea's threats to Japan's national security, Mrs. Kang recounted, it was loaded on parents' shoulders to protect their children's safety on the way to and from school and they felt burdened and skeptical about it. Accordingly, they decided to transfer Chae-jun to a Japanese private school from the

when Mrs. To went there to study; she recalled that some of the South Korean girls laughed at her for speaking "weird" Korean and she mostly communicated with them in English.

junior-high level despite his desire to advance to the same Chongryun middle school with his friends. Yet this time, Chae-jun's academic underachievement in the Japanese school led Mrs. Kang and her husband to feel unhappy and look for a new school. Even if it was unfortunate to have Chae-jun transfer to another school again, Mrs. Kang stated that she was impressed by the intimate relationship between students and the Hana Korean schoolteachers, the student-centered education, and teaching Korean that "Zainichi Koreans do not use," and made a decision to transfer Chae-jun to Hana Korean School from the eighth grade. Mrs. Kang's daughter, who was present in the interview with Mrs. Kang, indicated one of her motives to leave the Chongryun school from the high school level was due to the poor quality of Korean taught and spoken there; "Korean history and Korean taught in Chongryun schools aren't accepted in South Korea, right? So I didn't see the reason to learn those."

On the other hand, Mrs. Cho demonstrated her discontent with some parents who denounced Chongryun schools for their inefficiency in teaching comprehensible Korean in the larger Korean linguistic community. She stressed that "Schools taught all they should teach" (Interview 1, K, 14/07/2013) and it was individuals' lack of effort to use and improve their Korean during and after school that accounted for their deficient Korean proficiency and it was not the Chongryun schools' responsibility. She continued to assert that even though it was required to learn 'correct' Korean to better communicate with "outside people," there was no need to deny and belittle the local variety of Korean. She said, "I am comfortable about living with this language [the local Korean]" (Interview 1, K, 14/07/2013). Mrs. Cho regarded the local variety or Zainichi Korean as important and a valuable community language.

To sum up, the interview data from Korean parents allows us to see the complex set of factors that affected their school choice. The parents chose their children's school not only on

the basis of their goal to inculcate their children with strong Koreanness, but also with their consideration of family relations (e.g., a father-in-law) and constraints of time and knowledge. Furthermore, because their decisions were made within their experience and social context, it was found that as they encountered new people and information and came to be placed in new sociopolitical context (e.g., the 9/17 Incident), their perspectives regarding school choice changed.

7.4.2 Home Language Socialization Practices

All of the parents in this study agreed in chorus about the importance of Korean for their children. From their perspective, Korean is the fundamental mark of Korean identity and/or useful capital (or a “tool” in some parents’ words) for their children’s future employment and broader worldview.

I want my children to speak more than three languages. Because it is helpful to find a job. [...] English is a must to go out into the world. People proficient in English are highly appreciated in Japan as well. It would be much better if it was for being capable in Korean and Chinese. (Mrs. Kwōn, Interview, K, 28/02/2013)

We were historically discriminated against in Japan, right? We were deprived of our names and language. We directly experienced it, didn’t we? There was a rebellious spirit such as why shouldn’t we use our country’s language even if we are Koreans. It is okay for my children to use Japanese, but they should know their country’s language. Only if they know their country’s language can they understand their grandfather and us, mom and dad. I thought language is important for that. Just doing *chesa* (a memorial service for ancestors) at home, only with those things, ethnic consciousness disappears. (Mrs. Nam, Interview 1, K, 07/03/2013)

Only if one speaks Korean, is one Korean (*Chosōn saram*) and if they can’t, it is only [something] having nationality - what is it? ((laugh)) It is a bad example, but our Zainichi are a kind of *Okama* (homosexual or transvestite). Because [we are] ambiguous. We can’t live even if we go to North Korea and we can’t live even if we go to South Korea. Even here [Japan], we are ambiguous, foreigners. [...] If we don’t know the language, we don’t know more about who we are. (Mrs. Oh, Interview, 14/05/2013)

It is important to learn different languages (including Korean and English) to enrich one's own mental world. Knowing only Japanese, you don't know a different outlook on the world. (Mr. Im, Interview, K, 14/07/2013)

However, a majority of the parents replied negatively to my question about their efforts in developing their children's Korean abilities at home. Only Mrs. Cho and Mr. Im informed me that Mr. Im has read Japanese books to their children at breakfast time and Mrs. Cho often read Korean books to the youngest daughter at bed time with the hope that their children would come to be fond of reading.⁹⁵ Also, even if their home language was predominantly Japanese, she reportedly attempted to teach her children the word 'socks' in Korean or *yangmal* in their early years in order to help them learn the pronunciation of the Korean consonant ㄹ (*l*) in syllable-final position and to let them identify the consonant as an element of their own language.

As for their language use at home, all of the parents concurred that it was Japanese-dominant. Some of them mentioned that in their households, Korean was often reserved for school-related vocabulary, kinship terms, endearments (“*atul a* (my son)”), directives to children (“*ppalli hala* (hurry up)”) and/or joking by imitating expressions from South Korean TV dramas. Considering the lack of Korean language practice and use at home, Mrs. Kwōn explained that her mother was an almost exclusively Japanese-dominant speaker and for herself, it was easier to speak Japanese than Korean. Mrs. Hong rationalized this on the grounds that her children were attending Chongryun schools and were living in Japan. That is, she provided her children with schooling to acquire a good base in the Korean language. Therefore, even though they did not have an excellent command of Korean, in her view, her children have good enough Korean skills

⁹⁵ Mrs. Cho was working as a freelance translator of Korean and Japanese and from my viewpoint, she was the most fluent Korean speaker among the Zainichi Korean parents I interviewed. Therefore, she might have more chances to encounter Korean books and feel more comfortable reading Korean books than other parents.

to live in Japan as Koreans. If they need to further expand their Korean competence in the future, it would be good to attempt to do it then, she said.

Mrs. Nam pointed out, similarly to Mrs. Shin, that the Japanese-dominant use at home was an outcome of home language socialization processes over generations. Mrs. Nam remembered that her grandparents spoke to her in Japanese although they communicated to one another in Korean and her parents did this as well. Thus, she supposed that the home language of her family also became that way naturally.⁹⁶ Mrs. Kang, who displayed fairly cynical views about Chongryun schools and the Korean used in the schools and community, accounted for her reluctance in speaking Korean in and outside of the home due to her Korean deficiency. She said that although she learned Korean at school from a Chongryun preschool through high school, her Korean was different from South Korean language or *P'yojunŏ* – for example, her exclusive use of the *hapnita* form rather than the *hayyo* form – and would be judged as “strange” by others and therefore, she did not have the will to speak it. Mrs. Kang also added that her children did not want to speak Korean either because they viewed their Korean as “*cayil kyophomal* (Zainichi Korean)” and “weird” (Interview 2, J, 25/02/2013).

To sum up, the parents considered Korean to lead their children to have a positive Korean identity, shape a broader worldview, and have an advantage for future employment. For them, however, it seems to be the responsibility of Chongryun schools and first-generation Koreans to transmit Korean to their children. They were born and are living in Japan and their first language is Japanese and not Korean. Thus, their Korean competence is not good enough or they are not comfortable enough to carry out daily communication within the family and/or to teach their

⁹⁶ Mrs. Nam's mother had been educated in Japanese schools since Korean ethnic schools were shut down by Japanese forces in the 1940s, whereas her father continued to study in Korean ethnic schools.

children. Moreover, their different views of economic and symbolic values attached to Korean and Japanese in Japan had an effect on their investment in their children's Korean development.

7.5 Speaking Korean in the Community

Japanese permeates all areas of Zainichi Koreans' lives. As seen above, their home language is Japanese-dominant and their interactions with other Zainichi Koreans are predominantly conducted in Japanese. Their Korean use is very limited, as well adult members of the community do not seem to expect younger generations to speak Korean except for certain restricted speech events as will be discussed below.

7.5.1 Socializing Politeness through Korean

For a first-time visitor to Kansai Korean School, it may be very impressive to see all of the students you encounter bow their head to you and say the greeting words "*annyeong hasipnikka?* (Hello?)." Whether they are small children or in their teens, whether you caught the student's eye or not, and whether you have already received her/his bow before, you will find them greet you every time they pass you. So, in the school and the community (arguably in the host society, Japan and in many other countries), giving polite and proper greetings to elders seemed to be highly valued. One parent cited that giving adequate greetings to elders was one of the most important points in her children's education at home, and proudly reported that her children were well socialized into the practice and they often socialized their school friends to it as well. That a mural painting of a child making a deep bow to a teacher was drawn on an external wall of an elementary school and that a lesson to teach several greeting expressions is placed in the early part (the second unit) of the first-grade Korean textbook provides a possible indication of the local value attached to the speech act of greetings.

However, more noteworthy was that children in the community were socialized to say many greetings in Korean. When community members gathered together at school and community events, they generally greeted each other in Korean with “*annyeng hasipnikka?* (Hello?)” when meeting and “*annyenghi kasipsio* (good-bye),” “*mence tola kakeysssunnita* (I will leave first),” and “*swuko hasyessunnita* (thank you for your effort)” when leaving, whereas other parts of their communication were almost exclusively Japanese. This was the same as in formal contexts such as when MC’s started events. For example, when I attended a gathering for the rights of Chongryun high school students to free tuition, the MC said hello in Korean first and shifted to Japanese with an explanation that she would host the event in Japanese.⁹⁷

In addition to the greeting expressions for hello and leave-taking, greetings for gratitude (*komapsunnita*), congratulations (*chwukha hapnita*), and asking a favour (*cal puthak hapnita*) were also heard in Korean on many occasions, as illustrated in the example below. This is from parents’ speeches of thanks to the school and teachers during a graduation ceremony at Kansai Korean school:

⁹⁷ When it was assumed that there were Japanese in the audience, MC’s seemed to host the events in Japanese. But it was certainly not the case for school events where school students played leading roles such as a school cultural festival and speech contest; all of those were hosted entirely in Korean.

