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A Feminist Approach to Understanding ESL Identity Development: A Case Study of Korean Women in U.S. Universities

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**A FEMINIST APPROACH TO UNDERSTANDING ESL
IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT: A CASE STUDY OF KOREAN
WOMEN IN U.S. UNIVERSITIES**

BY

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B.A., Management, Mokpo National University, 1988
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DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

**Doctor of Philosophy
Language, Literacy and Sociocultural Studies**

The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

December, 2009

DEDICATION

To My Parents: 박 종구 and 오 영애

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their direct and indirect support and encouragement.

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ABSTRACT

Current literature and approaches to identity construction within L2 contexts often fail or underemphasize the important roles that strategic identity and discursive-place identity play in second language acquisition processes. This study explores how education, English discourse, and American cultures affect the identities of three female Korean graduate students in American institutions. The theoretical approach of this project integrated elements from sociocultural theory and feminist research methodology.

The participants' narratives, collected via interviews and email exchanges over a period of a year, have revealed that when these ESL students moved from their native country, Korea, to America, they were not only physically relocated to an American sociocultural and institutional environment, but they were also cognitively relocated into different social settings. This research reveals how variables, such as place, including physical environments, people, and discourse practices, play a role in shaping female

ESL students' identities, which are situated and shift over time and different place and space.

The study's findings are used to discuss the importance of strategic identity and discursive-place identity in ESL contexts in this dissertation. It is argued that ESL students' strategic identity and discursive-place identity construction is a dynamic and purposeful process, which is affected by the students' L2 discourse practices, and as a result is significant in understanding L2 students' ensuing identity changes. The results and discussion illuminate a number of critical issues and arguments that are often subsumed or hidden in the fields of language, education, and identity in which female students' learning processes of higher education should be, but often are not, explicitly theorized.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Background

Recent statistical research has revealed that the overall number of female

international students on American college and university campuses has increased to the

point where women either equal or outnumber their international male counterparts

(Constantine, Kindaichi, Okazaki, & Gainor, 2005; Walker, 2000). As the number of

international female students has increased, so have the expectations and obligations

placed on them in terms of their participation, involvement, roles and expected

integration within their individual departments. These dynamics often place unexpected

demands upon, and provide challenges to, many female students' first language (L1)

linguistic, cultural, and gender identities. The effects can often be seen when ESL

students are asked to reflect on the way in which they construe themselves as both

women and participants within English speaking American college environments versus

their identities within their "home" or L1 linguistic, cultural, and social environments.

The impact or long term consequences that this may ultimately have on female students

in regards to their overall identities and their abilities to reintegrate into L1 culture after

completing their studies (if they choose to return home) remains an open question and

subsequently forms the central motivation that guides and shapes this study.

In recent studies focusing on second language (L2) learners' identity, a

considerable amount of emphasis has been directed at L2 students' quest to determine

either "who am I?" or "what are my origins?" Hall (1996) emphasizes that "identities are

about questions of using the resources of history, language, and culture in the process of

becoming rather than being" (p. 4). However, L2 learners' identities have often been

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examined within the process of EFL/ESL acquisition alone rather than within the process of negotiating within and between their L1 linguistic, cultural, and gender experiences and those encountered in the host L2 environment. The emphasis on "what we might become, how we have been represented, and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves" (p. 4) has been lacking in studies on L2 students.

One area in particular that has been lacking is in regards to the variables affecting female L2 students in higher education. Research that has been conducted on this specific demographic has been predicated on the assumption that female L2 students have been viewed as model students due to the fact that their academic success rate, as measured by cumulative grade point averages, is often higher than their male counterparts (Lopez, 2003; Qin-Hillard, 2003). The failure, however, to take a more fine-grained approach to female L2 students in higher education, to go beyond just aggregate grade point scores as an indicator of success, overlooks some of the important variables that affect their learning processes as well as the longevity and sustainability of their accomplishments. Similar to male L2 students and younger students of L2, adult female L2 students go through a process of dealing with the new institutional environment in a host society. Moreover, female students may become conscious of their sense of self and their gender values, which have been awakened through their L2 education and interaction.

The persistent lack of attention given to many L2 students' individual characteristics, such as treating them as a homogeneous group and failing to examine how those variables can and do affect the students' integration and academic success in their host country and/or educational institutions, has remained a largely unexplored question. This lack of focus or attention often spills over into how these students are

portrayed with generalizations and positive stereotypes being used in lieu of concrete

substantive analysis of the factors that affect this growing demographic group. The result

is a general degree of insensitivity about female L2 students, which has resulted in both

misunderstanding and subsequent misrepresentation of these students.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of my dissertation research is to investigate the critical issues and

arguments that affect female ESL students' learning processes, the resulting conflicts and

confrontations of ESL, the ensuing negotiations of graduate educational systems, and

their subsequent construal of their roles in higher education. Based on my belief that

gender is socially constructed within cultural and historical discursive practices, the focus

of this dissertation research is to explore issues related to the use of a second language

and its influence on the transformation of foreign-born female students' identity in higher

education in the United States. The objectives of this research are twofold: (a) To

examine how Korean female graduate students in American academic contexts adjust to

new English speaking educational environments; and (b) To explore how their social

interactions and related graduate academic experiences impact their identity as Korean

women, and what changes, if any, have occurred in their self-described construction of

Self as they have progressed through their studies.

The analytical approach utilized in this study integrates elements from both

sociocultural theory and feminist research methodology in order to develop a framework

within which to locate and understand female ESL students. By framing and analyzing

the female students' personal life stories and learning experiences in American

educational contexts, this present study aims to substantially expand and contribute to our understandings of how second language learning intersects with gender and identity.

Framing the Study

My own experiences as an ESL graduate student at an American university have played a significant role in framing this present study. I studied in an American university and earned both masters and doctorate degrees. My study at the university has been the most remarkable time in my life in terms of the L2 and cultural experiences, educational experiences, and changes on my self-value systems. The opportunity to live and study in a multicultural American university environment exposed me to a wide range of new cultural patterns and norms. The cross-cultural and linguistic contacts that I experienced have made a real impact upon me as an individual. I was personally challenged in a number of fundamentally important ways. I was forced to reexamine my existing Korean woman's worldview and its priorities. This was the greatest challenge I faced, which in turn impacted the way I view my own values and roles as a woman.

Although I strived to survive in the new academic environments, years of living experiences in American academia have expanded my viewpoint to accommodate my new awareness and understanding of other peoples and cultures, belief systems, values, and perspectives. As a result of my personal experiences, I have become very interested in exploring the dynamics of what would be a common identity transformation process among female students from Korea.

Prior to my dissertation proposal hearing, I conducted a pilot study with a single participant in September 2004. I interviewed a graduate student whom I call Mimi. Mimi was born and raised in Korea. She was in her mid-30s at the time of the interview. She

came to the United States in 1998 and has resided in this country ever since. She had been married to an American husband for six years. The two interviews lasted for approximately five hours. These conversations were guided by a few open-ended questions. The following examples were taken from Mimi's interview.

> 나는 내 아이덴터티가 굳이 없어요. 그냥 때마다 바껴요. 그게 내 아이덴터티지. 물론 내가 나도 모르는 사이에 모든것에 헤비쳘하고 그래서 가끔 한국사람 같다고 하는소리를 듣긴 하지만.

> *I don't have my fixed identity. It's changing every time. That's my identity. Of course, some aspects around me become habitual without my awareness so that I sometimes hear that I act like Korean.*

> 내가 처음 미국에 왔을때 참 적응을 할려고 했었던거 같애. 핏인할려고 말을 하든 행동을 하든 토니한테 항상 물어봤어요. 내가 잘했냐 이럴땐 어떻게 해야되냐. 근데 몇년 지나서야 지금 내가 뭐 하는거야 하는 생각이 드는 거예요. 한국에서는 그렇게 핏인 할려고 노력을 안 했는데 내가 여기와서 뭐 하는거지 그런 생각. 그게 또 자신감하고 연결이 되는게 아이돈케어, 내가 좀 바보짓을 하면 그게 더 낫지, 이런 생각도 들었어요.

> *When I came to the U.S., I really tried to adjust to this country. I always checked with my husband about my language or behavior to fit in [this society]. I asked him all the time if I did a good job or what I was supposed to do in different occasions. I constantly checked with him. A few years later, I looked at myself and thought what I had been doing – I had never made the effort to fit in the society when I was in Korea; then, why am I making so much effort to fit in this country? I started to show my attitude as I don't care or it's okay if I made mistakes. I speculated this attitude was to seek my self-confidence that I lost for past years.*

In her interview conducted in the English language, she said:

> *I like myself. My life, everything was so gradual, so there's not real one point that I change. I'm turning all the time. I change all the time according to my beliefs and values change. I don't know if that's because I changed the living place or because I am growing up. But I guess I have to give credit to outside world, too. Anyway I am influenced by that, too. But for the outside world comes to me and changes me, it has to go through extensive screening system I have inside.*

Based on this pilot study, I found evidence for argument that identity is a concept that symbolically combines the personal world with the space and time of social and

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cultural relations (Harvey, 1996; Holland, Lachicotte Jr., Skinner, & Cain, 1998). I also found supporting evidence through my interview with Mimi that identity construction is the result of a process, that is, it is not a fixed configuration, but is pluralistic, shifting, and constantly developing depending on the person's surroundings and the locations. Finally, the pilot study confirmed my belief that female ESL students often constantly face a challenge between their preexisting L1 values and the L2 new belief systems (Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000). Their L1 backgrounds appear to affect experiences performing in L2, which eventually seem to lead them to change their worldviews. To summarize, studying in second language is a complex process.

My pilot study introduced me to this delightful complexity, which I have now explored further and in more detail in this doctoral research. The dynamic changes and reformation that I have experienced as an ESL student and as a result of my pilot study led me to expand my interest in how other female students from Korea have rebuilt their identities through their L2, cultural, and educational journey in graduate schools in the United States. By utilizing analytic tools for studying important issues of theory and practice in second language acquisition, I began my journey to explore other female ESL students and their journeys in American graduate institutions. The principal question guiding this research was:

> In what ways are female ESL students' identities altered by the experience of graduate studies in the United States?

Two guiding sub-questions were also utilized to help answer this principal question: (a) How is identity affected by second language? and (b) How do female Korean graduate students respond to American institutions? The ultimate goal of these research questions

was to draw my attention to how these Korean students' identity was transformed, if any, by those new experiences.

<p align="center">*Significance of the Study*</p>

I believe that simply reporting statistical analysis and assessment targeting Asian students as a whole does not accurately represent the complex cultural and ethnic individuality of each student. Locating all ESL students from one geographical region under the term "Asian" conceals important distinctions and variables that often affect test performance and the validity of assessment tools. This present study does not claim to represent all female Korean students and their experiences. It does, however, provide a unique insight into each participant's unique subjectivity and their differing strategies of adjusting to L2 and American education systems. The significance of this present study is to demonstrate how individual ESL students construe the changes in their lives, how they make meaning of their experiences in different linguistic, cultural, and social environments, which include not only the physical environments but also the people and discourses around the students, and how these elements shape their points of view and sense of self.

My study is significant in that the results and discussion can illuminate critical issues and arguments that are often subsumed or hidden in the fields of language, education, and identity in which female students' learning processes of higher education should be, but often are not, explicitly theorized. Weiler (1993) believes that personal experiences must become a source of knowledge and truth within the university. In addition, the author bell hooks (1994) emphasizes that theory comes from our everyday life experiences. By theorizing the female ESL graduate students' personal experiences in

American universities, I hope that this present study contributes to further diversify American higher educational practices by giving American educators a resource for better understanding the challenges faced by female graduate students from non-English speaking countries or from communities and minority languages and cultures.

The results of this study can also help us expand our understanding and theorizing of the relationships among language, culture, education, and gender in accordance with identity construction. This will present another important way of knowing female ESL students in higher education. Finally, the present study may be used as a platform for me, my study's participants, and for many women students who find themselves in similar American graduate level contexts, to better understand ourselves and our experiences through other women's narratives.

Overview of Chapters

The study is presented in five chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the background, purpose, and justification of this study. I describe how I framed the dissertation research based on my own ESL experiences and the results of my pilot study. The significance of this study is also presented and discussed.

Chapter 2 is a review of a range of literature that explores the meaning of identity. Understanding the notion of identity, how it is conceptualized and interpreted, has become an important theoretical paradigm in the study of L2. I begin by describing general notions of identity and then signify the concept of identity in relation to language, education, and gender. The central theoretical underpinning I utilize to view identity is that of a sociocultural perspective. To that end Vygotsky's developmentalism and Bakhtin's dialogism in relation to identity are discussed in this chapter. A feminist

standpoint paradigm is also employed in order to demonstrate how socially-constructed gender identity is deeply rooted in everyday language practice. Finally, I discuss why the concept of identity is significant to this present study.

Chapter 3 consists of two main parts. The concept of feminist research methodology is presented in the first part of the chapter. I introduce and discuss the qualitative feminist research paradigm that was used to develop a methodological framework to explore how the participants' social interactions and related graduate academic experiences impacted their identity. The significance of the methodology to the study of female ESL students and their identity construction is described in this first section. A great deal of data collection and data analysis are presented in the second part of this chapter. The three participants are introduced, along with their narrative modes. The process of data collection, transcription, methodological concerns, and researcher positionality are respectively illustrated in the second part of the chapter. The analysis tools – qualitative data analysis software Atlas.*ti* (2003-2008) and the matrix of analysis – are also presented in this chapter.

Chapter 4 illustrates the major findings that emerged from the cross-case data analysis. I unpack the participants' experiences within the form of "collected voices." By collected voices, I mean that the individual case analysis is presented within the thematic units that resulted from the cross-case analysis. The students' conversations in Korean have been provided with the English translations. Their expressions in English and/or code-mixing are exemplified using the limited filtering process that I developed for this project.

Finally, in Chapter 5, I revisit my research questions and attempt to answer them. In lieu of finding the "right" answers to the research questions, I found myself developing more questions rather than finding simple answers. I discuss the two identity types, strategic identity and discursive-place identity, which are rare in the current studies of ESL but can be used to frame how female ESL students construct their ESL identity through American education and L2 discursive practices. I conclude with a section that contains implications for educators of ESL students and for feminist research methodology, as well as suggestions for further study.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This present study explores the relationships between L1 and L2, education, and the construction of the L2 student's identity. For the focus of this present study, in this chapter, I look at previous studies related to identity development explicitly. The concept of one's identity, how it is developed and sustained, has been explored by a number of scholars, but it varies from scholar to scholar. I focus on the review of literature in relation to: (a) identity in discourse contexts (Gee, 1990; Johnstone, 1990; Mantero, 2004), (b) identity in classroom contexts (Leander, 2002b, 2004), and (c) identity in gender-related L2 learning contexts (Franks, 2002; Kramsch, 2000; Pavlenko, 2001; Pavlenko, Blackledge, Piller, & Teutsch-Dwyer, 2001).

The theoretical underpinning of this present study integrates elements from the sociocultural perspectives (Bakhtin, 1986; Holland et al., 1998; Vygotsky, 1978) and the standpoint paradigm (Harding, 1993; Hartsock, 1998, 2003). I desire to integrate these two lenses because no single theory captures the whole structure of reality, since different ways of classifying phenomena will reveal different patterns useful to different practical interests (Longino, 2002, p. 92). To begin, I look at the definitions of identity in the following section.

Definition

Erikson (1993) defines identity as a sense of self that develops through one's life in response to one's social surroundings, including social roles, norms, values, and relations to others. Wooffitt (1992) concurs that "identities are features which people can occasion as relevant in their day-to-day dealings with each other" (p. 194). Similarly,

Hall (1996) writes, "Identities are never unified, increasingly fragmented and fractured, and never singular, but multiply constructed across different discourses, practices and positions" (p. 4). These scholars' understanding of identity indicates that one's Self and social environments are closely interrelated in one's identity development.

This personal-social relationship in the development of one's identity is described by Deschamps and Devos (1998): "social identity refers to a feeling of similarity to (some) others while personal identity refers to a feeling of difference in relation to the same others" (p. 3). While for Deschamps and Devos, similarities and differences play a role in dividing social from personal identities, Doise (1998) emphasized personal identity *is* social representation, i.e., the differences and similarities are felt simultaneously and shift with social variations, cultures, and environments. His point is that social identity and personal identity are not opposite or independent concepts, but are interrelated. This is important to understanding identity. Identity does not develop involuntarily or naturally as one grows up; it develops through one's consciousness or willingness to be someone different from others within the same social and cultural impacts. One's development of *sense of self* grows simultaneously but distinctively among individuals.