Table 7.3 Parents' Speeches in the Graduation Ceremony at Kansai Korean School

Original	English Translation
<p><i>colepsayng tul colep ul chwukha hapnita.</i> ((He seems to look for words and mumbled some words)) <u><i>ma sotsugyō shitemo ima no tongmu tachi sukunai ninzū dakedo minna daijini shite kōkō ittemo minna ganbatte kudasai.</i></u></p>	<p>Congratulations on your graduation. ((He seems to look for words and mumbled some words)) <u>Well, even though you graduated, current friends, even though there are few members, please cherish all of your friends and do your best after advancing to high school.</u></p>
<p><u><i>mazu ano ichi nenkan tannin shite itadaita</i></u> ((Mr. Yi's full name)) <i>sensayngnim cham ulo komapsupnita. shōgakkō chūgakkō to ano iroiro oshiete itadaita sensayngnim tachi ilehkey hwullyunghakey khiwe cwusiko cham komapsupnita. hontōni kono kyōnen kono jiki singaku suru goro ni hontō wa fuande fuande kodomo wo miruno mo fuande kono gakkō ikasete iinoka mo fuande ... hontōni ilnyenkan honmani komapsupnita. sensayngnim tachi honmani komapsupnita. Ah saigo ni kazoku nidaide oshiete itadaita</i> ((a Japanese teacher's name)) <i>komapsupnita</i></p>	<p><u>First, well, I truly appreciate teacher ((Mr. Yi's full name)) who worked as a homeroom teacher for a year.</u> I really thank the teachers who taught a lot in elementary and middle school for bringing up [the students] remarkably like this. <u>Really this, when moved [to the ninth grade] at this season last year, to be honest, I was worried and worried and whenever I saw my child, I was worried and I was worried about if it was ok to send her to this school ... Really for one year really thank you. Teachers, really thank you. Ah, lastly, thanks to ((a Japanese teacher's name)) who taught two family generations.</u></p>

The students in my study were very well aware of these local conventions. When I asked them about the contexts in which they needed to speak Korean outside of the school, a majority of them pointed out the greetings when they said hello and good-bye to elders, such as their school friends' parents and their relatives. Su-ji speculated that she would be hit if she greeted her grandparents in Japanese. Hye-jin and Min-u asserted that greeting elderly community members in Korean was “yeyuy (manner, politeness)” and otherwise, it was regarded as “sillyey (bad manners, rude).”

7.5.2 Korean is an ‘Active-duty’ Student Language

Analysis of interview data with my research students helped me better understand their language life outside of the school. Not surprisingly, their daily life was predominantly in Japanese: they typically talked with their school peers in Japanese beyond the school domain and also did so with their immediate and extended family in Japan as well. Nevertheless, it was interesting that they used Korean with schoolteachers even outside of school activities, such as when they ran into their teachers on the street or on the subway and had a conversation with them, and when they called or sent text messages to them. According to Su-ji, who had a relative that was a Chongryun high school teacher, she addressed him in Korean, in contrast with other relatives.

Mrs. Song supported this description by the students. To my question of her students’ language choice when they met her by chance outside of school, she informed me that they immediately switched their language from Japanese to Korean. And, to my follow-up question as to what she would do if they did not use Korean, she presumed that she would instruct them to speak Korean. However, it should be noted that the communicative rule to address schoolteachers in Korean did not necessarily apply to *former* students of Chongryun schools. When I asked Mrs. Song about which language her ex-students used to speak to her, she replied:

There are people speaking in *uri mal* (our language = Korean) and [but] as well society - people working entirely in Japanese society would first greet in *uri mal*, “*annyeng hasipnikka? ogenki desuka?* (Hello? How are you?)” but they would shift to Japanese. I think there’s no help for it. But as long as they are marked as a student, I point it [speaking Japanese to me] out. Even to university students, I would point it out like “Speak in *uri mal*” but, if they become members of society ((JH: Would you point it out even to students who went to a Japanese university?)) I would point it out. ((laugh)) (Interview 1, K, 29/04/2013)

Although in many cases her former students spoke to her in Korean even after they had left Chongryun schools, she said, there were also people who spoke primarily in Japanese except for greetings, because they were working in a Japanese-dominant society and had not had many opportunities to be exposed to Korean for a long time. As suggested in her statement “I think there’s no help for it,” she did not perceive it as rude and bad manners for which she needed to admonish them. Rather, she seemed to consider it a natural thing. This view was echoed by Ms. Hwang (the English teacher) and Mr. Han (the principal). They deemed the act of current students speaking Japanese to them outside of school an intolerable breach of manners and an affront against “*yeycel* (etiquette, politeness)” whereas the act of past students talking to them in Japanese was acceptable.

In the statement above, Mrs. Song linked speaking Korean to the social status of ‘student,’ including the students who transferred to a Japanese school. Yet, to Mr. Han, the applicable scope of the rule seemed to be a little narrower than Mrs. Song’s – namely, it applied only to students who were currently enrolled in Chongryun schools. On one occasion, Sang-jae, a graduate of Kansai Korean School who was attending a Japanese university, visited the school to watch a school festival and I joined their conversation between him and Mr. Han. Sang-jae first started speaking by blending Korean and Japanese. But Mr. Han did not show any unpleasant signals about his language mixing and rather, continued the conversation speaking Japanese; it was quite surprising to me because it was my first time to see Mr. Han speaking Japanese almost exclusively at school. Then, as if he took it as Mr. Han’s sanctioning of speaking Japanese, Sang-jae gradually increased the use of Japanese in his speech.⁹⁸

⁹⁸ I had a chance to talk with Sang-jae before the festival and asked him about his language choice when he talked to his former teachers. He told me that he decided which language he would continue speaking while reading a teacher’s countenance. Thus, the observation of the conversation with him and Mrs. Han raised the reliability of Sang-jae’s commentary.

In sum, whereas people who left Chongryun schools and/or started working in Japanese-dominant contexts were not strongly expected to speak Korean to their former teachers, it was mandatory for current Chongryun school students to speak Korean to their teachers (perhaps *any* Chongryun schoolteachers, given the case of Su-ji above) both within and beyond the school domain. Put differently, in the community, Korean was marked as an ‘active-duty’ student language in that it is strongly linked to current Chongryun school students.

7.6 Summary and Discussion

This chapter shows that the parents’ choice of Chongryun schools was engendered by a complex relationship among a range of factors such as children’ Korean identity, familism, social relations, child rearing, and restricted knowledge (i.e., lack of information about other types of schools other than Chongryun schools). Moreover, I highlight that their decision-making was a concomitant of a dynamic process including conflicts, negotiations, and changes, so it is far from being static and an effortless process as implied in previous studies (e.g., Higa, 2013; Nakajima, 2011; Tanada, 2013).

The parents in this research cited their hopes of raising their children as Koreans in Japan as one of the main reasons that they enrolled their children in Chongryun schools. The schools’ learning environment with co-ethnic fellows and a heavy emphasis on Korean language education, they believed, would provide their children with an emotional sense of stability and help them to cultivate Koreanness. Also, some parents pointed out familial ties and loyalty or ‘familism’ (Cho, 2008; Guardado, 2008; Guardado and Becker, 2014) as one of their motives in choosing Chongryun schools. Mrs. Kim and Mrs. To said that their father and father-in-law’s desire had an effect on their decision. Mrs. Shin explained that her choice of Chongryun schools was partly derived from her consideration for her grandmother who might want her great-

grandchildren to know her mother tongue. In addition, she considered all of her children having the same experience, sentiments, and cultural values through Chongryun schools to promote deeper understanding between her family members and strengthen the family bonds.

To Mrs. Kim, it was important to maintain intimate social relations with the community, which factored into her consistent assertion to send her second daughter, Na-yŏng, to a Chongryun high school. A majority of customers for her mother and her business were Chongryun-related community members. Furthermore, Mrs. Kim's brother was working in the regional chapter of Chongryun. Thus, considering the stigma attached to people who transferred their children to non-Chongryun schools in the community, Mrs. Kim was strongly against the idea of Na-yŏng transferring to a Japanese high school and attempted to keep her family's long-standing ties with the community members.

In a household where both parents worked for a living, sending children to the same school seemed to be a great help in mitigating their commitment to their children's school-related matters. Mrs. O, who owned her own business, found participating in all activities and events of two different schools that her children were attending was a strenuous and time-consuming process, thereby she decided to enroll all of her children in Kansai Korean School. Moreover, her familiarity with the education system and content of Chongryun schools and a restricted knowledge of other schools led her to choose Chongryun schools for her children. As Park and Bae (2015) put it, therefore, parents' school choice was "not simply predicated upon a rational calculation of the benefits" for their children's future, but also was "grounded on the here and now" (p.94).

It is also important to note that the process through which the parents chose a school was not straightforward and smooth all of the time. When some of the parents considered

transferring their children to non-Chongryun schools for their children's future career and for a broader worldview, they encountered opposition from their spouse or children, as in the cases of the Yang-Kim family and Mrs. Kang's family, for example. On some occasions, they experienced conflicts within their own viewpoints and beliefs as reported by Mrs. Kim and Mrs. Shin. These tensions and conflicts prompted negotiation between family members and within individuals and resulted in changes in their perspectives and decisions on their children's schools.

In this chapter, I also examined how the families pursued their children's Korean development at home. The results shows that many of them did not make deliberate efforts except for enrolling their children in Korean ethnic schools (Chongryun schools and Hana Korean School) even though they highlighted the importance of transmitting Korean to their children. Their lack of investment in their children's Korean development at home can be explained by their language ideologies – the less powerful status of Korean compared to Japanese in Japan, the responsibility of Chongryun schools and first-generation Koreans to transmit Korean to the next generation, self-perceived deficiency in Korean, and a belief that Korean language competence is continuously latent once acquired.

Despite the parents' lack of concern about their children's Korean use outside of school, observing everyday interactions between community members and interview data with teachers and students indicates that there were occasions when Korean children were expected and socialized to speak Korean outside of the school domain. The adults in the community used Japanese almost exclusively for daily conversation with each other. Nevertheless, when they exchanged greetings and expressed appreciation and congratulations, they switched their code to Korean. Also, in the community, Chongryun school students were required to speak Korean to teachers under all circumstances (whether they are within or outside of school), but once they left

the realm of Chongryun schools, the obligation was reduced. Thus, it was common to see Chongryun school graduates talking with schoolteachers (even their former teachers) in Japanese. This language landscape in the community socialized Korean children to link the Korean language to 'Chongryun schools' as well as 'politeness' and 'student status' of Chongryun schools.

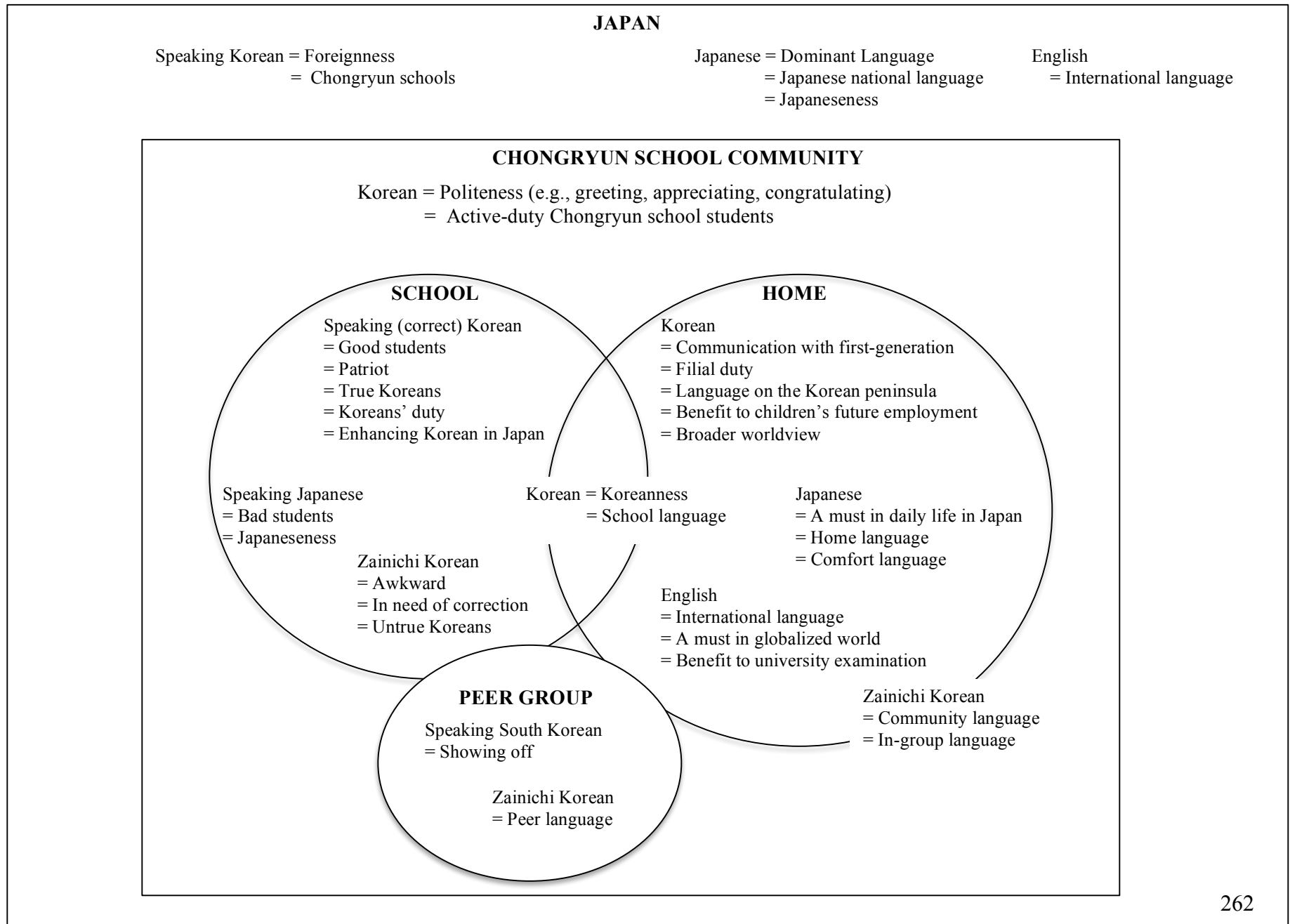
CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS

8.1 Introduction

This study has examined the processes of Korean language socialization in the Chongryun school community: (1) how Chongryun school students are socialized to (or not to) learn and use Korean in schools, households, and communities and (2) how they are socialized through language into language ideologies and identities that affect their Korean language development. This is the first study to investigate Korean language socialization in the Korean community while including multiple sites such as Chongryun schools, students' households, and community settings. The focus on daily interactions and linguistic practices in those places and in-depth interviews with teachers, students, and parents enables us to identify a variety of language ideologies circulating in the community (Figure 8.1) as well as understand the multiple ways in which those ideologies of language were socialized into the students of my study. This empirical study also contributes to supporting the findings of language socialization studies that highlight the complex, dynamic, unstable, and sometimes contradictory process of language socialization and the partial, selective, and unexpected outcomes of language socialization. Moreover, this study has found that macro-level changes concomitant with globalization (i.e., English power and the Korean Wave) impact the ways in which Korean ethnic schools and individuals invest in Korean.

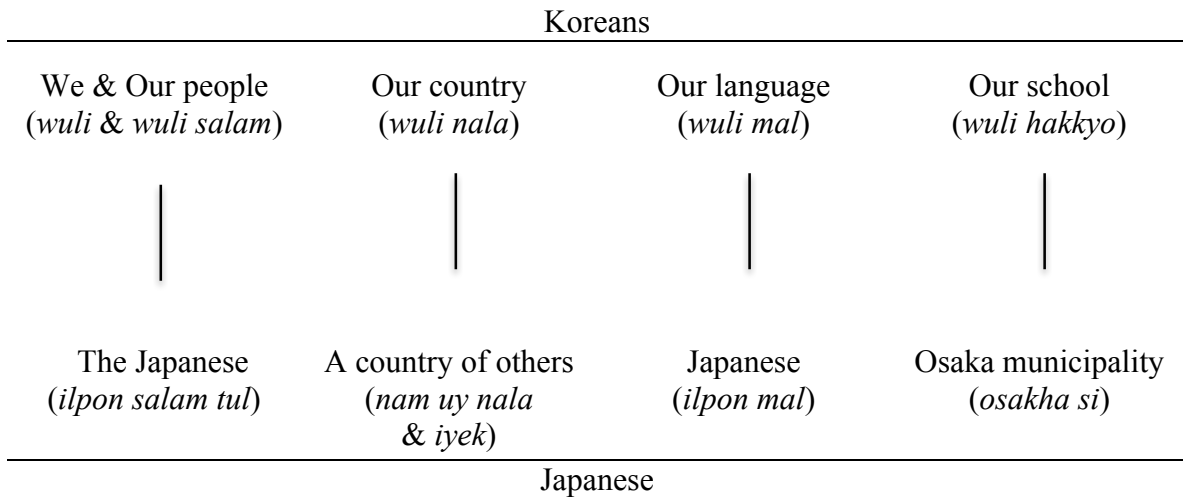
Figure 8.1 Multiple Language Ideologies in the Korean Community and Japan



8.2 Language Socialization, Language Ideologies, and Identities at School

After Korea's liberation in 1945, Korean ethnic schools were established with the aim to educate Korean children in Japan, rid them of the stigmatized identity of colonial or subordinate subjects, and instill in them a sense of ethno-national pride and equal status with Japanese as a sovereign country's people. In the present day, Chongryun schools continue to focus on cultivating new generations of Koreans in Japan. Although the ideology of "repatriatism" (Hester, 2008: 146) has begun to fade away, Chongryun schools regard maintaining Korean identity as essential for Zainichi Koreans to live in Japan as decent human beings with confidence. Chongryun schools do not accept the concept of a dual or hybrid identity, such as Korean-Japanese or Japanese-Korean. From their perspective, being Korean means not being Japanese and Japanese means not being Korean. Therefore, as seen in Chapter 6, Kansai Korean School teachers routinely drew a clear boundary between Koreans and Japanese through pronominal usage (e.g., *wuli*) – 'we-voicing' (Friedman, 2006; Silverstein, 2000) – and other referencing terms (e.g., *iyek*, *nam*) and naturally identified their students as belonging to the Korean peninsula and not Japan.