For this reason, scholars have tried to avoid taking a position of extreme dualism when understanding and defining identity. For example, Serino (1998) addresses an idea of the "personal-social interplay in Self-Others comparison" wherein individual, interpersonal, and inter-group processes are closely interconnected; thus, one's personal identity is "socially defined" (p. 41). That is to say, identity is a product of one's "social practice" (Holland et al., 1998).

How Has Identity been Studied?

Identity in the Discourse Context

I draw my attention to L2 language and discourse practice in the host country as L2 students' "social practice." In this meaning of social practice, discourse includes "societal meaning-making systems, such as institutional power, social differentiation of groups, and cultural beliefs that create individuals' identities" (Young, 2009, p. 2). Holquist (2002) elaborates on the function of discourse as social practice:

> Each time we talk, we literally enact values in our speech through the process of scripting our place and that of our listener in a culturally specific social scenario. Cultural specificity is able to penetrate the otherwise abstract system of language. . . . Thus, discourse does not reflect a situation; it *is* [italics added] a situation. (p. 63).

A common conceptualization found among these scholars' work stems from Vygotskian developmentalism and Bakhtinian dialogism.

Developmentalism

Vygotsky's (1978) work centers on the nature of the relationship between the use of language and its cultural influence on one's cognitive development. The individual's cognitive development is not an automatic result of passive social interactions. It is a result of the individual's elaborate or conscious use of "mediated tools," such as language, cultural signs, meanings, and linguistic features. These mediated tools are said to be dynamically changed, developed, and co-constructed. While interacting with others by the mediated tools, the meaning of words gradually grows and changes depending on the individual's situation in action that drives one's development (Vygotsky, 1986).

Developmentalsim thus results from the process of "meaning making" social actions (Mahn, 2008). In this view, not only does language (either L1 or L2) play a significant role in one's cognitive development, but social interaction among language learning, practice, and surrounding factors affect the person's development. With regards to learning and its influence on one's development:

> Learning awakens a variety of internal developmental processes that are able to operate only when the child [learner] is interacting with people in his [one's] environment and in cooperation with his [one's] peers. Once these processes are internalized, they become part of the child's [learner's] independent developmental achievement. (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 90)

Vygotsky's theory on language and thinking is more focused on children's learning process and development than on that of adults. However, I believe his understanding about learning process in relation to language and thinking fits best in describing adult ESL students' learning processes and cognitive development. Vygotsky indicates that the process of internalizing external social activities brings about the transformation needed for one to grow. This transformation happens through interpersonal and intrapersonal process over a long period. The internalization process involves "a link between psychological processes within the individual and cultural forms of behavior between individuals" (Kramsch, 2000, p. 134). In other words, developmentalsim happens through "the dynamic interdependence" between social environments and the individual (John-Steiner & Mahn, 1996).

Dialogism

In conjunction with Vygotsky's emphasis on the social interaction in one's development and meaning making, Bakhtin emphasizes the personal growth in development of a person's self-consciousness in dialogic mode. Bakhtin's (1986) idea, "your voice and own discourse can liberate you from the authority of the other's discourse," (p. 348) is strongly related to the formation of meaning construction and therefore identity construction. It is because "the process of authoring selves awakens individual's consciousness" (p. 348). Zavala (1990) interpreted this idea as "consciousness is saturated with the semantic and that social relations consist of dialogical interactions (p. 83). In this view, the relationship between the individual and social is not "dialectical either/or; it is rather viewed as different degrees each individual possesses of other's otherness" (Holquist, 2002, p. 51). What he meant by the possession of other's otherness is that, during dialogic activities, the individual constructs meanings that make sense to himself or herself through the other's presence and responses. It is a process of creating "spaces for ourselves as individual actors within the Other" (Hall, Vitanova, & Marchenkova, 2005, p. 3).

Bakhtinian dialogism is founded in this Self and Other relation through language and discourse. In other words, an individual does not exist without having dialogic interactions between the Self and Others. This dialogic interaction is formed through "answerability," another term used by Bakhtin: "the necessity or moral responsibility for selves to answer each other's voices in a discursive event and reflects his or her view of human agency" (Vitanova, 2004, p. 263). Bakhtin asserts that one feels great moral responsibility to respond or answer to others in particular situations, and vice versa.

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Discourse interaction is the meaning made by an individual as he or she acts in response to or while engaging with others. The idea of "answerability" strongly supports a mutual and lively dialogic fashion through discursive practice. This dialogism makes clear that "what we call identities remain dependent upon social relations and material conditions" (Holland, et al., 1998, p. 189).

Discursive practice and identity development

The developmentalism in social interaction and the dialogism in the formation of self-authority are profoundly tied to Gee's (1990) idea about "Discourse." According to him, Discourse is the integration of the ways of acting, talking, thinking, feeling, believing, valuing, and writing. Each individual is the "subject of the Discourses," which is tied to "a particular social identity within a particular social group and to certain social settings and institutions . . . each is a form of life" (pp. 174-175). As a member of social groups, an individual uses a socially accepted alliance between language, thought, emotion, and behavior. Applying Gee's view to L2 contexts, Discourse in ESL is a proactive, purposeful, and developed activity, and individual ESL students' discourse is tied to their particular social identity (e.g., L2 identity) within a particular social group (e.g., ESL group) and to certain social settings and institutions (e.g., American institutions).

Identity in L2 discourse is constructed by "what we say and why" (Zavala, 1990) in the host country. Mantero (2004) points out that studies about identity have failed to examine discursive structures involved in a community's identity formation. Hand-in-hand with Mantero, Schutz (1970) not only focuses on how meaning is constructed in the particular discourse of a community, but also on how meaning is weighed down by the

views of others involved in activity within the situated discourses. I think this is a critical point in the study of L2 discursive practice and identity construction. Previous studies have not acknowledged an individual L2 student's identity as idiosyncratic. L2 identity cannot and should not be generalized as *all* L2 students develop the same kind of identity. That is why I strongly believe this present case study is important. Three women in my study do form their L2 identities *differently*. These students' face-to-face and one-on-one everyday interactions in L2 discursive practice do influence them differently. Therefore, in the study of L2 identity development, investigating an individual L2 student's different discourse activities within his or her immediate circumstances is necessary.

Hall (as cited in Zavala, 1990) says, "The knowledge of the cultural dimension as a vast complex of communications and structures of unstated experiences that members of a community share and communicate without knowing" (p. 83). Hall's point is related to Johnstone's (1990) research about a relationship between discourse and language within individual and community settings. Her research outcome reveals that not only do individual voices in a group of people share common things but also that individual voices are different from one another in different discourse styles within the community. The interrelation among those factors addressed by both Hall and Johnstone is critical when studying development in L2 discursive practice because (a) individual discourse patterns are influenced by the character of the community, and (b) the individuality devotes its character to construct the context of the community. These two are not independent features, they are intertwined.

Applying sociocultural perspectives to ESL students' learning and identity formation, these theoretical lenses give us insights into an individual ESL student's

learning process within the host social, cultural, and educational environs. The individual

ESL student's personal and social network is at all times interrelated to make meanings

and shape his or her sense of self. The process of integrating acting, talking, thinking,

feeling, believing, and valuing is not simple for ESL students in the host country. Their

ESL identities derive from the process of dealing with their conflicts, problems, and

challenges.

Identities are lived in and through discursive activities and so become

conceptualized as they are developed in social practice over a person's lifetime. In other

words, the development of identity is an outcome of living in, through, and around the

cultural forms practiced in social life. The key is that, as sociocultural scholars above

pointed out, one's identity is not a fixed configuration, but is constantly developing,

shifting, plural, and influential depending upon social and cultural factors surrounding the

individual. Perspectives from Vygotsky's insights on the relationship between thinking

and speaking processes and Bakhtin's emphasis on Self-Other relation through language

and discourse will provide insights into how to view what my participants experience in

American institutions and develop their ESL identities.

Identity in the Classroom Context

Investigating how students position themselves in their classrooms or how they

are positioned by other students, either metaphorically or physically, is another important

way to examine ESL students' identity construction. Students' classroom interactions and

school social lives with other students and/or teachers impact the students and form

whom they become. In conformance with the aforementioned sociocultural theorists,

Leander (2002a) also believes that identity is shaped by discourses and practices and a

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discursive representation of space and time in language. His way of interpreting and creating identity is that it "made available to the interactional floor that is through the projection of space and times of identification by artifacts" (p. 242). He utilized dialogic modes to look at how students in a class responded to one another and anticipated responses and how material symbolic spaces were constructed through bodies, gestures, and material objects, what he called "identity artifacts."

In his ethnographic case studies, which explored the relationship of identity-in-interaction or identity-in-practice in a classroom setting, Leander (2002a) looked at how identities become established in educational practice during classroom interactions and the different types of mediating resources the participants created and came to rely upon. In one case study, his participant named Latanya was interpreted by other students as being "ghetto," which often contained negative meanings. However, Leander strove to relocate Latanya's situation and viewed the "ghetto" label as one of social achievements. He claimed that Latanya's "ghetto" identity is achieved not only by her class situation, but also by her Self – ethnicity (Black) along with her embodied space and home geography – played a role in defining her identity. He concluded that his participants stabilized their identities in the classroom (a) by producing identity artifacts from multimodal means (signs, bodies, gestures, gaze, embodied spaces, objects, etc.), (b) by articulating and constructing configurations of these artifacts, and (c) by using these artifacts to project and constitute particular space and times. These processes are central to interpreting how certain identity meanings are forged and stabilized among the numerous available meanings circulating in an interaction. The most important

conclusion to emerge from Leander's research is that identity artifacts do serve a major function in stabilizing identity in classroom settings.

In a separate study, Leander (2002b) analyzed another subject named Chelle, who was often silenced during the class discussion. He utilized her experiences to argue that "silencing is an interactional achievement that involves producing, dividing, and relating social spaces such that participants are positioned as more or less privileged or silenced" (pp. 193-194). He argues that the processes of creating social spaces are produced in embodied spaces through talk. The result of the process is that one positions oneself with others and constructs "silencing" as a part of communication. Through microanalysis of Chelle's verbal and nonverbal participation in the class discussions and interactions with her friends, the author draws the conclusion that "silencing involves not simply expelling speakers or coercively closing down discourses, but producing, dividing, and articulating multiple social aspects so as to produce silenced positions" (p. 232). The interrelation among positioning, identity, and social space is a key component to understand most of his arguments that identity is constructed through interaction in classroom social spaces.

Davies and Harre (1990) discuss the dynamics of positioning within interaction to produce their positional identity. These scholars' point of dynamic interdependence in identity development and Leander's (2002a; 2002b) studies above are closely related to my study. For example, my participants moved from L1 Korea to L2 America. Their L2 "identity artifacts" played a role in creating their L2 social positions, such as Asian, a Korean woman, a second language speaker, an ESL student, and a foreigner. These students' experiences, who have moved to the U.S., received graduate education in American institutions, learned and used English as their major communicative tool, and

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positioned and repositioned themselves as insiders, outsiders, or somewhere in between, will be the critical sources for me to capture their process of constructing their identities. This is my assumption that each participant walks through different negotiation processes and different dynamic processes in the course of locating her Self. I believe my study about how these selected Korean students in American graduate programs locate themselves while creating their interactional space and time, and positioning them in classrooms will prove to be significant in higher education.

Identity in the Gender and L2 Context

Gender

The meaning of sex and gender, and how "gender" is understood, is often differentiated by scholars in a number of important and contrastive ways. One's biological sex and the chromosomal differences between males and females are usually presented in the following simple dichotomous distinction: male/female. One's gender, however, is often seen as a fluid concept: it changes, transforms, and constructs itself over time. It is much more contextually bound, so it is described and defined as a construction of both individual traits and social structures. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003) frame "gender" thusly, that it is learned, taught, and enforced through our institutions, our actions, our beliefs, and our desires: "social practices constitute in historically specific and changing ways not only gender relations but also such basic gender categories as woman and man" (p. 463). In other words, gender is continually cultivated and developed through interactions within social systems and practices. In this sense, gender cannot be viewed in isolation, but rather must be seen as "a collaborative

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affair that connects the individual to the social order, and is not something we have, but something we do" (Gal, 1995, pp. 31-32).

Bordo (as cited in Hesse-Biber, Gilmartin, & Lydenberg, 1999) writes that one needs to turn from understanding the body as a "fixed, unitary, primarily physiological reality" to interpreting the body as a "historical, plural, culturally mediated form" (p. 4). Bordo later questions the use of gender as an analytical category due to her concerns about ethnocentrism and class and racial biases in theories of gender. Haraway (1990) also criticizes the homogeneous notion of gender within identity politics in favor of a heterogeneous one. She believes that identity politics lead to the subdivision of interest groups and to the idealization of gender.

Finally, gender is also socialized, sustained, and transformed through talk (Ochs, 1992; Ochs & Taylor, 1995). This language socialization in gender construction is tightly interconnected with individual, social, and cultural environments. Individual social groups organize and conceptualize gender based on cultural and local organizations of gender roles, rights, and expectations. Social groups act to perpetuate these organizations in spoken and written communication. This cultural and local view of language socialization within social groups directs me to view the notion of situated knowledge from the feminist standpoint.

Situated knowledge

A central concept of standpoint theory is that knowledge is situated depending on social, historical, and political relations (Harding, 1993, 2004; Hartsock, 1998). In this view, "experiences, social practices, social values, perception and knowledge production are socially organized. The socially organized epistemology has been seen as mediating

and facilitating the transition and transformation of situatedness into knowledge"

(Stoetzler & Yuval-Davis, 2002, p. 316). Alcoff (1997) further explains that the gender

standpoints are understood within particular kinds of situated feminisms. Her notion of

situatedness includes the specificities of women's locations as well as positionality.

Harstock (1998) emphasizes that women have long been in particular social

positions and these particular social positions affect women's worldviews. Standpoint

theory values each individual's worldview, as opposed to treating women's worldviews

as a whole. The theory diversifies women's different races and classes, which are critical

factors to seeing women differently in their physical, psychological, political, and

economic locatedness. For example, in standpoint theorists' view, knowledge from

women of advantage should not and cannot represent epistemology produced by women

of disadvantage. Marginalized women's worldviews are apparently different from those

of dominant women's worldviews. The main point made by the feminist standpoint

theorists is that the epistemology of women is not synchronized or identical. It is

produced, achieved, and nurtured by both individual and social norms, values, and

discourses. Valuing difference and diversity among women and its resulting

epistemology is central to standpoint theory.

Within this approach, when ESL students move to the United States and study for

their degrees, the students not only advance their L2 competence level, but also gain

knowledge of the American sociocultural standpoints. They, however, transform their

cultural and linguistic experiences to gain knowledge, but they are not homogenous in the

way they arrive at these transformations. The notion of situated knowledge from the

standpoint theory provides us insights into the significance of examining individual student's distinctive experiences.

L2 learning and gender identity development

Studies about L2 learning and gender identity in the ESL context demonstrate a bond between individual and social situations (Norton, 2000; Peirce, 1995). A finding from these studies reveals that social identity integrates the language learner and the language learning context where social power affects the social interaction between L2 learners and native language speakers. In regards to identity formation, Peirce comes to a conclusion:

> When language learners speak, they are not only exchanging information with target language speakers but they are constantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world; therefore, the role of language is constitutive of and constituted by a language learner's identity. (p. 5)

Norton's conclusion about the role of language learning, use, and identity construction is similar to those presented by Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000). By investigating the metaphors of "becoming" and "border crossing" through narratives produced by US immigrants of adult L2 speakers, the authors looked for the influence of language on self-identity shift. They reached the conclusion that the late bilinguals (in terms of age)

> do not just take part in new cultural settings; it is about a profound struggle to reconstruct a self. . . . The participants' narratives illustrated the experiences of people who have both physically and symbolically crossed the border between

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one way of being and another and perceive themselves as becoming someone

other than who they were before. (p. 175)

Suggested by both Norton and Pavlenko and Lantolf, I conjecture that the process of

adopting new concepts while learning and using an L2 is a way to rediscover a Self in

relation to Others in the host society.

In her nine-month longitudinal study of seven ESL learners in Japan (five

Japanese women and two Japan-born Korean women in ESL courses), McMahill (2000)

writes that her participants felt they had different identities as English speakers. They

were able to express themselves less stereotypically and more honestly, directly, and

assertively in English than in Japanese thus creating a second "English personality." The

author used subject pronoun insertion rules in both Japanese and English to demonstrate

this L2 phenomenon. Japanese discourse style is to omit personal pronouns, refer to one's

Self in relation to the Other, foster interdependence and mitigate interpersonal conflict.