Figure 8.2 Opposing Relations between Koreans and Japanese in Classroom Interactions



From the Chongryun schools' point of view, a command of Korean is a crucial element that factors into their students' identification with Koreans. They consider the Korean language as encapsulating Korean culture and spirit and thus, cultivating a strong and positive Korean identity into their students while hindering them from assimilating into Japanese. They also highlight that the Korean language is a crucial symbolic and practical resource that allows the students to be connected with other co-ethnic members all around the world and participate in the transnational imagined community where they would play a role as cultural and sociopolitical bridges between the two Koreas and Japan (Chapter 4). For those reasons, the schools devote efforts to socializing their students to learn and speak (correct) Korean by applying a variety of language socialization practices and strategies as shown in Chapter 5. Participating in these socializing practices, the students are exposed to multiple language ideologies that link the Korean language with moral duties and symbolic and positive benefits to the students (Table 8.1).

Table 8.1 Socializing into Speaking Korean and Language Ideologies at School

School LS Practices and Activities	Korean Language Ideologies
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Korean-only policy • 100% Our Language Movement <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Peer-monitoring - Awards and penalties based on daily Korean use • Teachers' direct instruction • Making and studying wall posters • Corrective feedback • Our Language Class • Participation in school events (e.g., speech contest, cultural festivals) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Korean = Koreanness and in-group language • Korean = The sole 'official' school language • Speaking (correct) Korean <ul style="list-style-type: none"> = Good students = Patriotic Koreans = Koreans' duty = Maintaining and enhancing Korean in Japan = True and legitimate Koreans = Faithful to the first generation • The local Korean variety (Zainichi Korean) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> = Awkward and illegitimate Korean variety = Untrue and fake Koreans

8.2.1 Ambivalence in Language Ideologies and Identity Formation

The Kansai Korean School teachers framed the linguistic features characterizing the local variety, Zainichi Korean – for example, code-switching between Korean and Japanese, heavily-Japanese-influenced expressions, and dominant use of the formal ~ deferential form (i.e., *hapnita* form) – as ‘incorrect’ and ‘awkward’ and assumed that it would impede communication and solidarity with the co-ethnic group around the world. This same view was found in a magazine article by professor Pak Chae-su, Dean of the Department of Literature at *Chosŏn* University, which highlighted the key role of correct Korean in “forming a pan-Korean community in the world” (Chapter 4).

These purist and prescriptive language ideologies were fostered and socialized into the students through everyday socializing practices and activities in Kansai Korean School. For example, the students were instructed to study together the lists of incorrect Korean forms widely used among students (Figure 5.4) under the leadership of a Korean language chairperson; and to choose and write an erroneous form they often used on the blackboard and pay attention not to

use it for a day. The schoolteachers frequently pointed out and/or scolded students' use of incorrect Korean, regardless of place and time (whether within the classroom or not and during a class or not) as described in Chapter 5. In addition, the students were encouraged to correct their peers' erroneous use of Korean as well as post examples of non-standard forms that were pointed out by teachers on a bulletin board in the classroom (Figure 6.2). The value of learning and speaking correct Korean was a favored theme in speech contests. Thus, through attending the contests, the students were exposed to unmistakable messages – prescriptive and standard Korean is more desirable and prestigious than the local variety of Korean, Zainichi Korean, and people who speak standard Korean are “true” and “patriotic” Koreans as well as “proud” students.

In theory, the model language for Korean education in Chongryun schools is the standard language of North Korea, *Munhwaŏ*, because the schools officially align themselves with North Korea. However, as seen in Chapter 6, the theory did not always correspond to the reality. On the one hand, the teachers in Kansai Korean School taught Korean to their students on the basis of the textbooks written in *Munhwaŏ*. The orthography based on the standard language of South Korea (*P'yojunŏ*) was regarded as unacceptable in the school. On the other hand, the teachers sometimes approved of students using *P'yojunŏ* and legitimized *P'yojunŏ* as one of the acceptable Korean varieties for education in Chongryun schools. Within the socializing context of Kansai Korean School, therefore, it was unclear which Korean variety the students were being socialized into. A lack of reference documents and books from North Korea, in sharp contrast to the profusion of South Korean materials in Japan, and increasing demand for *P'yojunŏ* education from parents and students added to the complexity, vacillation, and change in the language socialization practices and language ideologies of Chongryun schools.

The attempt to socialize students into the purist and prescriptive Korean language ideologies at school is, I believe, meant to motivate students to pay more attention to their own Korean forms and improve their command of standard Korean. As seen in Chapter 5, some of the students, as the school intended, actually problematized some allegedly poor qualities in their Korean and expressed a strong desire to enhance their Korean proficiency. However, at the same time, the possibility that the strong emphasis on prescriptivism and association between correct Korean and true Koreans could lead students to struggle with their identity – their legitimacy being Korean – should not be overlooked. All of the students involved in my study identified themselves as Korean in relation to Japanese. They strongly claimed that they had never thought that they were Japanese. In contrast, some of them alluded to a feeling of ambivalence about their Koreanness relative to Koreans who were born and raised in South Korea. For example, Min-jōng identified Koreans in South Korea as being more “real” than Zainichi Koreans due to their proficiency in *P’yojunŏ* (Chapter 7). Na-yōng and Min-u associated insufficient Korean competence with a sense of ‘shame’ and ‘lack of confidence’ in being Korean and thus, demonstrated their strong aspiration to have native-like Korean proficiency (Chapter 6). One of the goals of Chongryun school education is to cultivate a positive and solid Korean identity and ethnic and cultural pride in the students. However, the above-mentioned students’ statements indicate that the persistent emphasis on ‘correct’ Korean at school could – *unexpectedly and counter-productively* – socialize some students into identifying as ‘semi-Koreans’ and ‘illegitimate’ members of the Korean ethnolinguistic community and cause them to continuously doubt and negotiate their legitimacy as Korean until they gain an appropriate and authentic command of the Korean language.

8.3 Students' Agency: Co-constructing, Negotiating, and Challenging Language Ideologies

This study also sought to understand the roles of Chongryun school students in (re)producing and transforming the language ideologies that prevail in school discourses and practices. Attention to the interactions between the teachers and students in Kansai Korean School, combined with their interview comments, indicates that the students were not merely passive recipients of the socializing process but active contributors to reproducing and fortifying, and sometimes changing the language ideologies.

The students in my study immediately shifted their language from Japanese to Korean when they walked into the school. Following the school rules, they monitored not only their own linguistic output, but also other students' speech to avoid blurting out Japanese. In Mrs. Song's class, the students co-constructed the social meanings of speaking Korean in Japan while diligently responding to the teacher's questions and displaying allegiance to the teacher's ideological stance. The students also participated in and appropriated the practices of correction, thereby contributing to legitimizing the pure and prescriptive ideologies of Korean. When they inadvertently spoke inappropriate Korean, the students politely and quietly listened to the teachers' scoldings, made self-repairs, and/or took up the replacements provided by the teachers. One student voluntarily corrected her classmate's erroneous Korean pronunciation as well (Chapter 5).

However, it is important to note that the students' language behaviour did not always reflect their language ideologies. During interviews with me, some of the students clearly expressed their support of the purism and prescriptivism of Korean, but others set forth a counterargument by asserting the legitimacy of the local variety, Zainichi Korean, and their full membership in the Korean ethnolinguistic community in spite of their perceived insufficient

proficiency in Korean. For example, in classroom interactions, I observed that Min-a displayed to teachers her understanding of and alignment with the ideologies of purism and prescriptivism and participated in reproducing and intensifying the language ideologies by self-repairing her own errors and taking up teachers' corrections. Yet, in an interview with me, she raised a strong objection to the importance of learning and speaking standard Korean. She said that Zainichi Korean is also a legitimate Korean variety in line with standard Korean, rather than an 'incorrect' or 'wrong' form and that there is no problem with using Zainichi Korean at school. Similarly, although Chi-min appropriated the routine of corrective feedback to fulfill her role as a Korean language chairperson at school, she explicitly told me that she did not see any reasons why she needed to have a command of standard Korean and was unconcerned about further improving her Korean. The students therefore showed resistance to the hierarchical relationship between standard Korean and non-standard Korean and between speakers of those Korean varieties. Unlike the school discourse where speaking correct Korean was equated with being 'true' Koreans, they said that high fluency and accuracy in Korean was not mandatory to become legitimate Koreans and that having a rudimentary competence in Korean (e.g., greetings) was sufficient enough.

So how can we explain the gap between their behavior during interactions with teachers and their explicit statements in the interviews with me? In fact, during the course of my observations, I never saw the students voicing such opinions to teachers and directly challenging the school-sanctioned ideologies of language. They seemed to know perfectly well what variety of Korean was preferred, what cultural and language behaviors were desirable, and who had more power between teachers and the students at school. Therefore, rather than explicitly challenging the purist and prescriptive language ideologies and teachers' authority while risking

possible damage to their relations with teachers and emotional distress (e.g., being scolded, disregarded), they “*chose to become socialized*” (Duff, 2002: 313, emphasis original) into the school language practices within teacher-controlled contexts. They knew that there were other contexts or safer spaces where they could express their own stance about the Korean language. For instance, in peer interactions outside the range of teachers’ monitoring, they would make up new Korean words (incorrect forms from the teachers’ perspective) for fun and socialize with one another to use the local variety of Korean, Zainichi Korean, and not standard Korean (particularly, *P’yojunŏ*).