However, to specify personal pronouns in English, Japanese L1 speakers constantly drew

their attention to the distinctions between their own opinions and those of their

interlocutors and helped them clarify their thoughts. This shift in pronoun usage helped

create different personas. Interestingly, in a different L2 learning situation, one of

Pavlenko's (2001) participants who is an English speaker learning Japanese as L2 reveals

that "her desire to be accepted and recognized as a speaker of Japanese overpowered any

subconscious resistance she may have had to complying with what she perceived as

submissive female behavior" (p. 133). Her study validates that "gender identity is a social

and cultural construct, and gender concepts, roles and behaviors are most likely to change

in the areas of greatest articulation within the dominant society" (p. 133). This finding is

relevant to Anderson's (2004) point, "Place is no longer limited to an essentialised identity, but comes to encompass a range of identities, often in conflict" (p. 47).

A great deal of the literature in L2 learning highlights the fact that L2 learning and practice in a host country is a negotiation process, negotiating between two competing languages (L1 and L2), cultures, and human agencies themselves. This changes the L2 speakers' thoughts, perspectives, and attitudes, and therefore, their identities are shifting and re-forming to different shapes, as in the emphases of sociocultural theory and standpoint view altogether that "human personalities are made up of different roles that get played out in dialogic situations" (Kramsch, 2000, p. 152).

Justification

I have discussed the nature and meaning of identity through a number of scholars' perspectives. Although each scholar/researcher has examined identity differently, the common theme is that identity is influenced by social, cultural, and historical factors, and it constantly develops and transforms over time and space. Identity is belief, thought, and perspective displayed through language and behavior. Identity is a representation of one's Self. Identity is a life.

My participants are female ESL students from Korea. From my insider perspective as a native Korean woman, Korean people tend to deny gender diversity due to ethnic and linguistic homogeneity. The dichotomous line between men and women is the social and cultural norm requiring gendered discourse. Feminine-like gendered discourse is taught through Korean social expectations, interactions, and practices. For example, it is common in discourse education that boys are encouraged to develop masculine, aggressive, and active voices whereas girls are encouraged to develop

feminine, soft, and passive voices. Also, many Koreans tend to treat "gender" as a universal and fixed concept instead of treating gender as a fluid notion and changeable over time. I believe Korean women's gender is learned, taught, and enforced through the Korean society's institutions and people's actions, beliefs, and desires, as previous scholars pointed out. Eventually, the gendered discursive practice shapes particular gendered identity. Therefore, female Korean students' identity construction in L2 derives from the dynamic social, cultural, and linguistic interchanges in American environments. Looking at social contexts is essential when exploring issues of L2 and L2 students' identities. Their identity development and shift in L2 situations can best be explained by the concepts of developmentalism in social interaction and dialogism through authoring Self in accordance with the concept of situated knowledge from the feminist standpoint.

What motivated me to conduct this study was my awareness about identity, which is idiosyncratic, in flux, always changing over time. An individual student's L2 discursive practice is not static. It changes in different time and space. An individual L2 student's way of producing his or her dialogic engagement is different even under the same sociocultural circumstances. Then, how does one generalized identity concept explain or represent individual L2 students? Studies in L2 identity need to be individualized and not generalized.

Summary

Scholars in the field of L2 learners' identity urge that understanding the notion of identity is not one-dimensional. It requires multiple ways of understanding the concept in various contexts. The process of learning an L2 and adjusting to a new culture affects L2 students' identities in a number of predictable and unpredictable ways. I believe ESL

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students' personal life experiences and learning experiences in American institutions produce their knowledge, and that will definitely contribute to the way of understanding women in similar situations. The importance of the issues involved, and the impact that such experiences have had on many female ESL students ought to be studied and not marginalized. By utilizing my theoretical frameworks introduced in this chapter, this present study will demonstrate how L2 female graduate students experience changes and develop patterns, and as a result, how they deconstruct and reconstruct their self-identity.

Learning a second language means not only acquiring linguistic knowledge but also acquiring socially situated knowledge. The host country's sociocultural emphasis, behaviors, and patterns are adopted by L2 speakers in order to appropriately use the language. The central point of looking for identity presented in this chapter is to look for meaning for individual and/or community. This present study looks for Korean female graduate students' meanings in their lives in the United States. Understanding the process of meaning making in L2 contexts and of constructing their L2 identities is critical because their processes reflect advantages and disadvantages of diverse and multicultural American education.

CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY AND DATA ANALYSIS

Introduction

The methodological and analytical approach utilized in this study integrates

feminist research methodology in order to develop a framework within which to locate

and understand how the participants' social interactions and related graduate academic

experiences impact their identity as Korean women and what changes have occurred as

they have progressed through their studies. This chapter consists of two parts. In the first,

I introduce core concepts of qualitative feminist research methodology. I then write why

the feminist research methodology is significant to my study. In the second part, I

introduce research methods that I used for gathering data. I address methodological issues

that I encountered in doing the research. I examine my positionality as a researcher,

which is a key component of constituting feminist research methodology. Data analysis is

presented in this second part of the chapter. The tools of data analysis utilized in this

study are both qualitative data analysis software Atlas.*ti* (2003-2008) and a matrix of

three dimensional inquiry space (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000) and progressive/regressive

method (Bloom, 1998). I utilized Atlas.*ti* in order to code the raw data, and I employed

the matrix of the analysis tools to further enhance the findings of themes. Selected

samples of coding network are demonstrated in this chapter.

Feminist Research Methodology

Feminist researchers have tried to look for a clear definition of qualitative

feminist research methodology. However, it is proven by their endeavor that a single

definition cannot represent what feminist research methodology is. The difficulty in

defining the methodology is found in its complexities and multiplicities of research

paradigms. Feminist research is a study about human subjects in relation to their social factors. Considering that human life itself is complicated and multiple, methodological complexities and multiplicities are expected consequences. Although it is not so easy to define feminist research methodology, I present important concepts that help understand the research framework.

Bloom (1998) summarizes her understanding about the concept of feminist research methodology: (a) the social construction of gender, (b) the study of women's diverse lives, (c) the contexts of the research questions, (d) the critical self-reflections of the researcher, and (e) researcher-respondent relationships. She demonstrates the complexity of understanding the analytic category of gender in the field of feminist research. She thinks that using gender as a single analytic category is problematic and it needs to be contextualized and localized to include many different ways of knowing women by giving their histories and changing situations. She positions herself more toward a constructivist point of view where women are socially constructed within cultural and historical discursive practices. Bloom also believes that a critical component of feminist research is the interpretation of women's lives, experiences, and stories from a feminist standpoint. She emphasizes the women's voice that must be heard "because the articulation of experience is among the hallmarks of a self-determining individual or community" (p. 145). In this sense, "examining women's experiences as sources of research data asserts that women, as researchers and researched, are producers of knowledge" (p. 145).

There are three key concepts within feminist research: method, methodology, and epistemology. A connection of the three concepts is one of the most important factors in

feminist research. Letherby (2003) used a metaphor of cooking in order to help clarify the relationship among method, methodology, and epistemology. Recipe implies *method*, preparation and cooking is *methodology*, the dish we cook can be understood as *epistemology*. Even with the same ingredients, each cook creates a different and unique dish, implying each feminist researcher is a cook or producer of his or her unique knowledge. This simplified yet rational metaphor gives a basic picture of feminist research. In the following, I describe the three concepts in more detail.

Method is a technique to collect and analyze data, such as interview, observation, survey, questionnaire, archive document, and others. Selection of a technique is based upon the researcher's best interest that the technique should meet the research purpose and criteria. Methodology is a lens that shows the ideological purpose of one's research as a whole, such as ethnography, narrative, and case study. It is a theory about research and analysis of how research does or should proceed (Harding, 1987; Sprague & Kobrynowicz, 2004). In this sense, methodology includes method. Its role is to serve as a liaison between method and epistemology. Sprague (2005) states, "Researchers' choices of how to use these methods constitute their methodology; and each methodology is founded on either explicit or unexamined assumptions about what knowledge is and how knowing is best accomplished" (p. 5). Likewise, methodology works out the implications of a specific epistemology for "how to implement a method" (p. 5). Understanding epistemology is challenging because it connotes a great degree of vagueness and ambiguity of *how do we know what we know*, which cannot be visually measured or proven, if one tries (Harding, 1987). Epistemology is a theory of knowledge (Harding, 1987; Leatherby 2003; Sprague, 2005). It involves understanding the relationship

between "the knower and known and deals with philosophical, ontological issues, what is self, what is knowledge, what can be known, who can know, what is being, and what is truth" (Leatherby 2003, p. 5). Ramazanoglu (2002) writes:

> Differences *within* and *between* epistemologies are many and complex. . . . From the perspective of feminism, the development of methodology has been influenced by philosophical struggles over how far knowledge is produced through reasoning, through ideas in people's minds, or from evidence available to the senses. (p. 12)

These scholars emphasize that knowledge is not only conceptual and theoretical but practical, produced in one's everyday life. Understanding individual women's everyday experience is a means of understanding knowledge.

If one tries to understand feminist research by looking at the three concepts separately, one will not be successful. Hesse-Biber and Leckenby (2004) propose a "synergistic" approach in order to understand method, methodology, and epistemology cohesively. From their point of view:

> This synergy, or interaction between the three elements of research, can be best understood through the emergent commonalities that arise from its energetic impact on feminist research. Through a synergistic connection between the elements of research we find that feminist inquiry often shapes new research endeavors that are greater than the sum of their parts. In other words, while traditional research employs these components of research, the synergistic engagement of these components in feminist research interrogates the status quo, aiming to raise our consciousness about how we do research. (p. 210)

As described above, methodology does not stand without method; epistemology cannot be grounded without probing both methodology and method. This chain is triangulated and should not be broken into pieces in doing feminist research.

Lawrence-Lightfoot's (1988) way of conducting research and transcending the story-telling to the written text is an excellent example of what the synergistic approach can be and that personal stories of everyday life can be situated as knowledge. By showing how one can eloquently incorporate personal stories with academic grounds, in the *Beginnings*, Lawrence-Lightfoot began with the memoir of her mother, Dr. Margaret Cornelia Morgan Lawrence. She used a mixture of research methods including her mother's biography (oral interview with her mother), her own autobiography, and third-person testimonials (her mother's patients or readers). She interwove biographic narrative methodologies of her memoir and her self-reflexivity into the languages and voices echoing in her writing. By sorting Lawrence-Lightfoot's writing into its method, methodology, and epistemology, I found that it was difficult to discretely distinguish all three concepts. All three concepts served as a chorus, breaking them into an independent concept is not meaningful. In turn, I understand these three characteristics of the feminist research not as separate factors but as coming together to form a body of research as a whole.

Describing feminist research methodology, de Groot and Maynard (as cited in Franks, 2002) conclude that a "women centered approach to women's studies which connects the empirical and the analytical . . . made with a concern for practical interventions" (Located Feminisms section, para. 6). Harding (1987), however, warns that simply "adding women" (as researchers or as respondents) to research is problematic

for claiming to be feminist research. Harding asserts that feminist research must go beyond just adding numbers of women subjects. The research, she emphasizes, should contain (a) recognition of women's experiences as resources; (b) doing research *for* women; and (c) bringing a researcher's own experiential knowledge in doing research along with race, class, gender, among others. Harding's broader meaning of women in doing research is linked to Millen (1997) who argued that "a feminist needs to critique or abandon feminist methodologies in order to advance the broader agenda of feminist research" (p. 2). Her skepticism of "abandoning feminist methodologies" means a strong emphasis on doing the right research in action under the auspices of feminist research. Feminist researchers are encouraged to be skeptical of their research in order not to be too comfortable within a *feminist research box*. A feminist research box implies a feminist researcher's narrow-minded worldviews. Feminist researchers should doubt their findings in order to expand their epistemology, out of the feminist research box.

In summary, feminist research (a) utilizes women's experiences as resources, and therefore it is a study *about* women and *for* women, (b) allows the researcher's own experiential knowledge of race, class, gender, and language into the research, (c) bears an assumption that the researcher-respondent personal relationship grows, (d) requires critical self-reflections of the researcher, (e) is built upon feminist theory, and (f) is a synchronized paradigm of method, methodology and epistemology. A central point differing from traditional qualitative methodology is:

> Feminist methodology promises a more interpersonal and reciprocal relationship
>
> between researchers and those whose lives are the focus of the research. Feminist

methodology seeks to break down barriers that exist among women as well as the

barriers that exist between the researcher and the researched. (Bloom, 1998, p. 1)

Why is Feminist Research Methodology Significant to This Study?

This study explored a number of issues related to the use of second language and

its influence on the transformation of Korean-born women's identities in higher

education in the United States. My exploration was focused on (a) how individual female

Korean graduate students in American universities socialize English and deal with a new

educational and sociocultural milieu; (b) how the new environments affect these

women's transformations of perspectives; and (c) how the change of the process affects

each participant's identity shift. The focus was significantly related to my intention to

find out "what kind of identity do they produce?" Through the rich concept of feminist

research methodology, I anticipated insightful findings that were closely related to my

research focus.

Feminist research methodology is grounded feminist theory. I have found that my

methodological intention is well-described in feminist standpoint and practice along with

sociocultural theory in second language acquisition. A feminist standpoint perspective

brings about pragmatic, reflexive, and situated research (Franks, 2002; Harding, 1987).

Franks writes, "Research subjects and methodologies are built from the conditions in

which we find ourselves. Knowledge is always situated, always produced by positioned

actors working in and between all kinds of locations, working up, on, through all kinds of

research relationships" (Finding a Way Forward section, para. 3). This particular

emphasis on situated knowledge, place, and positionality is all connected with

respondents in my study who share common aspects, such as geographic border-crossing

(Korea-U.S.), language differences (Korean-English), and cultural complexities (Korean culture-U.S. culture). In my study, each respondent in different contexts produced different experiences and knowledge. Individual participant's worldviews were all dependent upon her situation. My point is that there were common grounds amongst my participants. However, there were distinctive individual differences. Showing respect for both commonalities and differences through theoretical lenses is profoundly linked to the highlight of standpoint theory. The respondent's various personal contacts and everyday life are woven together and create different and unique stories. Therefore, the multiplicity, fragmentation, and differences found in my dissertation were strongly supported by the characteristics of feminist research methodology (Alcoff, 1997; Harding, 1987; Hesse-Biber & Leckenby, 2004; Hesse-Biber & Yaiser, 2004; Letherby, 2003; Ramazanoglu, 2002). This methodological lens strengthened my interpretations and empowered the respondents. It was my practice to support the idea that women's diverse experiences are the resource of feminist knowledge, and that was part of epistemology I expected to see.

Finally, the strength of feminist research methodology is to develop a relationship, from the beginning of data gathering to the analysis stage, through dynamic interactions and mutual dependence, between the participants and the researcher. In order to develop a healthy and trusting relationship, I merged myself and my experiences with those of the respondents. A healthy and trusting relationship means an equal relationship between the respondents and me. I do not use the phrase "research *for* women" because the phrase implies an asymmetrical power relationship. I will deliberately use the phrase "research recourse for the respondents, me, and other women in the same situation." Feminist research methodology provides many insights into what feminist researchers consider

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when applying the methodology to both conducting research and writing. It reminded me I should not adopt one particular feminist research paradigm. I should never stop searching for new approaches and seeking different meanings in practice. Through my respondents' narratives, I had the opportunity to look back on my own journey from Korea to the United States. My self-reflexive time throughout the entire dissertation process, too, was a sophisticated practice of feminist research methodology (see Table 1 for summary).

In conclusion, feminist research allowed me to apply multiple paradigms. Feminist research respects diversity and difference. Feminist research methodology allowed me to mingle my own experiences with those of the respondents. Therefore, it was not only a study about women and for women, but also *with* women. This is why feminist research methodology was significant to my dissertation research.

Table 1

Feminist research and my research

Feminist research	My research
Utilize women's experiences as resources	Utilize female Korean graduate students' experiences as resources
A study *about* women and *for* women	A study *about*, *for*, and *with* the respondents
Allows the researcher's own experiential knowledge	Use my own experiences in understanding the respondents
The researcher-researched relationship grows	The respondents and my relationship develops from strangers to friends
Difference matters	The respondents' diverse background matters
Requires self-reflection	Both the respondents and my self-reflections are penetrated in the research process

Data Collection and Methods

Participant Selection

Three women were selected for this research study. The criteria for selection were

Korean women: (a) who were pursuing graduate studies (M.A. or Ph.D) at American

universities for a minimum of 6 months, (b) who had school experiences in Korea (L1

Korean and L2 English), and (c) who were between 20 and 40 years old (see Table 2).

These three women were selected via a "purposeful sampling" method (Merriam, 1998).

The purposeful sampling method is "based on the assumption that the investigator wants

to discover, understand, and gain insight and therefore must select a sample from which

the most can be learned" (p. 61). A network sampling technique was utilized to recruit

the participants. This sampling technique involves "identifying participants or cases of interest from people who know what cases are information-rich, that is, good examples for study, good interview subjects" (p. 63). Utilizing this sampling method, I started with a Korean contact at a southwestern university and asked her to introduce me to students she knew. This technique allowed me to find a wider range of participants, which I narrowed down to the three women.

Table 2
Participant demographic information

	Youngmi	Bonny	Hehjung
Duration in the USA	4 years	8 months	6 years
Age	Mid 30s	Late 20s	Mid 20s
Study	Education	Music Performance	Management
Degree	Ph.D.	M.A./Ph.D.	MBA
L1	Korean	Korean	Korean
L2	English	English	English
Other languages			Japanese

The three graduate students were born and raised in three different cities in South Korea. Two were in their 20s and one was in her 30s. All three women were single and had no children. They had been in graduate programs in the southwestern United States for 8 months, 4 years, and 6 years respectively at the time of data collection.

Pre-Data Collection (IRB)

Prior to data collection, I went through the university's Institutional Review Board (IRB) and got my study protocol and the consent forms approved (see Appendix A). I sent out the approved consent form to the three potential participants and requested them to thoroughly read it before signing the agreement. After I received the signed consent forms, I started distributing the open-ended questionnaire in order to collect background information about each participant and began conducting interviews.

Data Collection

Data was collected from January 2006 to February 2007. In order to listen to each individual's experiences, I used various research methods: one-on-one formal/informal interview, online (email) interview, class observation, and written artifacts. These methods were selectively used (see Table 3). I shall explain how these methods were used individually and why I utilized different methods for each participant.

Table 3
Data collection methods

Methods	Youngmi	Bonny	Hehjung
One-on-one interview	Feb-Oct 2006 (9 hours)		Jan-Dec 2006 (10 hours)
Online interview	Feb 2006- Feb 2007	Feb 2006- Jan 2007	Jan-Dec 2006
Class observation	3/1-3/31, 2006 (9 hours)		2/27-3/2, 2006 (5 hours)
Open-ended questionnaire	Yes	Yes	Yes
Written artifacts	Journals & papers		

First, a semi-structured one-on-one interview method was used. Semi-structured interviewing, not being restricted by stipulated questions, allowed me to remain within the focus of the interview while providing the flexibility to pursue any unexpected direction the participants might take. This interview technique reduced the pressure on interviewees and helped them elaborate their answers. The interviews were conducted in the Korean language and recorded on a digital voice recorder. I was responsible for the subsequent transcription and translation of the interviews.

Individual interviewing times varied. Youngmi and I had a total of nine hours of interviews. Hehjung took about a total of 10 hours for the interviews. Each interview was conducted every other month on average. In addition to the formal interviews, informal personal meetings gradually increased with these two participants. I had opportunities to meet with Youngmi and Hehjung, respectively to do things for both school and personal activities. In the process of doing research, the participants and I had the chance to know each other better than before the research. Doing activities together played a role in developing a friendship. However, I needed a reminder that I was a researcher who should give an analytical lens towards this newly developed friendship. This type of relationship was not expected at the beginning of the research. However, the informal communications and friendship-like relationship gave me great insights into what the participants had on their minds, which was invisible during the formal interviews. For example, at the dinner table, they were more natural, honest, and articulate than in formal settings. The personal communications, without being framed by guiding questions, validated the interviews, observations, and online communications.

Because she lived in another state, I extensively relied on the online interview method with Bonny. Our online communication was limited to every other week on average, including informal greetings, formal research questions, and responses. At the beginning of our online correspondence, Bonny wrote minimal responses in which she seemed to doubt her answers, wondering if they were what I expected to hear. For example, she would often write, "Is this the right answer?" or "Is this what you expect to hear?" This tendency gradually developed into longer, more detailed and more confident responses. Bonny's life stories, and experiences transported via written texts, were undeniably rich and insightful. I felt the power of written narratives through the computer mediation. Her consistent writing eventually turned out to provide plentiful information. I could see her writing progress as time passed in terms of the length of the text and richness in the content. I took this progress as she gradually opened herself to me.

This online method was used for all three participants. My intention to use this method was a way to support and integrate with participants' face-to-face interviews. Particularly, I anticipated minimizing the problem of generalizations resulting from solely relying on their oral interviews. Questions sent out to the respondents were based on their interview conversations.

Next, class observations were selectively used. Because both Hehjung and Youngmi studied at colleges near to me, I was able to observe their courses without running into time and distance constraints. I had permission from all of the instructors in advance to conduct the observations. For Youngmi, I visited a graduate course three times over the course of a month. This observation lasted for a total of nine hours. I visited Hehjung's three graduate courses three times for a month. These visits lasted for a

total of approximately five hours. I took field notes on the observations. Because the class observation was used as a supplementary, not primary, data source, I omitted Bonny's class observation. It would have been more useful if I could have observed Bonny's classes. However, I believe that the omission of her class observation did not interfere with the subsequent analysis of data.

Finally, some written artifacts were selectively collected. Providing any written materials was voluntary. I was able to access Youngmi's journals and reflective papers that she kept from the beginning of her graduate studies. This additional material helped me understand her better in that she revealed her emotions about and reflections on her academic life in her writings. I was able to see her struggles in class and the strategies she used to cope with the struggles. The written artifacts validated the same struggles and strategies shown in her interviews and the class observations.

At this point I shall clarify why I used different methods for each respondent instead of utilizing unified methods. Fundamentally, I kept two lines of gathering data: interviewing and observation. Either or both methods were chosen depending on our circumstances, such as living situation, class schedule, working schedule, or their personal preferences. I let them choose the method they found most convenient and comfortable. Youngmi favored writing so she chose both oral interviews and written responses. Hehjung liked verbal engagement, and she preferred face-to-face oral interviews to writing on the computer. Bonny chose to do interviewing through online communication. Journal entries were not mandated. I was pleased to have Youngmi's offer of her old dust-covered journals. It was a good opportunity for me to see her

insights written in English. By and large, the method was the participants' choice based on options I provided them.

I am not overly-concerned about the use of various methods for different participants. For the purpose of my study, the mixed methods did not disturb the analysis process. Moreover, weaving multiple methods together is allowed and encouraged in feminist research methodology, which is an asset of this methodology. Different ways of approaching the participants was more facilitating than impeding. Using my own research as a basis, I have become confident in believing that method itself is the least thing to worry about; a researcher's capability to get useful information from the respondent is the most important concern.

In summary, through the participants' narratives collected via interviews and observations over a period of a year, my study sheds light on some of the issues that affect ESL students' learning processes in higher education in America. Integration of all the methods augmented my research, making it more reliable and improving my understanding of ESL students' identity construction.

Language Choice

The language selection in the course of the data collection played a significant role in both the data analysis and subsequent discussion. Although the participants had advanced levels of English proficiency, I had the participants choose the language in which they were comfortable responding. I believed that the language choice was critical in terms of getting more meaningful, insightful, and complete stories. For the most part, the respondents chose to speak the Korean language. Several times, I attempted to get information in English by sending questions written in English in order to find any

differences in different language use. Except for Bonny, who continuously replied in her

native Korean, both Youngmi and Hehjung replied in Korean, English, or the mixed

languages depending upon the topic of the questions. For example, Youngmi said that

some topics or words were easier to conceptualize in English than Korean, such as

identity or *pedagogy*. Hehjung also said some topics, such as *discrimination* or *choice*,

made her choose English over Korean. Respondents felt comfortable using English to

describe concepts that were introduced to them in the United States or that were hard to

translate to Korean.

Bonny's dependency on her native language may reflect her short duration of

residing in the United States at the time of data collection. Bonny had less contact with

the English language and fewer interactions with people in America than the other two. It

seemed unnatural to her to speak to me in the nonnative language, English, regardless of

our English proficiency. Overall, when the respondents responded in their native

language, they were detailed, fluent, and natural; therefore, I believe their meaning was

transferred, not translated. Their responses in their second language showed their clear

voice and straightforward opinion. It was direct, concise, and straight to the point.

Evidence of code-mixing appeared in their discourse, but the code-mixing did not create

a hindrance. Rather, I think their ability to code-mix not only demonstrated their fluency

in both languages but also helped me make a connection between language and its

potential influence to identity construction.

Feminist researchers worry about women participants being objectified by the

researcher. By giving a language choice and utilizing various methods, I tried my best to

avoid the respondents being objectified and to empower them, and that, I hope, gave

them a feeling of authority and ownership of their stories. The process of gathering data should not be a torturous process for the researcher and the respondent. What makes both parties most comfortable and enjoyable during the research process is what I was concerned with most.

An integral part of my methodology is the overt recognition that qualitative feminist research is not simply the collection of information from women. In a qualitative framework, the relationship between the researcher and the participant grows through the course of gathering data, and often interpersonal connections start to develop. In my study, my participants and I shared a number of similar factors in our backgrounds. First and the foremost, sharing the same native language (Korean) was significant in understanding each other. By design, we also shared general commonalities such as coming to the United States as adults primarily for an academic purpose, with goals we intended to achieve in our nonnative language (English) while adjusting to new cultural, linguistic, and social environments. These similarities smoothed the way for me to develop relationships with the respondents, and I believe the respondents felt free to reveal their honest feelings and experiences with me. There was a mutual expectation that we *could* listen to each other without translation or delay of meaning.

I want to emphasize that the characteristic of feminist methodology is more "interpersonal" and "reciprocal" between researchers and participants than traditional qualitative methodology. Its purpose is to theorize the "nonunitary subjectivity" in the study of women's lives (Bloom 1998, pp. 1-2). Understanding the concept of "nonunitary subjectivity" is important because its meaning is profoundly connected to the underlying purpose of my study. Nonunitary subjectivity is recognition of "changes in subjectivity

over time; the critical roles that language, social interactions, and personal experiences play in the production of subjectivity; multiple subject positions an individual engages in, which influence the formation of subjectivity" (p. 3). From this point of view, searching for diverse and unique subjectivity development through my participants' life stories positioned their identities in a way that could be analyzed and explored. Showing the difference and gathering data from the difference – my insistence on adapting distinctive methods – came from the respect for *difference*.

In the following section, I introduce the three participants: Youngmi, Bonny, and Henjung. These students provided their background information through the open-ended written questionnaire. The direct quotes in Korean along with the English translation are from their interviews. The purpose of presenting a short quote in both Korean and English is to demonstrate a visual representation of the participants' native language and to hear each participant's voice. The body of the participant text in the English translation is a summary of each participant's interviews, which is specifically related to their motivation to study in the United States.

Participant Introduction-Youngmi

Youngmi is a 35 year-old single woman who had been in a doctorate program in a university located in the southwest of the United States since 2002. Prior to her doctoral study, she had two years of living experiences in the midwestern United States in early1990s when she pursued her master's degree. She returned to Korea after completing her master's program and worked as an instructor at a college for about four years. In her early 30s, she returned to the United States to pursue a doctoral degree. Her professional goal is to teach at the college level. In spite of her previous living

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experiences in the United States, she felt that her second time coming to the United States

was new and strange to her:

> 미국에 대한 냄새가 저는 있어요. 굉장히 어색하고 내가 익숙하지 않은
> 장소에 왔구나 라는걸 느끼게 만드는 그런 냄새가 있어요. 그 냄새가 나를
> 써늘하게 만들어요. 이 나라에서 내가 어떻게 살까 그런.
>
> *I have unique scents of America. The scents make me feel uncomfortable and remind me that I'm in a foreign place where everything is unfamiliar. The scents make me chill and shiver; fear of how I am going to live in this country.*
> (Youngmi, February 17, 2006)

Youngmi speaks about her motivation to study in the United States:

My motivation to coming to America was a success. I've kept that word "success" since I was young when I was sent to my uncle's house by my parents in order to go to school in inner city. Living with my uncle's family as a little girl was hard, and my parents were living far in a remote place. I had to compete with my cousins and I always wanted to be better than them. My uncle tried to take care of me and did many thankful things for me. However, I wished that I was with my parents. Even after I moved out from my relative house, the word "success" was stuck in my head. I taught my younger siblings to keep that in their minds, too.

When I was about to graduate from my college, I wanted to find a way to be successful journey of my life. Because my career was related to teaching English language subjects, I had to prepare for myself a more competing person than other colleagues in the same field. I thought learning about the English language and teaching methods in a native English speaking country was the answer. I decided to come to America and studied to earn my master's degree. After completing the master's degree, I returned to Korea. I taught for four years at a college as a part-time instructor. I literally hated it. With my master's degree from an American university was not sufficient to

promote my position as an instructor in Korean institutions. In that academic

environment, my ideas were buried under senior professors who held doctoral degrees.

College students treated part-time instructors differently from their professors. Obviously,

I realized that it was a temporary stay for me to earn money. My underlying purpose of

saving money was to return to America to study for a higher degree. Without a doctorate

degree, once a part-time instructor will always be a part-time instructor in Korea. I

forced myself to move forward.

   Living in a foreign country without friends and families is a challenge. Dealing

with loneliness is unbearable. Communicating and studying in my nonnative language is

unimaginably hard. Because of that, I had regretful moments at first. Now, I get used to

this life style. I even enjoy this life. I've overcome many difficulties for my success in the

future.

Participant Introduction-Bonny

   Bonny is a violinist. She is studying Music Performance in a university located in

the southwestern United States. She was 26 years old when she arrived in the United

States in 2005. In Korea, she taught music at a college and was a member of an orchestra

in her community. Her desire to study in the United States was to challenge her ability

and make a difference in her life. Since she has studied at an American university, the

English language has been the most difficult thing to cope with. However, her desire to

be more professional in her field has made her more determined to continue her graduate

studies:

> 에이치 대학에서 장학금도 제일 많이 주고 원하는 교수님 한테 배울수 있게
> 되었는데 제가 지알이 제출을 못해서 다 날릴 뻔 했어요. 한국에 지알이시험
> 날짜가 없어서. 5 월에 일본에 가서 보고 제출한 끝에 합격한 거죠. 이렇게
> 까지 하면서 내가 꼭 유학을 가야나 그 당시엔 그랬죠. 졸업한 후 일자리가

없을 수 도 있겠지만 후회를 남기지 않으려고 [유학을 왔어요].

H University offered me best scholarships among five universities I was accepted. I chose the H University because of the scholarship offer and also there are professors who I wanted to take the opportunity to work with. I almost blew this opportunity away due to a failure to submitting my GRE test result. There was no date set for taking the test in Korea to meet the deadline. I flew over to Japan in May and took the test. I asked myself if all my effort to do was worthwhile. However, I propelled to do it in order not to remain any regrets in my life, whether or not I get a job after graduation. (Bonny, April 16, 2006)

Bonny speaks about her motivation to study in the United States:

The reason I wanted to study overseas was that I desperately looked for an exit from my chaotic life in Korea. Moreover, the college where I worked required a higher degree in order to keep my teaching position. Without a higher degree, I couldn't move further in terms of my professional position. A graduate degree obtained in an American institution is highly favored by the Korean institution.

My major was Western Classical Music. Even for the sake of myself, I wanted to expand my knowledge about Western Music in a Western country. Among several offers from the graduate programs in American universities, I chose this school because there are distinctive professors in my field who I wanted to be taught. And living expenses are relatively cheaper than schools in other states since I'm responsible for covering all my living expenses.

I'm grateful for my choice and decision to study in America. My English and lack of background knowledge are the biggest barriers, but I think I can make it through. My shaky life back in Korea has been the strength for me to stay up tight in America, and that is the power of not giving up on what I'm doing today. My past life keeps reminding me why I'm here.

Participant Introduction-Hehjung

In 1999, a 19 year-old Hehjung arrived in the United States on her own for the first time. This was also the first time she left her parents' home. She was in her second year in a Korean college. The primary purpose in coming to the United States was to take intensive English courses in order to improve her English proficiency. After a semester in the intensive English program, she decided to stay and study more at an American university. She decided to start her undergraduate studies from the beginning. Starting from the freshman year took more time than transferring credits from her previous college. However, she thought it was worth it for her to build a foundation for her academic knowledge in America. After getting her undergraduate degree, she continued to study for her master's degree:

> 첨에 부모님이 보낼 때는 걱정을 많이 하시고. 유학생 하며는 신문이나 방송에 안 좋은 이미지가 많이 나오잖아요. 마약하구. 한 이년 뒤에 엄마가 한번 오시고 수고 한다는 말을 하시드라고. 걱정 하나도 안된대.
>
> *When my parents sent me to America, they were worried about me because images through media about many Korean students in America had been viewed negatively, such as doing drugs. My mom visited me about two years later I lived in the U.S. She told me that I was doing great and she had nothing else to worry about me.* (Hehjung, January 22, 2006)

Hehjung speaks about her motivation to study in the United States:

My original plan to come to America was to learn English and go back to Korea. After my intensive English program, I decided to study in an American university because I saw lots of opportunities here. I thought I could study that I'm interested. I didn't have that choice in Korea, which my major was Korean Literature. It wasn't my interest. I had a full of confidence that I could make my life better in this way [studying in the United States] than in Korea.