The students have been engaging in multiple communities while interacting with multiple participants. Through these processes, they have learned what language and what behaviours are preferred and accepted in what contexts with whom. Thus, when they participated in certain language practices, activities, and contexts, they chose how to behave and speak (e.g., whether or not to conform to the cultural and linguistic norms and to what extent to follow the norm) with their own agency.

8.4 Language Socialization, Language Ideologies, and Language Use Beyond School

In Chongryun schools, the Korean language is the sole official language. In principle, whether or not they are in the classroom and whether or not there is a teacher, students must use Korean in school-related activities. Speaking Japanese at school prompts classmates’ rebukes and counts as a blatant disregard of teachers. Thus, Japanese is associated with a display of resistance to the school’s and the teachers’ authority and is branded as the behavior of bad Korean students, whereas Korean is associated with a display of respect and alignment with the school and teachers and with the mark of good Korean students.

When the students step outside of the school, however, the language environment surrounding them shifts to being completely Japanese-dominant, if not Japanese monolingual. The students in my study naturally changed their code from Korean to Japanese when they left school. They spoke mostly in Japanese to their immediate and extended families living in Japan. They had few opportunities to talk with people from and on the Korean peninsula. They rarely visited South Korea or North Korea to meet their relatives residing there. Their families did not have close social networks with newcomers from South Korea. One student told me that it was only when she randomly met tourists from South Korea and tried to chat them up or provide directions that she spoke to people from South Korea.

Some of the students also explained that the invisibility and inaudibility of linguistic and ethnic diversity along with the upsurge in anti-North Korea and Chongryun sentiment in Japan caused them to avoid speaking Korean in Japanese-dominated settings. That is, their sense of being positioned as an alien and outcast (e.g., non-Japanese, Chongryun school students) by using Korean in such contexts constrained them from investing in Korean and their Korean identity (Chapter 6). Brown's (2009) study of ethnic identity and Korean heritage language shows that some Korean-American college students are reluctant to reveal their Koreanness in public places because of the negative stereotypes assigned to Asians in the U.S., even though they have a strong Korean identity. Similarly, He (2006) suggests that the degree of success in heritage language learning correlates positively with the stance of the host country toward the heritage language. The comments of the students in my study strongly support the scholars' arguments that mainstream society exercises great influence over the way in which minorities feel about themselves and invest in their heritage language and ethnic identity.

Beyond the school domain, therefore, there are few contexts where Chongryun school students are expected to use Korean; only for restricted contexts and functions, such as expressing politeness to community elders through greetings and appreciation and conversing with schoolteachers as active-duty students. The Zainichi Korean parents in my study did not seem to be disturbed by the lack of opportunities for their children to learn and use Korean outside of school. On the one hand, they expected their children to follow the Korean-only rule well and develop their Korean competence at school in the belief that this will intensify their Korean identity, instill pride in their ethnic background, and give them a broader worldview. On the other hand, a majority of them did not make particular or deliberate efforts to improve their children's Korean abilities at home. Their home language was overwhelmingly Japanese and they did not encourage their children, for example, to speak Korean, watch Korean TV programs, or read Korean books. Some of them rationalized this by shifting the responsibility for intergenerational Korean transmission to Chongryun schools and first-generation Koreans. Others cited their deficiency in Korean competence and their vexations with thinking and speaking in Korean as reasons. Mr. Yang, Mrs. Shin, and Mrs. Hong pointed out the lack of practical value of speaking Korean in mainstream society, Japan, and a globalizing world. The parents' home language practices were therefore mediated by their language ideologies about who has the responsibility for intergenerational transmission of Korean, how proficient they are in Korean, how beneficial Korean will be in their children's future in Japan and the world, and how proficient their children should be in Korean to become Korean (Chapter 7).

These macro and micro contexts surrounding Chongryun school students construct and intensify the linkages between the Korean language and Chongryun schools and the status of

‘active-duty’ students and thus, socialize them not to speak Korean outside of Chongryun schools except for limited settings.

8.4.1 Power Relations between Languages and Investment in Korean

Language socialization studies in multilingual societies reveal that the power relations between a national language and minority language exert great influence over the language ideologies of minority language speakers and their language choices in interactions with children, all of which promotes the children’s language shift to the national language (e.g., Canagarajah, 2008; Kulick, 1992; Moore, 1999; Paugh, 2012; Schechter and Bayley, 1997; Zentella, 1997). This phenomenon is found in the Chongryun school community as well. As illustrated in Chapter 7, all of the parents I interviewed highlighted the symbolic value of Korean for their own and their children’s Korean identity. However, a number of them said that they did not hold strong expectations that their children would achieve high fluency in Korean because their children are living in Japan now and will do so in the future as well. They envisioned the imagined community in which their children would participate in the future as Japan and not South Korea or North Korea. Therefore, they suggested that it was sufficient for their children to have enough Korean competency to cultivate Korean identity and a sense of pride in Korean culture, and that such a level of Korean proficiency could be achieved through education in Chongryun schools without any support from home.

However, what is interesting is that the power differentials not only between Korean and Japanese at the national boundaries, but also between Korean and English in the globalized world, also affected the parents’ socializing practices at home and investment in their children’s Korean. For example, Mrs. Shin expressed her hope that her children would become global citizens who can respect other cultures and ethnic and national groups and live anywhere in the

world. She believed that English would transfer her children to this imagined community and so she has invested in her sons' English education: sending them to private English schools and suggesting they watch English movies without subtitles and listen to English radio courses. Mrs. Shin explicitly said that she wanted her children to become more competent in English than Korean because English is an international language, whereas Korean is used only on the Korean peninsula.

The discourse of English as a global language prevailing in Japan and the world (Hashimoto, 2007; Kubota, 1998, 2011; Yamagami and Tollefson, 2011) also has an effect on curriculum and school language policy of a Korean ethnic school or Hana Korean School, as seen in Chapter 4. Hana Korean School aims not only to inculcate ethnic identity and pride in its students, but also to educate them as *wōlgyōngin* (people crossing borders). Therefore, the school places great focus on language education in Korean and English, and puts forward trilingual education (especially, English education) as the main 'selling point' of the school to potential school parents and students. Recently when I had a chance to talk with the vice principal of the school, he informed me that the school was considering changing the status and identity of the school to a completely international school and putting more emphasis on English education, while 'demoting' Korean language to an elective course in order to recruit more students and extricate itself from the financial difficulties that the school is facing.

Much of the research on minority language or heritage language learning and maintenance/shift has been conducted in English-speaking contexts and has taken into account only the power differentials between the minority language and English. The findings of this study calls attention to the need for more research on the socializing process of a minority language in *non*-English speaking societies and illustrates how a minority group grapples with

the transmission of its language under the dual pressures of teaching the host country language alongside the global language skills perceived as necessary to young generations.

8.5 A New Resource and Community for Korean Maintenance in Japan

As mentioned above, in the Chongryun school community, there are scarcely any contexts where intergenerational transmission of Korean naturally takes place. As previous studies also noted (e.g., Kim, 1994; Ryang, 1997), the everyday language for a large number of the community members is Japanese and not Korean. The use of the Korean language is limited to a particular place, social status, and speech acts (e.g., school, active-duty students, and greetings). After leaving the realm of Chongryun schools, the opportunities to use Korean are reduced sharply. From my observations, there seemed to be no problem with interacting with community members and maintaining community membership with only a limited productive competence in Korean.

Nevertheless, it is important to point out that the recent global and sociocultural phenomenon of the Korean Wave has been providing some of the students in my study with new means through which they can gain exposure to the Korean language and experiment with their Korean repertoire beyond geographical boundaries. Prior to the Korean Wave in Japan, it was not easy to gain access to South Korean TV programs, films, and songs. If one wanted such access, s/he had to go to a Koreatown in big cities such as Tokyo and Osaka and rent or buy pirated versions of videotapes. It was also rare to see movie theaters that showed South Korean films and record shops that displayed South Korean music CDs. However, since the early 21st century, the social landscape has changed significantly in Japan. South Korean dramas came to be regularly broadcasted through Japanese cable channels and mainstream networks. Separate

sections displaying Korean language textbooks and magazines and books about South Korean pop culture have been created in Japanese bookstores (Hanaki et al., 2007).

This surge of interest in South Korean pop culture has attracted the attention of some of the students involved in this study and led them to invest their time and effort in participating in online activities that require reading, listening, and writing skills in Korean. As I mentioned in Chapter 7, Min-jöng was a big fan of South Korean pop culture. She enjoyed watching South Korean TV dramas and shows, searching for video clips and news articles about her favorite idol groups on the Internet (e.g., YouTube), and following their pages on social networking services (e.g., Instagram, Twitter). According to her, these online activities offered her opportunities to learn youth language and popular fad words in South Korea and practice the standard Korean of South Korea by interacting with other fans in South Korea. Her passion for South Korean pop culture resulted in her considering going to South Korea to further improve her Korean (more precisely, *P'yojunö*) in the near future. Min-u, who is also enthusiastic about a particular South Korean idol group, told me that he often interacted with the idol group's fans around the world in both English and Korean through a variety of social networking services. Even though he planned to go to a Japanese high school and the chances to study Korean would be reduced there, he said with confidence that he would continue studying Korean through watching South Korean TV programs and participating in online activities. Under circumstance where the students' exposure to and use of Korean through face-to-face interaction is generally restricted in Japan, the unprecedented boom of South Korean pop culture and students' engagement in online activities contributes to increasing their motivation to continue using and developing their Korean and provides an alternative way to expand their Korean repertoire, including registers that they may not be able to encounter in Chongryun schools (Cho, 2008; Lam, 2004; Lee, 2006).