I didn't mind starting my freshman year over again in an American college. I was rather excited. However, a first couple of months were the hardest time ever because of my poor English. I was depressed. I didn't go out for a month. I didn't want to meet people. And I was losing my interest in the study. I lost my confidence. Nothing was meaningful to me at that time. I kept wondering: why am I here?; what am I doing in this foreign country? All I earned was pain from the language. I almost quit school.

At that time, one side of my mind said that I should quit. The other side of my mind kept telling me that I needed to continue. I decided to keep going simply not to be a loser. I knew I couldn't go back to Korea without a degree in my hand. If I quit, I would become a loser and nowhere to go. One phrase that kept me going – "don't be a loser."

Methodological Concerns

In this section, I draw attention to some methodological issues addressed in the course of doing my research.

Transparency of the Process and Results

The first issue was about transparency of data resource or accuracy of the participant's narratives. An issue of transparency comes from my respondents' comfort level about revealing their personal history to a stranger (researcher). Before asking questions of respondents, I often asked them of myself. Some self-questions were not easy to answer right away since either my memory was unclear or I wanted some thoughts to remain inside me.

However, doubts about transparency gradually faded away while having more frequent and more open contact with the participants. Instead of thinking of figuring out whether the stories were transparent or valid, it was sooner or later my responsibility to

triangulate data sources and other materials to be reliable. One of the approaches to cope

with this limitation was to be somewhat skeptical and less idealistic: "systematic self-

knowledge is not transparently available" (Maynard, 2002). I had to recognize that

narratives are never able to represent either an absolute truth or a lived experience. As

feminist scholars emphasize, I tried to develop a trusting relationship with the

participants. I support the idea that the trusting relationship brings about the surprising

truth of the respondent. The comfortable and safe feeling contributes to the development

of a trusting relationship and that eventually let my participants and me open our selves

to each other.

Working Online

Another concern was about the online correspondence method. Huffaker's (2004)

study on online identity has reported that his participants freely expressed themselves

through computer-mediated communication. His result led me to believe that my

respondents also felt safe and comfortable in revealing who they are, what they think, and

what their stories are. I expected that the online data collection method brought a level of

uniqueness to this study. It was indeed a powerful tool for gathering data because the

questions and answers were dynamically exchanged. What concerned me, however, was

whether the method was too structured. Hehjung mentioned that the oral interviewing

was more spontaneous, unpredictable, disorganized, and fun in regards to her thoughts

and responses. When she replied, she felt like she was taking a written exam. She

consciously organized her responses and revised the sentence structures both in English

and Korean. She revisited her writing to see if it made sense before sending it to me.

Some authors' (Kittleson, 1995; Sproull, 1986) results of experiments with an online (email) method reveal that the method is less restricted by time constraints than other methods, such as telephone interviews or face-to-face interviews. In my experience, online communication consumed more time and required more patience than face-to-face interviewing. However, there was a merit about this method. The respondents reported that having enough time to think over their responses was an advantage. This reflection turned out for the respondents to be worthwhile, and the time spent was not an issue.

I want to note that I sometimes got frustrated sitting in front of the computer, thinking that I could not catch their nonverbal movements, such as gestures, eye movements, facial expressions, and so on. This method surely required well-trained skills to read respondents' thoughts and emotions behind the written words. Computer-mediated communication can be misused to conceal a participant's true feelings and decorate his or her ideas with pretty wrapping paper. With careful attention, an online space can be the safest place to depict true feelings. Language choice and use without actual physical presence, after all, was a fine way to look at the participants' thoughts and perspectives. I support the positive aspects of the online (email) method in this regard.

Questions May Be Too Personal

Oakley (1981) writes that feminist research requires openness, engagement, and the development of a potentially long-lasting relationship. Feminist interviewing strives for intimacy and includes self-disclosure and believing the interviewee. Bloom (1998) cautiously warns us that the researcher-respondent relationship should not fall into an "over-romanticizing" dynamic. By utilizing Cotterill's (1992) idea, Bloom also illustrates this type of relationship as the mistaken notion of the "sisterly" solidarity among

feminists, and she offers to replace the "stranger-friend continuum" with the "stranger-friendly stranger continuum" (p. 151) in order not to over-romanticize the relationship.

Throughout the data collection period, my relationship with the participants grew from acquaintances to friends. At the beginning of conducting research we barely knew each other. In the course of interviewing and having informal meetings more often, we gradually opened ourselves and shared our personal experiences more freely. In the process of "opening" moments to each other, however, I captured uneasiness with the respondents. The participants expressed their sensitivity by saying: "How about pausing the recorder?" "Is this also going to be written?" or "Just between you and me because it's too private." I was also sensitive about revealing my private experiences. As a researcher, I felt obligated to share such things at the beginning. I believed that showing my own experiences first was the best way of having the respondents reveal their stories. In the end, the feeling of obligation disappeared and our relationship grew and lasts up to today. I tried to maintain my stance as a researcher, not falling into "over-romanticizing sisterly-hood" (Bloom, 1998).

I prefer the friendly-stranger stance of the researcher and the respondent because I did not anticipate that our similar historic, cultural, and ESL backgrounds would automatically have us open our Selves and produce a complete understanding of each other. I think I was in a far better position than other researchers who did not share the same language and culture with their participants. However, the position does not effortlessly bring about and always result in intimate and long-lasting relationships or in protecting the participants. Revealing personal experiences is uneasy for everyone. Few people may be comfortable with a full exposure of their personal life stories. I think this

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issue is not only a methodological challenge, but also a flame in the ethical issues in doing feminist research.

Protecting Privacy

The concern about the "questions are too personal" is deeply related to a concern about privacy protection. My study analyzes the participants' personal stories, experiences, and perspectives. Due in part to this reason, I felt great responsibility to carefully illustrate their narratives. Protecting the respondents' privacy in written text became my biggest concern throughout the dissertation research. It is not only my concern but also my respondents. The privacy issue makes them feel uneasy and insecure. During the interview, the interviewees gingerly addressed the concern by asking me, "What if I get identified by people who know me through my story and the way I talk?" "Is there any chance that people recognize me when they read your dissertation?" "Who has access to read your research report?" or "I'm worried about their [possible Korean readers] judgment about me."

Although this study is used for academic purpose only, disclosure of privacy in the academic field is sensitive and controversial. Where should I draw a line between academic and private? How can I ensure that the participants' privacy is not discovered by their acquaintances? Despite my effort to prevent any signs that may be recognized by their faculty and peers, there is no guarantee that all of the information provided by my participants can be perfectly camouflaged.

This issue reminded me of the significance of validity and trustworthiness in qualitative feminist research. My study with Korean women is designed to unpack their personal experiences and to explore sensitive issues, such as identity construction,

reconstruction, and the dynamic relationships among personal experiences, feelings, values, and changes. In order to guarantee the participants' privacy, as mentioned earlier, I went through the university's Institutional Review Board (IRB) and used the approved consent forms. These steps clarified the purpose of the study and notified the participants of any personal information that might be made public. The participants' names appear as pseudonyms at all times. I utilized member-checking to minimize any concerns that may occur during the research, which enhanced the validity of the study.

Considering the study's validity and reliability, I paid special attention to my careful interpretation. I tried to make my writing transparent by displaying my interpretation along with the participants' own words. I also tried to make a connection between my analysis and the existing literature and theoretical approaches in order to make the study credible. This effort was a process of "making meaning clear" in my interpretations (Shank, 2002, p. 77).

Questions May Be Too Broad

Reinharz (1992) writes, "Interviewing offers researchers access to people's ideas, thoughts, and memories in their own words rather than in the words of the researcher" (p. 19). She continues to say that this asset is particularly important for the study of women because, in this way, learning from women is an "antidote to centuries of ignoring women's ideas altogether" (p. 19). In order to let the participants speak about and for themselves, I deliberately began with questions that connoted a larger meaning instead of giving narrower questions. For example, questions like "Could you describe your childhood?" or "What is your turning point in your life?" could be in a large category, as

opposed to questions like "How old were you when you learned English for the first time?" or "What was your strategy to cope with lack of course background knowledge?"

My intention was that narrow questions could limit both the respondents' and my access to hear more experiences. I tried to avoid leading questions or "yes/no" type questions. Another intention was to see the participants' first response. I thought seeking their immediate thought was importantly linked to their true perception. However, the respondents' common reaction was that the questions were too broad for them to respond due to wide range of meanings contained in the question. I was asked to give them specific questions. Some examples are as follows:

Researcher: You mentioned that you go to a church in town. Tell me about your church life.

Bonny: I have no clue what kind of church life I should talk about. There are so many things to talk about. Next time, please give me a more specific question, so that it'd be easier for me to answer. (May 17, 2006)

In the same email response, however, Bonny managed to talk about her interactions with older generations of Korean people in the church and their expectations concerning her. This interaction was the opportunity for her to feel the deep generation gap. She also mentioned her impressions about young Korean-American generations in comparison to students from Korea. She wrote about how deeply the Korean church was connected to the Korean community. She also explained why she sometimes wanted to avoid the Korean church and go to another one in the non-Korean community. Bonny simply did not realize how much invaluable information she provided me.

Another example regarding the issue of "broad questions" is found in how participants define *identity* in their self-description. Identity is a complicated concept. I wanted to hear from the participants how they understood the concept. My questions were, "Have you thought about the word identity? What do you think it is?" or "What is your identity?"

Youngmi: Identity? You gave me a really hard question. Let me think… (April 2, 2006)

Bonny: Identity? You mean, talking about me, right? It is still difficult for me to know how to approach to talk about me, but . . . Please email me if you think my answer is strange. (August 6, 2006)

Hehjung: Humm . . . the question is very broad, but, I'll think about it. . . . Next time, would you narrow down the question for me? It's hard to answer. (July 20, 2006)

When Youngmi was talking about the differences she noticed between living in Korea and in the United States, my follow-up question was, "Where do you think that the difference comes from?" Her response was:

Youngmi: You asked me where the difference came from, a culture or something else. Just like that we [Koreans] tend to make a question general by asking a question as a whole. But, they [Americans] always point it out, like, what kind of differences do you mean, say it specifically, like that. (February 26, 2006)

Youngmi never directly told me that my question was too broad and holistic. Her indirect way of pointing out that Koreans in general ask broad questions sent me a clear

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message that I did not give her a specific question. Despite the difficulty in providing their answers, all the participants described their identity through self-analysis. They compared changes they had made "before and now," or "in Korea and in America." It was clear evidence of their change in their perspectives.

When I was about to fall into dilemma in regards to my research method and strategy, Johnstone's (2000) words were encouraging. She wrote, "Research questions are not always formulated in advance of data collection . . . letting data speak for itself may eventually result in a richer set of questions and answers than a more controlled, preplanned design" (p. 33). Feminist researchers have accentuated that the method is not the problem, but the process the researchers use. The respondents' points were a critical reminder for me that I, as a researcher, should improve my research skills and ability to manage well-crafted methods.

Researcher Positionality

Knowing yourself as a researcher is a core concept that many feminist researchers have emphasized. When I read *Balm in Gilead: Journey of a Healer* (Lawrence-Lightfoot 1988) for pleasure, a phrase caught my attention: "Know the values embedded in your cultural perspective; know the inner workings of your own psyche . . . before you dare to ask others for stories" (p. 2). It was a turning point that I wanted to see myself clearly as a researcher and educator. I also wanted to see myself as a feminist scholar. As I shall articulate "my voice" through the analysis, and not being afraid of saying "I" in the text, I shall enhance my belief that personal experiences are powerful resources of academic research because the personal and academic are inseparable. There are different types of feminism and different degrees of feminism: "Situated experience leads to situated

knowledge and consequently there are diverse feminisms which include both secular feminisms and spiritual feminisms" (Franks, 2002, Introduction section, para. 1). My friends and colleagues used to ask me a question, "Are you a feminist?" In response to a question of how much of a feminist I am, I can say that I am a feminist researcher who claims that nonnative language speaking female students' experiences must be respected and heard through a feminist lens.

A worry in feminist research is the power position between researchers and respondents. In general, researchers are viewed as having power over participants. But that is not always true. Franks (2002) supports an idea that the researcher's power relation is not always asymmetrical, the researcher does not always have the power: "There are moments when the feminist researcher can feel helpless and become caught in the crossfire between standpoints" (Objectification section, para. 1). Franks emphasizes that the researcher's idea of empowerment may not always be empowering to the respondents.

Through my research, I occasionally felt my powerless position when listening to my respondents. When one of the respondents was struggling with her problems in tears, all I could do for her was to listen to her stories. My fragile situation easily frustrated me and put me in a helpless situation. The feeling of helplessness became the feeling of powerlessness in many ways. It is because, by telling me the story, my respondent may or may not intentionally deliver a message to me so that her conflicts became my responsibility to carry it out over to the text. Being in the situation of transporting the personal story into theory, I did not feel that I had power to select which stories to bury. When some feminist researchers talk about power, they mistakenly see only the surface

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of the power relation, such as who is in a position to ask or who is in a position to simply

answer. That is a misinterpretation of the researcher's power relation. Feminist

researchers need to develop the ability to see under the surface of the power relation, as

well as the nature of various power relations.

The next issue about researcher positionality in doing feminist research is the

researcher's subjective or objective stance. In an effort to help clarify this issue, Fine

(1994) divides the researcher's stance into three distinctive types depending on the degree

of subjectivity and objectivity: ventriloquy, voices, and activism. "Ventriloquy" means an

absolute absence of subjectivity; "Voices" are in need of an interpretation; and

"Activism" indicates that researchers carry a deep responsibility to assess critically and

continually our own, as well as participants' changing positions of an interpretation (pp.

19-23). In this description, Fine strongly suggests the researcher's role as a subjective

and active political position and the research as policy-making. While Fine stresses a

researcher's active involvement and subjective stance, Komarovsky (1988) warns us that

"Emphasis on subjectivity comes too close . . . to a total elimination of inter-subjective

validation of description and explanation" (p. 592).

Along with the above scholars' points, the "strong objectivity" proposed by

Harding (2004) caught my attention. Strong objectivity means a researcher's visible

stance in a study of women's experiences. In many cases, a strong tendency towards

subjectivity without supporting objective data sources skews the whole research. On the

other hand, objectivity in the absence of the researcher's subjective interpretation loses

the core concept of the research. A question of which aspect should be more emphasized

depends upon each researcher's character and the character of the research. Harding's

strong objectivity is a combination of both a subjective and an objective stance, which is essential to develop both research reliability and validity. I am in favor of "strong objectivity" in describing my position because relations such as researcher and respondent, knower and the known, teachers and learners, are collaboratively constructed.

The way of shaping and understanding the researcher's positionality is profoundly connected to knowing "who gets to speak, and who gets heard" (Naples, 2003, p. 164). With regard to my researcher positionality, I developed multiple roles. I am an inquirer, listener, interpreter, writer, and transporter. Having taken the responsibility of putting things together, I am also a composer. The self-reflexive words taken from *I've Known Rivers: Lives of Loss and Liberation* (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1995) are an example supporting my multiple positionalities.

> As I listen to these extraordinary women and men tell their life stories, I play many roles. I am a mirror that reflects back their pain, their fears, and their victories. I am also the inquirer who asks the sometimes difficult questions, who searches for evidence and patterns. I am the companion on the journey, bringing my own story to the encounter, making possible an interpretive collaboration. I am the audience who listens, laughs, weeps, and applauds. I am the spider woman spinning their tales. Occasionally, I am a therapist who offers catharsis, support, and challenge, and who keeps track of emotional minefields. Most absorbing to me is the role of the human archaeologist who uncovers the layers of mask and inhibition in search of a more authentic representation of life experience. Throughout, I must also play stage manager, coordinating the intersection of three

plays – the storyteller's, the narrator's, and the reader's – and inviting you to add

your voice to the drama. (p. 12)

In delivering the participants' narratives I tried to be creative and spontaneous. Feminist scholars emphasize that persistent self-reflection is one of best ways to be creative and spontaneous. My self-reflection is a starting point in seeking epistemology within a meaningful interpretation of my research data. It is my role and position to bring the epistemology of my own within critical self-reflection, which is shown in the analysis of the lives of the interviewees.

When the researcher and the participants share certain commonalities (e.g., language, culture, ethnicity, class, gender, sexual orientation, etc.) it may help the research move along more smoothly and allow for more in-depth analysis. For example, since my participants and I shared the same language, I could interview both in Korean and English. I expected this shared language background to allow me to listen to the participants and to obtain more knowledge as a cultural insider. However, this insider-position might also have affected my interpretation unintentionally. For example, because I know the Korean cultures, social norms, and values so well, I might have judged my participants' perspectives and experiences unconsciously. I tried to maintain my researcher position, hoping I stayed neutral. This may be a disturbance to my research by losing the objectively integrated stance. My conflicts were well described by Weston (1996), "A single body cannot bridge that mythical divide between insider and outsider, researcher and researched. I am neither, in any simple way, and yet I am both" (p. 275).

In spite of our presumed commonalities, how my participants and I see the world and connect ourselves to the world are unique and very personal, and we indeed differ in

important ways in our ideas, thoughts, perspectives, and perceptions. I did not hesitate to take an objective stance when necessary. At the same time, I tried to preserve the participants' own words and opinions in the text by using my careful interpretation to supplement their views. I kept Acker and her colleagues' (1991) questions in the back of my mind at all times in the course of doing my research: What is a key to insightful analysis? When does it stand in the way of clear thinking? How do we even know when we are inside or outside or somewhere in between?

<div align="center">*Data Analysis*</div>

Narrative Study

Ochs and Capps (1996) say that narrative is "a fundamental means of making sense of experience. Personal narrative simultaneously is born out of experience and gives shape to experience" (pp. 19-20). In this sense, narrative and Self are inseparable. Similarly, Bruner (1986) says narrative is "a way of knowing" (p. 3). His ideas about narrative are that narrative is "composed and understood in term of hermeneutic dimensions, deals with norms and is sensitive to ordinary and conventional rules of society, and it invariably breaks those same rules, and contains ambiguity, meaning, loose enough to allow for constant and liberal substitution of elements and events" (as cited in Shank, 2002, pp. 153-154). These principles of narrative are used to create a future underpinning from the participants' past experiences.

Johnstone (1990) adds that storytelling is a narrative mode. She believes that presenting dynamics of language use between the individual and a group is best shown because "Narrative is a ubiquitous component of talk, and that conversations are often structured around competitive or jointly constructed stories, and narrative is utilized to

structure our experience of the past and give it meaning" (p. 5). Johnstone continues to write about a merit of narrative study in search of identities through talk: "Stories mirror and create social power and authority, as well as the set of authoritative norms for talk, which we call language" (p. 126). McMillan (2000) also stresses that personal narrative is a form of self-discourse in research about identity.

A commonality found among these researchers is a strong bond of discourse and language between individual and community within the narrative mode. On the other hand, in the search of construction of identity through talk, Rouse (1995) is concerned about the misuse of the discourse of identity to solely focus on "articulating a forceful sense of self and vital visions of political practice" (p. 351). He warns us that the study should include historical and political mobilization and class consciousness that involves individual Self and collectivities alike in the social issues. What concerns him about the proper use of discourse and the research about the identity is worth a reminder.

In this section, I describe the data analysis process from coding to themes through the participants' narratives. My year-long data collection resulted in massive amounts of transcription data. The process of analyzing raw data, coding, and emerging themes required demanding work accompanied by my patience and time. When I went through multiple filtering steps to seek the themes, my belief about the narrative technique was more confirming than refuting that the narrative can best serve the researcher's insights into the participants' meaningful experiences and construction of their unique identity. In conjunction with Morse's (as cited in Shank, 2002) emphasis, I wanted to corroborate that the process of analyzing data in doing qualitative feminist research was "not a passive endeavor" (p. 129).

For the data analysis, I filtered my transcription process into four stages: raw data transcription, filtering one, filtering two, and the final filtering. After this filtering process, I chose the qualitative data analysis software entitled Atlas.*ti* (2003-2008) in order to start coding the data. I also utilized narrative study analysis tools. I wanted to use the combination of the analysis tools along with the Atlas.*ti* in order for my study to be more reliable. In the following section, I illustrate my transcribing process, Atlas.*ti*, and the matrix of narrative analysis tools that were employed for the analysis of data.

Transcription

Transcription is the "researcher's data" (Ochs, 1979, p. 44). Ochs warns researchers, as transcribers, that the transcription process can easily become biased if researchers do not pay careful attention to the transcribing process. She suggests that the researcher use selective transcription for data. Selective transcription means that the researcher knows how to "filter the process" (p. 44). In the course of transcribing my participants' interviews, I realized the significance of the transcriptions as my data source. I filtered my process into four stages: raw data transcription, filtering one, filtering two, and final filtering.

During the process of *raw data transcription*, I transcribed whole conversations and tried to catch every word and sound, including the interviewee's nonverbal gestures and facial expressions noted in my field notes. In this process, I attempted to make transcriptions as detailed as possible. The massive amount of transcription overwhelmed me. However, the long transcribing process gave me many insights into what had been said by my respondents. After I finished transcribing, I started filtering the transcription to be more relevant to my research purposes and objectives.

In the process of *filtering one*, I removed the participants' real names and replaced them with anonymous names in order to protect the participants' privacy. I also removed all excessive expressions, such as *uh, hum, you know, well*, etc. I cleared overlapping interruptions between the interviewees and my conversations. All other raw data information was retained in this process.

In the process of *filtering two*, I deleted repetitive words or phrases in the conversation. I marked the frequency of the repetitive words or phrases to consider the emphases that the interviewees pointed out in what aspects. I removed the dialogues that were off topic. My decision to categorize what counts as off topic was made based on the usability of the quotes. In this filtering process, code switching words (English words in Korean sounds) were converted into the English words. That clearly showed how often the code mixing occurred and who code switched between the two languages more actively than others.

The last process was called *the final filtering*, which indicated that this data was the actual data I utilized for analysis and discussion. In this stage, each participant's filtered transcriptions were stored separately in the data analysis software file. The coding process was begun in this stage. Details about the coding process are presented in the data analysis section. The patterns found in the course of the filtering processes were thematically divided into several topics. Every filtering process was worth the time in which I not only tried to minimize the bias, but was also inspired by the interviewees' own voices every time I encountered their words in the transcription filtering process. It is important to note that every filtering process was not completely separated the others. I revisited the previous ones when needed and integrated any discoveries with the next

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filtering process along with jotting down any thoughts and ideas. This facilitated the coding process.

Atlas.ti

Atlas.*ti* (2003-2008) is computer software that helps analyze qualitative data. It was designed and developed by Thomas Muhr at the Technical University in Berlin, Germany. This program facilitated my creation of codes from the large amount of data. The codes were sorted into major categories. The examples of categories were (a) Americanness and Koreanness, (b) individualism and collectivism, (c) the English language and its discourse difference, (d) classroom environments and professor's roles, (e) ESL subject positions, (f) gender values and self-values, and (g) L2 performance level and emotions, among others. The Atlas.*ti* program helped me cluster similar topics into "families" or "networks." These functions made each participant's narratives visible in network trees. Sample code networks of each participant are provided below. In order to clarify the code-to-code relation used in the network tree, I provide the description from the Atlas.*ti* manuscript (see Table 4).

Table 4
Code-code relations

Name	Description
is property of (asymmetric relation)	a meta relation between a concept and its attributes
no name (symmetric relation)	if no other relation applies for a link
is a (transitive; contradicts; or symmetric relation)	the ISA relation links specific concepts to general concepts
is cause of (transitive relation)	used for representing causal links, processes, etc.
is part of (transitive)	the part-of relation links objects, not concepts of different abstractional level as does ISA
is associated with (symmetric)	relates concepts without subsumption

Figures 1, 2, and 3 present Youngmi, Bonny and Hejung's analyses respectively. The network tree plays a role of visual representation of each participant's emphasis on particular subjects. The central part of Youngmi's focus was her relationship with her academic advisor. She voiced what professors' roles ought to be for graduate level students, especially for nonnative English speaking students. Bonny focused on change of her Self, including but not limited to, personality changes or worldview changes. Hehjung's points were about her course achievement and success as well as her improvement of the English language. The elements that I represented in the figures below demonstrate how complicated our lives are. A single layer of description of each participant's life experiences was not enough to illustrate this complexity of their lives.

Youngmi's Network Tree

Figure 1. *Youngmi*

Bonny's Network Tree

Figure 2. *Bonny*

Hehjung's Network Tree

Figure 3. *Hehjung*
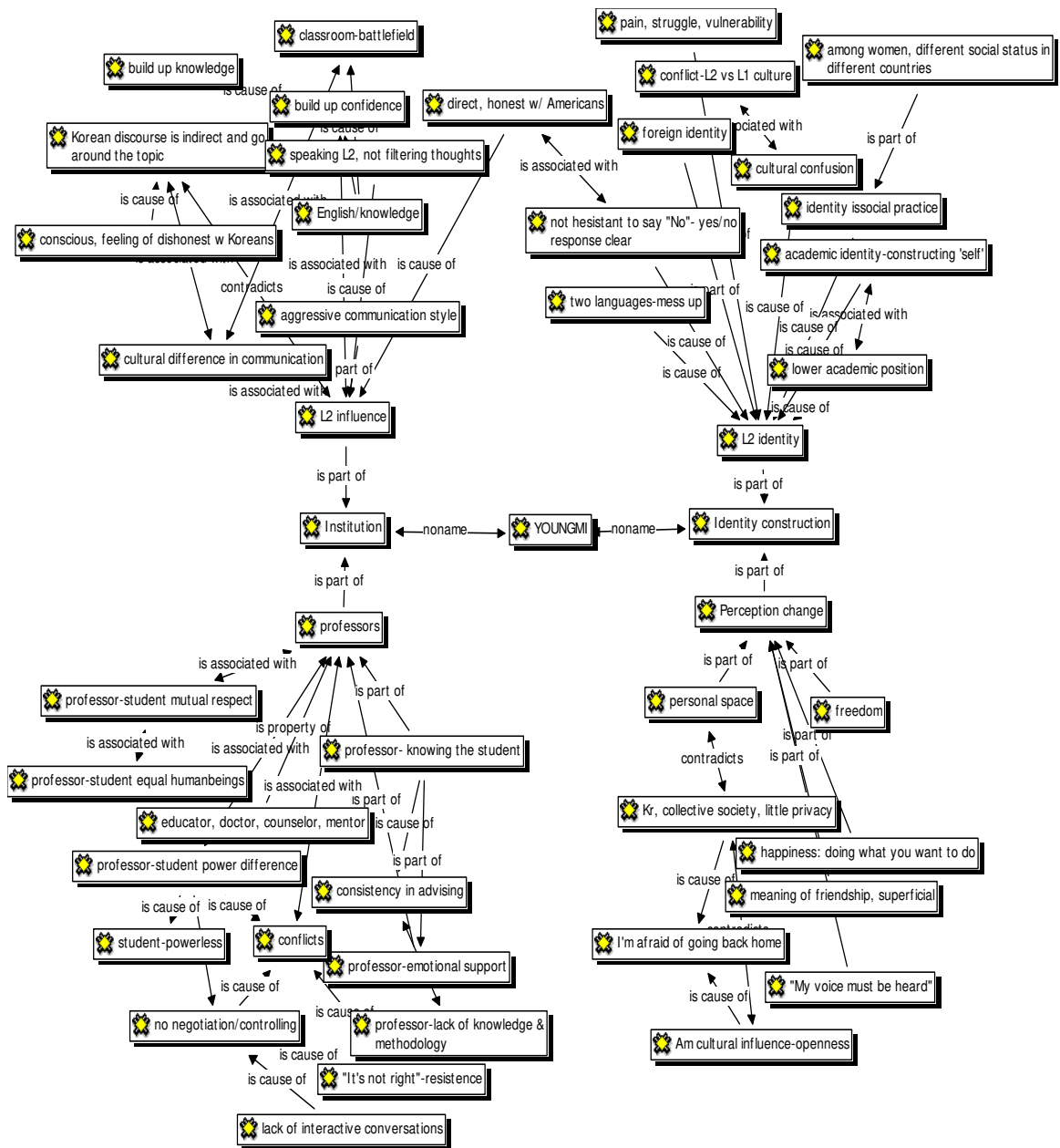
Based on the analysis of the participants' narratives I came up with the concept of a diagram for construction of identity.
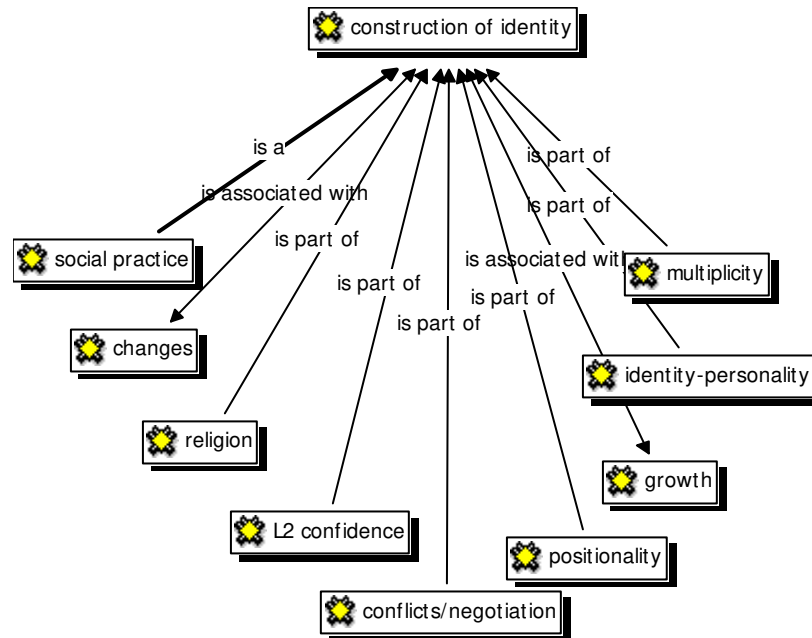
Figure 4. *Construction of identity*

Matrix of Narrative Study Analysis Tools

I synchronized the "three dimensional inquiry space" proposed by Clandinin and Connelly (2000, p. 54) and the "progressive-regressive" method suggested by Bloom (1998, p. 64). The elements of the three dimensional inquiry are interaction, continuity, and place. Interaction includes both personal and social interactions; continuity means past, present, and future time; and place is understood as situation. Both interaction and continuity involve meanings of backward (e.g., past), forward (e.g., future), inward (e.g., feelings) and outward (e.g., environment) (p. 50). This approach is linked to Bloom's progressive and regressive method:

The progressive-regressive method is the process of examining individual's same

points but at different levels of integration and complexity by considering and

reconsidering life experiences in light of the analysis of previous experiences. In

the progressive (forward) movement, the individual's experiences are treated as a

journey of becoming. In the regressive (backward) movement, the individual's

journey of become is reflected by themselves. It takes one back on a journey of

exploration among the objects, people, places, and events which make up the

grounds of one's being. (p. 65)

The progressive and regressive method is an analytic process for moving forward and

backward through a personal narrative to chart significant events that recur in a person's

life in different forms over time. Some examples are provided in the table below (see

Table 5).

Based on the description of each component of the analysis tools, I was able to

interconnect the components. The purpose of this interconnectivity was to help me make

meanings of my participants' narratives. I sorted the codes and filled in the blanks on the

matrix with pertinent narrative codes. The integration of these two tools best fit to

analyze the complex and rich stories I got from the respondents. As feminist standpoint,

these tools were used to see how the participants positioned themselves in their own

narratives. An example of the matrix of the elements is presented below.

Table 5

Matrix of analysis tools: Example phrases

	Interaction (Personal/Social) (Feelings)	Continuity (Time) (Environments)	Place (Situation) (Space)
Regressive (Backward)	I was a quiet and introverted person back in Korea	In the past… Before… I used to think…	In Korea… In our home…
Progressive (Forward)	I feel like a talkative and outgoing person when speaking in English	At present… Now… I don't think that way any more…	In America… In my place…

I created a "3S" categorization: Struggle, Strategy, and Survival. *Struggle* includes the participants' conflicts, problems, and difficulties in the course of studying. Types of the struggles are (a) L2 English struggles, (b) social and cultural struggles, (c) background knowledge struggles, (d) emotional struggles, and (e) identity confusion struggles. The prominent effects of each struggle type are presented within the same column. *Strategy* takes account of ways that the participants tried to cope with the struggles. *Survival* indicates the results or outcomes of using strategies. The following table shows themes to data.