8.6 Limitation of the Study and Future Directions

Zainichi Koreans are far from being a homogeneous group. Their lives and trajectories vary significantly from one to another. A considerable number of Zainichi Koreans have been educated in Japanese schools and have only restricted networks with other Koreans in Japan. The number of people who were naturalized as Japanese has also been increasing these days. Children with Korean and Japanese parents are increasing and more young generations of Zainichi Korean go abroad to study – to South Korea or other countries.

This study is based on only a limited number of Zainichi Koreans, especially those connected to Chongryun schools. In order to better understand Korean language education and maintenance by Zainichi Koreans, more research on those with diverse backgrounds, both within and outside of the Chongryun school community, is needed in the future. For example, how do the parents with children attending Japanese schools make efforts to teach Korean culture and language to their children? Why do or do they not invest in their children's development in the Korean language? How does the transnational experience of young generations studying in South Korea or other countries affect their language ideologies and investment in Korean and identities? How do the increasing numbers of those with Japanese and Korean parents conceptualize learning Korean and define themselves? Maher (2005) claims that hybrid identities and hybrid language use have come to be perceived as 'cool' by Japanese and ethnic minority groups in present-day Japan and that they can play their cultural, ethnic, and language hybridity for aesthetic function; he labels this phenomenon 'Metroethnicity.' Future studies need to investigate the relationship between the perception of coolness in hybridized forms and the Korean language among young generations of Koreans as part of a broader study of investment in Korean identity and the Korean language.

The correlation between gender and Korean use and learning in Chongryun schools would also be valuable to consider in future. In Chongryun schools, gender roles among students seem to be clearly compartmentalized. For example, the roles of classroom chairperson and Youth Pioneer chairperson should be played by male students while female students should play the role of vice-chairperson. It was striking to me as well that male students were called up first, and then female students, when they received their certificates during a Chongryun high school graduation ceremony, which implies a gender hierarchy for certain types of ethno-national activities. Regarding language use at school, I was informed by a Chongryun high school student that female students tended to use Korean better than male students. Therefore, examining the effect of gender on students' learning of Korean communicative abilities could further enhance our understanding of their Korean development. In addition, given the fact that little attention has been given to Mindan schools, it would be worthy to examine Korean language socialization in those schools too.

This study has focused on the language socialization contexts in which the students in my study are embedded and on their perceptions of the Korean language and identities at a *particular* point in time. Global and sociopolitical circumstances are shifting around them and thus, their points of view will change over time. Hence, in the future, studies with a longitudinal nature would also further enhance our understanding of Korean language socialization in the Zainichi Korean community (e.g., how do they invest in Korean after leaving the regime of Chongryun schools?).

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APPENDIX A: Classroom Observation Consent Form

Parent Consent Form

Colonial and post-colonial fates of Korean: Language, identity and ideology at home and in diaspora

Principal Investigator:

Dr. Ross King
Professor, Department of Asian Studies, University of British Columbia

Co-Investigator:

JeongHye Son
PhD Candidate, Department of Asian Studies, University of British Columbia
Research Student, Graduate School of Language and Culture, Osaka University

Investigator's Statement:

We are asking your child to be in a research study. The purpose of this consent form is to give you the information you will need to help you decide whether or not your child can be in the study. Please read the form carefully. You may ask questions about the purpose of the research, what we would ask your child to do, the possible risks and benefits, your child's rights as a volunteer, and anything else about the research or this form that is not clear. When all your questions have been answered, you can decide if you want your child to be in the study or not.

Purpose:

The purpose of this study is to better understand Korean students' school life and Korean language learning and use in an ethnic Korean school, at home and in the community in Japan. This project will be a part of my Doctoral Dissertation at UBC.

Study Procedures:

If you agree to allow your child to participate in this research study, I, Jeonghye Son will observe your child's classroom from December 2012 to July 2013. I will visit the classroom once a week and each visit will last 1-3 hours. If you permit, I would like to video and/or audiotape your child's classroom participation and participation in other school activities such as student clubs.

I will also interview your child at least two times about his/her school activities and Korean language learning experiences during 8 months of classroom observation (December 2012 – July 2013). If you and your child agree, I may request a follow-up interview at a time and place convenient for your child. Each interview will last about an hour to an hour and a half. During the interview, I will take notes and if you consent, I will tape the interview with a digital voice recorder.

Potential Risks and Benefits:

There is a very low risk of psychological trauma, associated with remembering past events, but not beyond what might be encountered in the course of daily life. To minimize this risk, your child may choose not to answer any questions that are posed to him/her. Moreover, you and your child can listen to or read her/his conversation with the researcher and erase anything you do not want to be used for research.

Whether you and your child choose to be in this study, or choose not to be in this study, your decision will not affect your child's standing in the classroom.

I hope the results of the study will help us and the Korean community in Japan to better understand how Korean children develop or lose their Korean language proficiency. Your child may not directly benefit from this study.

Confidentiality:

If you agree to your child participating in this research study, we will do everything possible to guard your child's confidentiality. This means that throughout the duration of this research we will use a pseudonym instead of your child's real name and last name. Your child's name will not be included on interview tapes, notes, or any reports of the completed study. At the conclusion of this research, all information will be identified by the pseudonym and will be kept in a locked cabinet. All electronic files will be kept on a computer protected by a password. Only the PI and co-investigators will have access to these files. We will never identify the participants by their real names or last names in any of the publications or conference presentations that will be based on this research study. Audio and/or videotapes will not be circulated publicly unless you explicitly agree to this.

Renumeration/Compensation:

Your child's participation is requested as a volunteer. Regardless of whether we finish the interview or not, your child will receive a small present as a token of our gratitude for his or her participation.

Contact for information about the study:

If you have any questions, or desire further information with respect to the study, you may contact the primary investigator or the co-investigator.

Conduct for concerns about the rights of research subjects:

If you have any concerns about your and your child's treatment or rights as a research subject, you may contact the Research Subject Information Line in the UBC Office of Research Services at 604-822-8598 or, if long distance, via e-mail to RSIL@ors.ubc.ca.

Thank you for giving this important research project your consideration!

Consent:

Your signature below indicates that you have read the information provided above. You understand that you voluntarily consent to allow your child to participate in this research. Your signature also indicates that you have received a copy of this consent form for your own records. You may withdraw your consent at any time without any consequences to you and your child.

Please check the appropriate box:

- I give you permission to both video and audiotape my child during classroom lessons.
- I give you permission to only audiotape my child during classroom lessons.
- I give you permission to audiotape interviews with my child about his or her school experience.

Your child's Name: _____.

Your Name: _____.

Signature: _____.

Date: _____.

Student Consent Form

Colonial and post-colonial fates of Korean: Language, identity and ideology at home and in diaspora

Principal Investigator:

Dr. Ross King
Professor, Department of Asian Studies, University of British Columbia

Co-Investigator:

JeongHye Son
PhD Candidate, Department of Asian Studies, University of British Columbia
Research Student, Graduate School of Language and Culture, Osaka University

Purpose:

The purpose of this study is to better understand about Korean students' experiences of school life and Korean language learning and use at home, in an ethnic Korean school and the community in Japan. This project will be a part of my Doctoral Dissertation at UBC.

Study Procedures:

I, Jeonghye Son will visit your classroom once a week from December 2012 to July 2013. I will sit and watch your participation in class activities and interactions with a teacher and your friends during classes. You will also see me taking notes. This is so I don't forget what I see. Sometimes I will bring a tape recorder or video camera and record your classroom activities. In addition, I will ask you some questions about your school life and learning Korean and it will take about between an hour and an hour and a half. During the talks, I will take notes and record our conversations with a tape recorder. You can listen to the tapes and watch the videos and change or ask us to erase anything that you said.

You can choose whether or not you would like to be a part of this study. If you do not want to respond my questions about your school life, you don't have to. If you are ever uncomfortable or want to turn off the tape recorder or video camera, all you have to do is let us know. Being part of this study will not affect your grades. You can change your mind about being in the study at any time.

Confidentiality:

If you agree to participate in this research study, we will do everything possible to guard your confidentiality. This means that throughout the duration of this research we will use a pseudonym (a false name) instead of your real name and last name. Your name will not be included on interview tapes, notes, or any reports of the completed study. At the conclusion of this research, all information will be identified by the pseudonym and will be kept in a locked cabinet. All electronic files will be kept on a computer protected by a password. Only the PI and co-investigators will have access to these files. We will never identify the participants by

their real names or last names in any of the publications or conference presentations that will be based on this research study. Audio and/or videotapes will not be circulated publicly unless you explicitly agree to this.

Remuneration/Compensation:

Your participation is requested as a volunteer. Regardless of whether we finish the interview or not, you will receive a small present as a token of our gratitude your participation.