Table 6
Sample themes

Struggle	Strategy	Survival
L2 English Struggles		
Effects: Loss of self confidence	Making active interactions with native L2 speakers	Developed a sense of equal relationship through L2 interactions and practices
Low self-esteem	Developing personal relationships with native L2 speakers	
Being conscious of foreign accents		Regained self-confidence as L2 proficiency gets advanced
Being defensive	Practicing dialogues through persons, media, and texts	
Being depressed		Recognized L1 and L2 different values
Recognition of disadvantaged L2 learner position	Avoiding contact with L1 speakers	Developed bilingual mind and status (e.g., trying to make the balance between L1 and L2)
Feeling of language inferiority	Trying to avoid verbal contact in L2	
	Changing language attitude (e.g., accepting her nonnative English linguistic markers)	
Social and Cultural Struggles		
Effects: Self-awareness on lack of social and historical background of the host country	Involving with community-based extracurricular activities	Developed a sense of multi-culturalism
		Developed a sense of biculturalism
	Traveling and having field experiences	
Feeling of cultural inferior position		Became aware of differences and diversities existed in the host society
Recognition of minority status (e.g., Asian, foreigner,	Trying to accept the outsider position while staying in the host country	
		Expanded worldviews

language minority)		
	Developing individualism	Expanded knowledge about the host cultures
Developing a concept of outsiderness		
	Separating from and connecting to L1 community	
	Separating from and connecting to L2 community	

Content Area Background Knowledge Struggles		
Effects: Recognition of lack of theretical background knowledge	Studying assigned course work in advance	Obtained degrees in higher education in American institution, which would be greatly recognized in their L1 country
	Looking for more resources to learn than assigned materials	
Recognition of lack of practical experiences in the host country		
	Having internships in the local community	Expanded theoretical and practical academic knowledge
Feeling of being behind from peers		
	Getting peer assistance for projects performance	Provided the better chance to find their professional career
	Nonverbal participation in class	Provided the better chance to mobilize their socioeconomic status
	Being patient	
	Being persistent	

Emotional Struggles		
Effects: Fear	Trying to accept present situations (e.g., ELL status, international student status, living condition, etc.)	Became self-confident person
Anxiety		Raised self-values
Stupidity		Discovered different

		personalities (e.g., opinionate, individualistic, self-oriented, independent, autonomous)
Stress	Trying to be optimistic	
Depression		
	Trying to minimize negative feelings	
Worthlessness		
Regrets	Trying to minimize stress level	
Eating disorder		
	Trying to maximize self-motivation	
Sleeping disorder		
Self-disappointment	Never stop challenging	
Frustration		
	Trying to be self-disciplined	

Identity Struggles

Effects: Confusion	Attempting to choose L2 identity over L1 identity by accepting L2 identity artifacts	Created bilingual bicultural sense of identity
Resentment		
		Recognized the value of multiple identities
Resistance	Trying to avoid L1 and L2 identity conflicts or confrontations	
Separateness		Recognized the change of the perception
Self-reflection		
	Analyzing her Self by comparing and contrasting their past and present lives	Recognized gender values
Self-doubt		
		Increased self-values

Summary

In this chapter, I have introduced the central concept of feminist research methodology that was used as the methodological framework for this study. Upon taking feminist research characteristics, my dissertation methodology was driven to narrative

mode. The adopted data collection methods were one-on-one interviews, online interviews, observations, and/or written artifacts. Data analysis tools I utilized were the matrix of narrative study analysis (the three dimensional inquiry space and the progressive-regressive method) associated with qualitative data analysis software Atlas.*ti*. Having the software to manage the large amount of data was effective, reliable, and enjoyable. The purpose of utilizing the matrix of analysis tool and Atlas.*ti* tool was to make my study more valid and dependable.

Feminist research methodology is an intriguing tool in searching for female ESL students' epistemology; yet, it raises a number of issues at the same time. I have pointed out the methodological concerns that I noticed in the course of conducting research along the lines of my positionality. In search of epistemology, it is important to keep asking questions: What counts as knowledge? What is my way of knowing? What do my interviewees intend to tell me? From a feminist standpoint, I believe the knowledge is within us and is derived from our own experiences of everyday life. The way female ESL students understand their lives creates their own knowledge, and that is the source of knowledge for Others. I also believe the difference between individuals truly matters in creating knowledge. Therefore, knowing how an individual female student creates knowledge must be centered in feminist research. Epistemology resulting from this study contains an individual student's voice that needs to be theorized and woven with existing epistemology for linguistically and culturally diverse female students in American universities. Bloom (1998) writes:

> Methodologies themselves do not fail; what fails us is our expectations that
>
> methodology can guarantee particular kinds of experiences or results. . . .

Feminist methodology may not provide the kind of strong scaffolding from which

to build a comfortable or predictable practice, but maybe, after all, this is just

what we want: a theory of research that neither stabilizes our practices nor

essentializes us as researchers. And this, I believe, is a sign of hope. (p. 153)

Bloom's powerful and hopeful message has encouraged me to carefully reflect upon my

data, analysis, and writing as well as my own and my respondents' positionality, roles,

and values. Being reflective, recognizing my limits, taking responsibilities, knowing my

respondents and myself, looking for new approaches – that is my methodological sign of

hope through my dissertation research process.

CHAPTER 4 COLLECTED VOICES

Introduction

Following my analysis of the data, I looked for patterns of similarities and differences from all the participants' narratives. The resulting classification of similarities and differences helped to uncover and label the important themes that are related to the central thesis, goals, and objectives of this study. This process of looking for patterns is described by Shank (2002) as a "thematic analysis" (p. 129). In this chapter entitled, "Collected Voices," I show all three participants' stories in the form of direct quotes. The students' direct quotes in Korean were translated into English. I tried to present the most literal translation possible with limited modifications.

The primary finding presented in this chapter is that L2 discourse interactions affected the female ESL students' ability to articulate their voices. My participants' decision to study in the United States became the opportunity for them to reassess their values and sense of self-worth, and they regained self-confidence, which helped them to pursue their postgraduate education. Educational experiences in American institutions have played a significant role in enhancing these female ESL students' self-identity. Self-awareness about the change of their perspectives and social positions has contributed quite critically to the reevaluation and reformulation of their identities.

This chapter is divided into six sections. Each section title is an excerpt from one of the participants, one which represents all three participants' commonalities. In the first section, "I Want to Be Normal Again," I describe the participants' conflicts about their English language in relation to their class participation. I deal with a number of topics

including the meaning of nonverbal participation in their classrooms, instructional style difference, and professor's roles.

In the second section, "I've Become a Self-Centered Person," I focus on describing the participants' perception about their individual behavior and thinking. I present their own self-observations about discourse-style differences in America.

In the third section entitled "I'm the One Who Makes My Life," I introduce traditional Korean family values that are contrary to individual values. The participants' opinions about family obligations are that their personal freedom was restricted by their family obligations in Korea. I illustrate the participants' endeavor to decrease their feeling of family obligation while increasing their own values in the United States.

In the fourth section, "Korean Women Sort Out Their Messy Yarns in America," I describe the participants' perspectives about women's values in general and gender differences in the two countries. I then present the participants' imagination about returning to the home country after the completion of their studies.

In the fifth section, "This is My Identity," I expose the participants' self-descriptions about their identities. I divide this section into three subsections in order to emphasize each participant's sense of self-identity: (a) the growth of self ego by Youngmi, (b) the journey of deconstructing and reconstructing the sense of self by Bonny, and (c) the continuity in the change of perspectives by Hehjung.

Finally, I conclude this chapter by looking at the participants' positionality in the United States. This last section, "This Is How Other People Position Me," presents their outlook on how they are socially positioned by other people.

"I Want to Be Normal Again"

Prior to starting their education in the United States, all three participants were full of confidence, hope, and desire. The participants' ambitions and excitement, which they brought with them from Korea to this country, quickly faded due to their poor English language performance. Often, they jumped to the conclusion that they would never master the English language or overcome the sense of being an outsider. They said that they would never feel "normal" in the United States due to the cultural barriers and their language "deficiency" (i.e., lack of fluency in English). In this section, I discuss the impact English competence and the influence their performance (or lack thereof) had on these students. I focus specifically on the meaning of nonverbal participation in their classrooms. I also present the students' own views and reflections concerning instructional styles and the professors' roles.

English Language and Its Influence

The primary purpose of using English for the students in my study was to allow them to be academically successful. The mandatory use of English, however, simultaneously brought about a number of unexpected emotional side-effects. This included such things as depression, pessimism, negativity, anxiety, and devastation. All these conditions were common among the interviewees. They also had to deal with feelings of shameful, stupidity, and vulnerability in their day-to-day lives. These students did say that the level of emotional stress seemed to decrease as time passed. However, they said there was no absolute resolution or cure, which ultimately meant their emotional status would usually be unstable or subject to unexpected changes. The level of

emotional stress varied depending on their daily performances in English and interactions with American peers.

In a more general sense it is well known that the use of English as a nonnative language, both inside and outside the classroom, is a challenge to most ESL students. The students in my study all agreed that basic communication of English, in terms of informal non-academic English, was more difficult for them than academic English. While they could prepare for classroom English by reading and writing in advance, it was hard for them to predict the context of conversations outside the classroom setting. According to the participants, basic communication required knowing, or at least being informed of, the social and cultural backgrounds of America. Informal conversation with native English speakers often required spontaneity, speed, complexity, and a range of cultural knowledge. Based on their language experience, when they did not immediately catch the meaning, the conversation often ended. All felt they needed to learn how and when to speak appropriately. They also realized that linguistic knowledge of English did not automatically give them the necessary understanding of culturally and socially accepted manners of language use and meaning.

The graduate level classroom context demands near native-like proficiency in English. Prior to entering American institutions, the participants took required language proficiency tests, and scored high enough to more than satisfy the graduate institution's minimum proficiency requirements. When these students came to the United States, they all had quite high self-expectations on performing in English based on their high proficiency test scores. However, they found that their supposed competence in English, as determined by the tests taken in Korea, actually positioned them much lower than their

native English speaking peers. In addition, they felt their knowledge about content areas

was lacking compared to many American students, and they also realized that

instructional styles in American institutions were unfamiliar to them. This finding caused

all of them to feel a great deal of self-imposed pressure and tension. One of the common

strategies the students utilized to cope with the problems related to proficiency in English

was nonverbal participation. It was interesting to see, however, that all of my participants

emphasized the fact that their silence was not simply muting their voices. For them it was

a form of communication and interaction, whether or not their professors and peers

interpreted it as the same way they did. Below, I present the participants' reflections on

their English influence.

Youngmi

In her journal entries written in English four years before the time of my

interview with her, Youngmi reflected on the issue of language and silence.

> *Why am I silent in the class? Knowledge of the English language and knowledge*
> *of society oppress me. The texts I read also oppress me. I am reluctant to reveal*
> *my weakness and lack of knowledge and also prefer to save face.* (November 6,
> 2002)

Youngmi talked about the experience of how people treated her silence differently

from how she personally treated her silence. She saw her silence not as a way to shut off

but as a way to listen. She felt, however, that others interpreted it as her having

insufficient proficiency in English and therefore she was incapable of studying in English.

As a result, she often felt stupid and frustrated in class when quietly sitting in classrooms.

"초기에는 한마디도 안 했다가 갈수록 조금씩 하긴 했는데 그래도 사일런스한 학생

(*In the beginning [of my graduate program], I didn't say a word. It got better later, but I*

was labeled a silent student in class)" (February 5, 2006).

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Her lack of knowledge about American social backgrounds, L2 proficiency, and content areas turned out to "oppress" her, which in turn resulted in her being silent in class. According to Youngmi, her weakness stemmed from partial exposure to the language, culture, and society of America. In her graduate courses in the United States, she felt that her professors wondered and were concerned about her being quiet – which would have been "normal" to her Korean professors in Korea. When asked, her response was that her insufficient background knowledge and unfamiliar discussion style in class kept her quiet. She felt that the way students participated in discussions was "aggressive," and the class was like a "battlefield." Every student in her class seemed to teach each other, but not to listen to each other. She was overwhelmed by these verbal class dynamics, which seemed to be so valued in American education:

> 제일 힘들었을때는 가을에 처음 와가지고 들은 리콰이어먼트 수업이었는데 그 프레셜. 프로페서가 가끔 왜 사이런스 하냐고 물어보는데 그때 대답을 할때는 백그라운드 널리지가 하나도 없어서 힘들었다고. 백그라운드를 디벨럽 시키기 위해서 수업시간에 리콰이어 된 책 말고도 추천하는 책들 준비해 갖고. 컴뮤니케이션에 참여를 못하는 그 자체에서 굉장히 이모셔널 하게. 어떨때는 네거티브하게 받아들일때도 있고. 한 마디라도 했다 하면 그게 긍정적인 이모션으로 돌아오고. 오늘 한마디 했네. 한마디도 안하며는 왜 또 조용했었지 그런 생각이 들고.

> *In my first fall semester, I took the required course. There was tremendous pressure in the class. My professor sometimes asked me why I was silent. I answered that it was because of my lack of background knowledge. In order to develop the background knowledge, I read recommended books in addition to the course's required textbooks. I was so emotional about not actively and verbally participating in class communication. Ifelt bad when I didn't say anything, which made me think why I was again quiet. It turned out to be a positive emotion when I verbally participated; I said something today, like that.* (Youngmi, February 5, 2006)

> 수업시간에 디스커션할 때 못 알아들어서 참여를 못 할때도 있었지만 어쩔때는 내가 틀리면 어떡하나, 또는 다른 사람 말하는거 끊기 싫어서 그냥 넘어간 경우도 있잖아요. 그런데 뭐가 문제냐며는 저 사람하고 분명히

의견이 반대가 되는데 이렇게 반대를해서 괜찮을까 그 생각도 들고. 그게 한국식 생각이 바로 넘어온 것일수도 있는데.

When I didn't verbally participate in class discussion, it was because I didn't understand the discussion, but it was also because of my anxiety about being wrong or not wanting to cut off other students' talk. The problem was that when I disagreed with someone, I couldn't say I disagreed.I didn't know if that was okay. I think it was very Korean thinking. (Youngmi, February 26, 2006)

Bonny

Similar to Youngmi, Bonny's biggest concerns about her graduate study in the

United States were her English language competence and content knowledge.

팀 프로젝트가 있을 때 나 때문에 피해가 갈까봐 미안했다. 깊이있는 대화없이 일상적인 말만 주고 받으므로 친구사귀기도 어렵고 내 이미지가 좋지 않게 심어지는게 싫었다. 영어는 전공수업에 있어서는 일대일 이므로 몰라도 다시 물어보기가 편하고 또 실기수업이라 그다지 어려움이 없으나 내가 무엇이 궁금 할때 저의느낌 같은것을 자세히 표현을 못할때 좀 답답 하구요. 매번 교수에게 영어 못해서 봐달라고 하기도 미안하고. 나중에는 그런게 통하지도 않고. 방법은 자꾸 이메일을 보내고 또 묻고 또 묻고 다른 애들보다 더 열심히 하고 있다는것을 보여주는 길 밖에 없었구요. 언제나 수업은 따라가기 힘들기 때문에 수업 수강 하기전 읽어야 할 책을 추천해 달라고 이메일을 쓰고 다 읽으면 또 알려달라고 하고. 이렇게 해도 반도 못 알아 듣지만 수업에서 사용하는 영어는 일상생활에서보다는 알아듣기 쉬운 것 같습니다.