Contact for information about the study:

If you have any questions, or desire further information with respect to the study, you may contact the primary investigator or the co-investigator.

Conduct for concerns about the rights of research subjects:

If you have any concerns about your treatment or rights as a research subject, you may contact the Research Subject Information Line in the UBC Office of Research Services at 604-822-8598 or, if long distance, via e-mail to RSIL@ors.ubc.ca.

Thank you for giving this important research project your consideration!

Assent:

Your signature below indicates that you have read the information provided above or have understood the explanation provided by Jeonghye Son. You understand that your participation in this research is voluntary. Your signature also indicates that you have received a copy of this consent form for your own records. You may withdraw your participation at any time without any consequences to you.

Please check the appropriate boxes:

- I give you permission to both video and audiotape me during classroom lessons.
- I give you permission to only audiotape me during classroom lessons.
- I give you permission to audiotape interviews with me about my school experineces.

Name: _____.

Signature: _____.

Date: _____.

APPENDIX B: Family Interaction Consent Form

Parent Consent Form

Colonial and post-colonial fates of Korean: Language, identity and ideology at home and in diaspora

Principal Investigator:

Dr. Ross King
Professor, Department of Asian Studies, University of British Columbia

Co-Investigator:

JeongHye Son
PhD Candidate, Department of Asian Studies, University of British Columbia
Research Student, Graduate School of Language and Culture, Osaka University

Purpose:

You are invited to participate in a research study about the history, language and culture of ethnic Koreans in Japan. More specifically, the purpose of this study is to better understand Zainichi Koreans experience of their Korean language learning and use at home, in an ethnic Korean school and the community in Japan. This project will be a part of my Doctoral Dissertation at UBC.

Study Procedures:

If you agree to participate in this research study, I, Jeonghye Son will conduct an interview with you at a time and place that is convenient for you. The interview will be conducted at least three times from November 2012 to July 2013 and each interview will last between 1 hour to 2 hours. During the interview, you will be asked questions about your life experience as an ethnic Korean living in Japan, your experiences of learning and speaking Korean (of various types) and experiences of teaching the Korean language and culture to your child(ren). During the interview, I will take notes, and if you agree, will also tape the interview with a digital voice recorder. You will have the opportunity to review the transcript and check the accuracy at the earliest opportunity.

In addition, I will visit your home bi-weekly or monthly (depending on your availability) on different days of the week and at different times, within your comfort level. During the observations, I will focus on the interactions of your family members. Whenever possible, these interactions will be audio or video taped. During this project, your other family members including your child(ren) will also be interviewed once or twice.

Your participation is voluntary, and at any time you may finish the interview and/or ask that certain information be removed or added. If you agree, the PI and/or co-investigator may request

a follow-up interview at a time and place convenient for you. If this follow-up interview takes place in a subsequent year, we will request your consent again with a new form.

Potential Risks and Benefits:

There is a very low risk of psychological trauma, associated with remembering past events, but not beyond what might be encountered in the course of daily life. To minimize this risk, you may choose not to answer any questions that are posed to you. The PI and/or co-investigator will also provide you with a list of available and affordable resources and counselling services prior to the interview so that you may self-refer.

You may also benefit psychologically from the participation in the study by a) having an opportunity to reflect on your knowledge of Korean and on the role of the Korean language in your life, and b) having an opportunity to tell about your achievements and challenges in the past.

Confidentiality:

If you agree to participate in this research study, we will do everything possible to guard your confidentiality. This means that throughout the duration of this research we will use pseudonyms instead of real names and last names. Your name will not be included on interview tapes, notes, or any reports of the completed study. At the conclusion of this research, all information will be identified by the pseudonym and will be kept in a locked cabinet. All electronic files will be kept on a computer protected by a password. Only the PI and co-investigators will have access to these files. We will never identify the participants by their real names or last names in any of the publications or conference presentations that will be based on this research study. Audio and/or Videotapes will not be circulated publicly unless you explicitly agree to this.

Renumeration/Compensation:

Your participation is requested as a volunteer. Regardless of whether we finish the interview or not, you will receive a small present as a token of our gratitude for your participation.

Contact for information about the study:

If you have any questions, or desire further information with respect to the study, you may contact the primary investigator or one of the co-investigators.

Conduct for concerns about the rights of research subjects:

If you have any concerns about your treatment or rights as a research subject, you may contact the Research Subject Information Line in the UBC Office of Research Services at 604-822-8598 or, if long distance, via e-mail to RSIL@ors.ubc.ca.

Thank you for giving this important research project your consideration!

Consent:

Your signature below indicates that you have read the information provided above.

You understand that your family's participation in this research is voluntary, and that you have freely and willingly consented to allow your family to participate in this research project. Your signature also indicates that you have received a copy of this consent form for your own records. You may withdraw your consent at any time without any consequences to you or your family.

Please check the appropriate boxes:

- I give you permission to both video and audiotape my family activities
- I give you permission to only audiotape my family activities.
- I give you permission to audiotape interviews with my family members.

Name: _____.

Signature: _____.

Date: _____.

Children Consent Form

Colonial and post-colonial fates of Korean: Language, identity and ideology at home and in diaspora

Principal Investigator:

Dr. Ross King
Professor, Department of Asian Studies, University of British Columbia

Co-Investigator:

JeongHye Son
PhD Candidate, Department of Asian Studies, University of British Columbia
Research Student, Graduate School of Language and Culture, Osaka University

Purpose:

The purpose of this study is to better understand Zainichi Koreans experience of their Korean language learning and use at home, in an ethnic Korean school and the community in Japan. This project will be a part of my Doctoral Dissertation at UBC.

Study Procedures:

I, Jeonghye Son will visit your home bi-weekly or monthly from November 2012 to July 2013 and observe your family activities. Sometimes I will bring a tape recorder or video camera and record your family interactions. You do not need to do anything special during the observations. Also, I will ask you some questions about your school life and learning and using Korean with your family members and friends. The interview will take about an hour to an hour and a half. During the interviews, I will take notes and record our conversations with a tape recorder. You can listen to the tapes and watch the videos and change or ask us to erase anything that you said.

You can choose whether or not you would like to be a part of this study. If you do not want to respond my questions, you don't have to. If you are ever uncomfortable or want to turn off the tape recorder or video camera, all you have to do is let us know. You can change your mind about being in the study at any time.

Confidentiality:

If you agree to participate in this research study, we will do everything possible to guard your confidentiality. This means that throughout the duration of this research we will use a pseudonym (a false name) instead of your real name and last name. Your name will not be included on interview tapes, notes, or any reports of the completed study. At the conclusion of this research, all information will be identified by the pseudonym and will be kept in a locked cabinet. All electronic files will be kept on a computer protected by a password. Only the PI and co-investigators will have access to these files. We will never identify the participants by their real names or last names in any of the publications or conference presentations that will be

based on this research study. Audio and/or videotapes will not be circulated publicly unless you explicitly agree to this.

Remuneration/Compensation:

Your participation is requested as a volunteer. Regardless of whether we finish the interview or not, you will receive a small present as a token of our gratitude for your participation.

Contact for information about the study:

If you have any questions, or desire further information with respect to the study, you may contact the primary investigator or one of the co-investigators.

Conduct for concerns about the rights of research subjects:

If you have any concerns about your treatment or rights as a research subject, you may contact the Research Subject Information Line in the UBC Office of Research Services at 604-822-8598 or, if long distance, via e-mail to RSIL@ors.ubc.ca.

Thank you for giving this important research project your consideration!

Assent:

Your signature below indicates that you have read the information provided above or have understood the explanation provided by Jeonghye Son. You understand that your participation in this research is voluntary. Your signature also indicates that you have received a copy of this assent form for your own records. You may withdraw your consent at any time without any consequences to you or your family.

Please check the appropriate box(es):

- I give you permission to both video and audiotape my interactions with my family and friends.
- I give you permission to only audiotape my interactions with my family and friends.
- I give you permission to audiotape interviews with me.

Name: _____.

Signature: _____.

Date: _____.

APPENDIX C: Interview Consent Form

Colonial and post-colonial fates of Korean: Language, identity and ideology at home and in diaspora

Principal Investigator:

Dr. Ross King
Professor, Department of Asian Studies, University of British Columbia

Co-Investigator:

JeongHye Son
PhD Candidate, Department of Asian Studies, University of British Columbia
Research Student, Graduate School of Language and Culture, Osaka University

Purpose:

You are invited to participate in a research study about the history, language and culture of ethnic Koreans in Japan. More specifically, the purpose of this study is to better understand Zainichi Koreans experience of their Korean language learning and use at home, in an ethnic Korean school and the community in Japan. This project will be a part of my Doctoral Dissertation at UBC.

Study Procedures:

If you agree to participate in this research study, I, Jeonghye Son will conduct an interview with you at a time and place that is convenient for you. The interview will be conducted at least three times from November 2012 to July 2013 and each interview will last between 1 hour to 2 hours. During the interview, you will be asked questions about your life experience as an ethnic Korean living in Japan, your experiences of learning and speaking Korean (of various types) and experiences of teaching the Korean language and culture to your child(ren). During the interview, I will take notes, and if you agree, will also tape the interview with a digital voice recorder. You will have the opportunity to review the transcript and check the accuracy at the earliest opportunity.

In addition, I will visit your home bi-weekly or monthly (depending on your availability) on different days of the week and at different times, within your comfort level. During the observations, I will focus on the interactions of your family members. Whenever possible, these interactions will be audio or video taped. During this project, your other family members including your child(ren) will also be interviewed once or twice.

Your participation is voluntary, and at any time you may finish the interview and/or ask that certain information be removed or added. If you agree, the PI and/or co-investigator may request a follow-up interview at a time and place convenient for you. If this follow-up interview takes place in a subsequent year, we will request your consent again with a new form.

Potential Risks and Benefits:

There is a very low risk of psychological trauma, associated with remembering past events, but not beyond what might be encountered in the course of daily life. To minimize this risk, you may choose not to answer any questions that are posed to you. The PI and/or co-investigator will also provide you with a list of available and affordable resources and counselling services prior to the interview so that you may self-refer.

You may also benefit psychologically from the participation in the study by a) having an opportunity to reflect on your knowledge of Korean and on the role of the Korean language in your life, and b) having an opportunity to tell about your achievements and challenges in the past.

Confidentiality:

If you agree to participate in this research study, we will do everything possible to guard your confidentiality. This means that throughout the duration of this research we will use pseudonyms instead of real names and last names. Your name will not be included on interview tapes, notes, or any reports of the completed study. At the conclusion of this research, all information will be identified by the pseudonym and will be kept in a locked cabinet. All electronic files will be kept on a computer protected by a password. Only the PI and co-investigators will have access to these files. We will never identify the participants by their real names or last names in any of the publications or conference presentations that will be based on this research study. Audio and/or Videotapes will not be circulated publicly unless you explicitly agree to this.

Remuneration/Compensation:

Your participation is requested as a volunteer. Regardless of whether we finish the interview or not, you will receive a small present as a token of our gratitude for your participation.

Contact for information about the study:

If you have any questions, or desire further information with respect to the study, you may contact the primary investigator or one of the co-investigators.

Conduct for concerns about the rights of research subjects:

If you have any concerns about your treatment or rights as a research subject, you may contact the Research Subject Information Line in the UBC Office of Research Services at 604-822-8598 or, if long distance, via e-mail to RSIL@ors.ubc.ca.

Thank you for giving this important research project your consideration!

Consent:

Your signature below indicates that you have read the information provided above or have understood the explanation provided by Jeonghye Son. You understand that your participation in this research is voluntary. Your signature also indicates that you have received a copy of this assent form for your own records. You may withdraw your consent at any time without any consequences to you.

Name: _____.

Signature: _____.

Date: _____.

APPENDIX D: Sample Interview Questions

(1) Sample Interview Questions for Parents

Can you tell me about your family history? How did your grandparents and/or parents come to Japan?

Can you tell me your childhood? Did you live with your grandparents? How did you communicate with your grandparents and parents? Did you have opportunities to interact with other Zainichi Koreans? If yes, what Korean varieties do you remember them using? And, how did you communicate with them? Did you have opportunities to interact with newcomers (South Koreans)?

If an interviewee was educated in Chongryun-run or Mindan-run schools: How was your experience of studying in ethnic Korea schools? Can you explain how the school classes were carried out? Did you feel schoolwork was hard? Why or why not? Have you ever thought about or asked your parents to transfer you to another school such as a Japanese school? How did you communicate with your teachers and school friends inside and outside school?

If an interviewee was educated in Japanese schools: What was your experience of studying in Japanese schools as an ethnical Korean? Did you have an opportunity to study Korean?

How do you evaluate your Korean abilities? What was/is the most difficult thing in studying Korean and maintaining your Korean ability? Do you want to improve your Korean? If no, why not? If yes, why and how do you think you can improve your Korean? Is there a particular variety of Korean you wish to learn?

When do you use Korean in your daily life? Where do you usually hear Korean in your community? Do you think that the variety of Korean that Zainichi (Chongryun) Koreans speak is different from other Korean varieties spoken by North and South Koreans? If yes, how is it different?

Do you think that speaking Korean is valuable these days? If yes, why and did you also think the same way before? Are there other languages you want to study (or should have studied)?

Are you interested in Korean pop culture? What do you think about the recent popularity of Korean pop culture in Japan? How does it affect your life?

Who decided to send your child(ren) to a Chongryun school and why? What do you think about the school programs (strengths and weaknesses)?

Where are you concentrating your efforts for your child(ren)'s education and life? Are there any specific practices at home in order to enhance your child(ren)'s awareness of your goals?

How important is being Korean and keeping Korean nationality to you and your child(ren)?
When do you feel that you are most Korean in your daily life? How are you improving your child(ren)'s self-consciousness as being Korean?

How important is becoming a bilingual/multilingual to your child(ren)? What level of Korean proficiency do you expect your child(ren) to achieve and in what Korean variety specifically?
How do you evaluate your child(ren)'s current Korean language abilities?

What do you think your child(ren) can do to improve his/her or their Korean abilities (and other language abilities)? What is most challenging in keeping your child(ren) learning and using Korean?

When do you think that your child(ren) use Korean? When do you think that they *should* use Korean?

How do you feel about the current political situation between Japan and North/South Korea?
How do the situations have an effect on you and your child(ren)?

(2) Sample Interview Questions for a School Principal

How long have you worked for this school as a principal? Can you tell me how you became a teacher?

What are the primary goals of this school's education programs? Where are you concentrating your efforts to achieve the goals? What is the biggest challenge in pursuing the goals?

How do you advertise for students? What are the criteria to enter this school? What is the most challenging factor in recruiting students?

What roles do you think that Chongryun schools play for Zainichi Koreans and the community?

What subjects does the school stress and why? How important is Korean language education in the school programs? How are other language classes (e.g., Japanese and English) carried out?

How important is learning and speaking Korean to your students? How do you encourage your students to speak Korean? What do you do when you find students who do not speak Korean at school? Do you encourage your students to speak Korean outside of the school? If yes, how and if no, why not? What is the most challenging factor in encouraging your students to speak Korean at school?

What level of Korean proficiency do you expect your students to achieve? What language skills (i.e., speaking, listening, reading and writing) does your school put more focus on for your students' Korean development and why?

How do you feel about the current political situations between Japan and North/South Korea?
How does the situation have an effect on your school and students?

(3) Sample Interview Questions for Teachers

How long have you worked as a teacher? Can you tell me how you became a teacher?

What are the primary goals of this school's education programs? Where are you concentrating your efforts to achieve the goals? What is most challenging in pursuing the goals?

What are the goals you wish to achieve for your class? What do you consider to be the most important aspects when you prepare for and teach the class?

Can you tell me how you conduct your class? What kind of assignments do you give your students? What are the criteria to evaluate your students' assignments and performance? What is the most challenging when you are teaching your students?

How important is speaking Korean in your class to your students? If it is important, how do you encourage them to speak Korean? What would you do when you find students who do not speak Korean at school? What is the most challenging aspect of encouraging them to speak Korean?

What level of Korean proficiency do you expect to your students to achieve? What language skills (i.e., speaking, listening, reading and writing) do you think that your school program and you put more focus on for your students' Korean development and why?

How do you feel about the current political situations between Japan and North/South Korea?
How do the situations have an effect on your school and students?

(4) Sample Interview Questions for Students

How do you like your school? Do you have any favorite school activities? What are your favorite and least favorite subjects and why? Do you feel schoolwork is hard? Why or why not?

Is taking classes in Korean difficult to you? Why or why not? How well do you think that you can understand/speak/read/write Korean? What is the most difficult thing about Korean? Do you want to improve your Korean proficiency? If yes, why and how do you think you can improve your Korean proficiency?

Do you think that your Korean abilities are useful for your future (to achieve your dream)? Are there other languages that you want to learn or improve your proficiency in? Which language(s)? And why and how?

How do you think about the 'Korean-only policy' at school? Do you speak Korean with your teachers and friends at school? What happens if you speak Japanese in class?

Have you ever thought of or asked your parents to change your school to a Japanese school? Do you have a plan to go to Japanese school (e.g. high school and university) in the future? Why or why not?

What do you usually do after school with your friends? Which language do you use with your friends after school? Do you have Japanese friends? If yes, how do you feel about speaking Korean when you are with your Japanese friends?

Do you watch Korean dramas and/or listen to Korean pop music? Do you think that your Korean is different from the Korean that celebrities speak? If yes, how different is it? Do you want to speak like them?

What kinds of things do you usually do with your (grand)parents? Which languages do you use with them and why? Have you ever seen or heard of your (grand)parents speaking Korean? If yes, when and with whom?

Do you have many opportunities to meet Zainichi Korean, older generations and newcomers from South Korea? How do you communicate with them?

Do you remember when you realized that you were ethnically Korean? Have you ever thought about what being Korean means? Do you think that you are different from Japanese? If yes, how are you different? When do you feel that you are most Korean in your daily life?

APPENDIX E: Note of Transcription

In order to transcribe examples of recorded classroom interactions, I use the following conventions:

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|----|----------------------------------|--|
| 1. | <i>italics</i> | Korean |
| 2. | <u><i>underlined italics</i></u> | Japanese |
| 3. | CAPS | Emphasis |
| 4. | (0.1) | Pause between utterances in seconds |
| 5. | ((action)) | Explanation of non-verbal action |
| 6. | (xxx) | Unintelligible speech |
| 7. | [| Overlapping speech |
| 8. | - | Self-interrupted speech |
| 9. | = | Adjacent turns with no interval between them |