When I have a team project, I was paranoid about causing any problems [due to my English]. I couldn't hold in-depth conversations with people so it was hard to make friends. I was afraid of losing my reputation [due to my poor English performance]. My required courses are held in one-on-one lessons with professors. And because my class is a performance-based study, my English wouldn't play the biggest role. But, when I had real questions about playing the instrument, I couldn't express my questions and feelings accurately in English. I felt suffocated. In order to cover my lack of English competence, I email my professors and ask questions over and over again and let them know I'm working harder than other students. Class is always difficult to catch up. I asked my professors to recommend books and studied in advance. Even so, I hardly understood in class. But, English in class seems more understandable than English outside the classroom. (Bonny, March 15, 2006)

Hehjung

Hehjung emphasized that her silence resulted from her increasingly lower levels of self-esteem due to her poor English performance. In her case, her silence played a role in protecting her reputation from being "damaged or harmed." Hehjung said, "If I opened my mouth, all the nonsense words came out of my mouth." She thought that it would make her look unintelligent, which in turn caused her self-esteem to "hit bottom." Instead of saying something unclear in English, she chose to be quiet. What kept Hehjung quiet in class was both her lack of real life experience in America and her being in a less competent language position than her native English speaking counterparts:

> 한국에서는 제가 듣는거 보다는 말하는거를 더 좋아했어요. 발표하라고
> 그러며는 손들어서 자진해서 발표하고. 여기 오니까 손 절대 안들어. 영어도
> 그렇고 내용도 그렇고. 내용은 뭔가 겉포장을 잘 해갖고 얘기 하면
> 인텔리전스 하게 들리지만 우리는 그렇게 못 하잖아요. 직선적으로
> 얘기해야하고. 스투핃하게 들리기도 하고. 수업 시간에 교수들도 그려러니
> 해요. 동양애들한테는 발표를 안 시켜요. 잘 픽을 안해요. 그것도 하나의
> 배려일 수도 있어요. 왜냐며는 동양애들이 성적은 좋거든. 하지만
> 발표하는건 그렇게. 다른 동양애들 중국애들이나 일본애들이랑 얘기를
> 해봐도 자기는 발표 하는게 참 겁난다고. 널버스 한게 교수들도
> 느끼는거예요. 그러니까 제 생각에는 배려 같애요. [교수가] 포인트 안하면
> 맘이 편하진 않아요. 내가 뭔가 플루언트하게 얘기를 할 수 있었으면 하고.
>
> *In Korea, I liked to speak more than listen. I always volunteered to answer my teacher's questions. Here, I would never raise my hand due to English and the content. Native English speaking students know how to play with the language so that they sound intelligent, but I can't. I can only express my thoughts in a linear and plain way, which makes me look stupid. My professors don't often call on Asian students. I think it might be a generality. Asian students' grades are good but they avoid verbal presentation. I talked to peers from China and Japan. They said they are afraid of talking in class. I guess my professors feel these students' nervousness. So, I think, not calling on Asian students is a generality. However, I don't always feel comfortable when my professors don't pick me, and I wish I could speak English fluently.* (Hehjung, February 26, 2006)

During my class observation I sat and observed Hehjung from the back of the classroom. At the end of the class, Hehjung's professor looked at me and said "These

guys [pointing at the two female Korean students with smile] are great, but they are too

quiet in class" (March 2, 2006). Later, I asked Hehjung about her professor's comment.

She raised her voice:

> 씁쓸했지만 기분이 안 좋은건 아니었어요. 사실이니까. 근데 제가 그랬어요.
> 조용하고 싶어서 조용하는게 아니고 모르니까 조용하다고. 아니 미국
> 택스에 대해서 뭔가 배경 지식이라도 있으며는 말을 하겠지만 우리가 얻는
> 지식은 책에서 밖에 없다고. 그러기 때문에 교수가 하는 얘기를 듣는
> 입장일뿐이지 거기에 대해서 토론은 할 수 가 없다고. 나도 토론 하고
> 싶은데 그럴수가 없다고. 교수도 이해하겠죠. 그렇게 얘기 하니까.
>
> *Although it wasn't nice to hear his comment, I didn't feel bad about it because it was true. I defended myself though it was not because I wanted to be quiet; it was because I didn't know much about the subject. For example, how much does my professor expect me to talk about the American tax system since I haven't had a chance to build my background knowledge of it? Even American students don't know much about it. My knowledge only comes from textbooks, and that is not enough to participate in discussion. Taxes are a real life situation. I don't have that real life situation in the U.S. That's why I'm in the position of listening to others more than engaging verbally. I hope he understood.* (Hehjung, March 12, 2006)

In our interview, Hehjung emphasized that learning from real life experiences

beyond the textbook was critical in her field. She also indicated that the graduate level

classes required an advanced comprehension level. Hehjung learned this fact through a

painful experience.

> 처음 시험을 봤는데 D 가 나왔어요. 머리에 종이 땡 하고 울리더라구요. 아,
> 난 안맞는구나. 엄청 디프레스 된거예요. 교수가 포기하지 말고 계속 킵업
> 하며는 할수 있다고. 그니까 막 이것저것 외웠었어요. 외우는게 문제가
> 아니었던거예요. 어떤 룰같은거를 어디에 적용을 시키느냐가 문제 였던
> 거죠. 그런 컨셉이 없었어요 그때는. 그래도 A 맞고 끝냈죠.
>
> *When I got a D on the first exam, I felt a bell was ringing in the back of my head. I was in shock and thought I was not good enough for my studies. I got depressed. My professor told me I shouldn't give up and that I keep going. I started memorizing concepts. I realized that memorization wasn't the best way to study in grad school. It was the matter of how I was able to apply the rules to practice. I didn't have that concept at the time. However, I completed the course with a final grade A.* (Hehjung, February 26, 2006)

Nonetheless, both Youngmi and Hehjung knew that silence was not the ultimate way to cope with their proficiency issues. They felt a great degree of self-imposed pressure to break their silence. In order to break their silence, they used many strategies. They spent a lot of time reading materials to build on background knowledge. They also tried to have as many verbal interactions with native English speakers as possible outside class. For example, Hehjung found English speakers who married Korean wives. She had language exchanges where she taught them Korean and received free English conversation lessons from them. She also watched cooking shows and children's programs for several hours a day in order to improve her listening comprehension. The participants indicated that the goal of their endeavor was eventually to regain confidence and to feel "normal" again.

Instructional Styles

The participants highlighted the fact that both learning styles and instructional styles in their American institutions, for the most part, are different from their experiences in Korea. For example, all three participants agreed that peer critique, which seems to be a critical learning tool in the United States, is not a common method in Korea. They felt that their American peers seemed open to showing their critiques as well as to accepting their peers' critiques, whereas it made my participants feel uneasy and tense. The participants' strategies to deal with these uneasy and tense feelings were acceptance and practice – accept the way they are expected to behave by their professors, and practice what they are supposed to do, instead of refusing to do so. It took a great deal of practice for all three of them to gradually lower their fear of giving and receiving peer

critiques. They emphasized, however, that this learning tool eventually helped them develop critical thinking skills, and they all said it had been more helpful than hurtful.

Another example I found was in regards to the participants' expectations concerning academic writing styles in their graduate programs in the United States. For all three, the adjustment to academic writing practices in American universities was a challenge. Prior to arriving in the United States, these students did not have the opportunity to learn about the contrastive styles and the changes that they would be forced to make. At the beginning of their studies, all three encountered problems, such as charges of plagiarism. From the interviews, I found that both Bonny and Hehjung had more difficulties in adjusting to writing styles than Youngmi. Here are some examples.

Youngmi

교수들이 그냥 세컨랭귀지러너이기 땜에 봐주는건지. 아니면 넌네이티브 하고 네이티브의 어떤 차이점을 둬서 어세스를 하는지그건 잘 모르겠는데 일단 그런 측면에서 지적을 받은적은 없어요.

I don't know if my professors are easy on second language learners or whether they have distinctive assessment criteria between nonnative students and native students, but they haven't criticized about my writing styles. (Youngmi, February 5, 2006)

Bonny

이론 수업의 경우에는 교수마다 너무 다른것 같습니다. 외국인이어서 약간은 고려해주는 교수도 있는 반면 전혀 고려하지 않는 사람도 있구요. 레포트 쓸때 플레저리즘이나 사이테이션 이런것들은 전혀 모른채 한국에서 쓰던식으로 했다가 완전 f 맞을뻔 한 경험도 많구요. 마이크로소프트 메모 사용법이라든지 한국에서 준비하지 않았던 공부들이 많아 좀 답답했습니다.

Every professor is different in my theory courses. Some professors are easy on foreign students. Some professors don't consider it. When I was writing my paper, I had no idea about plagiarism or citation. I copied things as I used to do in Korea. I almost got an "f." I didn't know how to manage MS Word applications, either. Things like that I didn't learn in Korea, which caused lots of troubles in the course of my study. (Bonny, May 16, 2006)

전공 수업은 한국과 가르치는 방식이 달라 적응하기 힘들었다. 석사과정 인데도 기초 부터 다시 배워야 할 때와 모든 것을 내가 찾아내고 연습해야 하는 이곳 방식이 선생님이 모든 것을 일일히 찾아서 해주는 한국과 달라 전공에서 뒤쳐질까 걱정했었다.

The required course method was different from that of Korea, and it was hard for me to adjust. In the graduate course, I had to start over learning basic knowledge. I had to research and practice on my own. These methods were challenging because my professors in Korea find everything for their students. I was concerned if I fell behind in class due to the different method. (Bonny, March 15, 2006)

저희는 일주일에 한 번 저희 선생님과 제자들 끼리만 작은 연주회를 엽니다. 대부분 한국은 후배나 선배가 단점을 지적하면 바로 모든 학생들이 절 그렇게 생각하기 때문에 사이가 완전 멀어지구요. 하지만 미국에선 너무 달랐습니다. 연주가 끝나고 떨리냐고 묻더군요. 그리고 학생들은 저의 떨림을 고쳐주기 위한 토론이 시작되었구요. 그리고 학생들은 다음주에 다시 연주 해볼 것을 권합니다. 과연 얼마나 좋아 지는지. 그러다 보니 이제 더 이상 체면같은것은 생각하지 않고 그대로 문제점을 드러내는것에 더 이상 창피하게 생각하지 않았죠, 오히려 더 보여주고 애들의 지적속에서 내가 보지 못했던것을 많이 알게 되었습니다.

In my graduate program, professors and students gather for a mini concert every week. In Korea, if fellow students point out your problems, you're labeled that way. If that's the case, their relationship falls apart. However, my program in America was different. After my performance at the mini concert, I was asked if I was trembling. Everyone in my class began to discuss how to fix my trembling. They suggested that I should perform again in a week to see any changes. Having repeated meetings in this class, I was no longer embarrassed about revealing my problems. Rather, I learned from their critiques things I didn't see before. (Bonny, May 17, 2006)

Hehjung

영어 수업 받을때 라이팅을 하는데 저도 한국에선 잘한다고 그랬거든요. 근데 여기 오니까 한국식으로 라이팅을 하니까 교수가 이해를 못 하고 이상 하다고 하니까 바꿔야 하잖아요. 근데 미국애들 사고방식을 이해를 할 수 가 있어야지 처음에.

I was recognized for my good writing in Korea. In English class in America, however, my professor didn't understand my writing and kept telling me that my essay looked weird. I realized that I was writing in a Korean way. I was asked to

change, but I didn't understand how American students think and write. (Hehjung, February 05, 2006)

Hehjung, for example, was asked by her English teacher to change her writing style. After her first essay was returned without a grade, she said it took some time for her to figure out that some elements of her writing were different from those of her American peers. Hehjung said that she could not understand the American way of thinking and how it would be represented in writing. After semesters of practicing writing and getting assistance from English speakers, she was able to see the differences in Korean and English writing styles and in particular what is emphasized. These differences are presented later in this chapter.

Professor's Role

Although the participants in my study eventually became comfortable with their English proficiency through practice, they emphasized that their competence in English would never truly be "mastered" or allow them to develop a more "stable" linguistic and emotional status. They said they could easily become insecure once again simply due to the preexisting insecurities over proficiency, the class atmosphere, or even the degree of the professor's interactions with them. No matter what their career and social positions were in the past, these participants sought to take the "student" role at present. Their academic relationship with their professors had been an important factor for them to either be successful or to fail in their studies. Their thoughts about the role of the professor are presented below.

Youngmi

In her experience, a teacher with a narrow-minded approach increased the pressure on the students and almost always made them shut down. She pointed out that

some of her professors have "academic boundaries" or have a "conceptual box" in that

they are not willing to open their "ears to hear" graduate students' perspectives. For

example, when Youngmi shared her opinion in class (Observation on March 29, 2006),

her professor warned her by saying: "Youngmi, be careful to say that" without giving

Youngmi any further explanations. Instead of arguing back, Youngmi dropped her head

immediately and sat quietly. A minute later, she gazed at me as if her eyes were speaking

to me. Later, in an interview, she expressed her displeasure:

> 나의 펄스펙티브인데 왜 교수가 컨트롤 해요. 교수가 자기 아이디어
> 박스안에 항상 있기 때문에 학생들의 목소리가 안 들리는 거예요. 자기 박스
> 외의 말을 하는거는 엄청나게 거슬리는거예요. 저때도 봤죠. 세미나에서
> 학생들 숨도 못 쉬었잖아. 다른 학생들을 언컴포터블하게 만들어요. 그게
> 가장 문제예요.

> *It was my perspective. Why was she trying to control it? That's why I say she is in
> her conceptual box. Her narrow-minded teaching approach puts her grad
> students in a very uncomfortable situation. She pushes her students away, and the
> students have a feeling of oppression in class. Didn't you see that everyone in
> class looked down and said nothing at all? That's the biggest problem.* (Youngmi,
> April 2, 2006)

Youngmi emphasized that a professor's insensitive comments in regards to

students' perspectives often lowered the students' self-esteem. That is, she said, certainly

not the best way of teaching and engaging with students. Youngmi believes that there is

no one ideal teaching role, but there are multiple roles.

> 선생이라는 롤은 한가지 티칭하는 티처로서의 롤이 아니라 어떤때는 닥터가
> 되야 되고 진단을 하는거죠 쟤가 정말 원하는게 뭐고 아카데믹 한데는 내가
> 뭔가 피드백을 주면 거기서 좀 더 발전할 수 있는 그런 애가 될건데 그런.
> 어떤때는 학생들의 펄스널한 이슈도 있잖아요. 그러며는 그때는 카운셀러가
> 될 수도 있는거고. 그런 무슨 휴머니스틱한 릴레이션쉽이 있어야된다고
> 봐요.

> *Teacher is an educator who teaches subject areas of knowledge. But, teacher
> could be a doctor who examines students' needs for their healthy academic
> growth. Teacher could also be a counselor who listens to the students' personal*

issues because the personal issues strongly affect the students' academic status and success. My point is that the teaching profession should be understood in the humanistic way, human to human. (Youngmi, October 12, 2006)

Youngmi's notion of a teacher's multiple roles was inspired by her experience with her academic advisor. She felt that academic advisors can greatly influence their advisees' success in academia and ideally they work closely together. Youngmi said that the advisor and student form a team, a "marriage-like relationship." Considering the different power positions in academia between the advisor and the advisee, it is not all that difficult to imagine how the student would go through the rest of his or her study once the "marriage-like" relationship ends or is dismantled. Youngmi had this unfortunate experience during her graduate studies. Here I use her experience as an example to demonstrate the importance of the advisor-advisee relationship as part of professors' roles.

From the beginning of her academic life, Youngmi felt controlled by her advisor about her interest of study. In spite of this awareness, she decided to stay with the same advisor and complete her program. As years went by, however, the situation got worse and worse. Youngmi said, "지금 생각하면 참 바보 같은데. 왜그랬는지 모르겠는데. 아마 그게 정신적으로 억눌려서 그럴수도 있다라는 생각이 들어요. (*In retrospect, I was so stupid [that I didn't challenge her when she told me what to do with my own study]. I don't know why [I kept quiet and didn't challenge]. Perhaps, I was mentally and psychologically intimidated by her presence*)" (Youngmi, October 12, 2006).

Youngmi and her advisor reached a point where they could not understand each other. This was due to differences between them concerning Youngmi's research and program of studies. This conflict affected Youngmi in many different ways. She was

stressed out, had trouble sleeping, and developed a temporary eating problem. Needless to say, she could not focus on writing and, as a result, she lost her self-esteem. In spite of the fact that both Youngmi and the advisor made a conscious effort to resolve their conflict, the gap between them was already too wide to fix.

Youngmi's conflict also came from her sense of mistreatment by her advisor. She often felt that she was treated like an elementary school student by being forced to repeatedly acknowledge that the advisor's expertise was greater than hers. Youngmi had trouble accepting this hierarchical and patronizing, power-inspired abuse in their relationship because it made her feel so "small." She would feel worthless and controlled after every advisory meeting. This long-term negative feeling eventually formed the source of Youngmi's resistance.

> 지도교수기 때문에 물론 파워는 있어요. 하지만 항상 내가 중심이 되야
> 된다고 생각을 해요. 내 스터디이기 때문에. 내가 굉장히 컨트롤 당하는 느낌.
> 나를 압박하는거. 파워를 휘둘러서 어떻게 하겠다 라는거. 그니까
> 니고시에이션이 아예 없는거죠. 니고시에이션이 없다라는 얘기는 사람이
> 어떻게 하겠어요 레시스턴스가 생기죠 당연히.

> *She has power because she is the academic advisor. However, I should be the*
> *center of my study because it's my study. I have had feelings of her controlling,*
> *pressure, and power over me. There's no negotiation. Years of no negotiation, I*
> *finally developed resistance.* (Youngmi, October 12, 2006)

While dealing with this issue, numerous "what if" questions came to her. For example,

> 내가 마이너러티이기 때문에, 내가 아시아애이기 때문에 그렇게 하는건지.
> 만약에 내가 미국애였다며는 저렇게 할건지. 그리고 내가 미국애였다면
> 저런 상황에서 내가 어떻게 했을건지. 나 처럼 이렇게 한박자 두박자 삼박자
> 페이션트로 그 과정을 거치면서 참았을까. 내가 힘이 없다고 생각하니까 이
> 과정이 필요했을까. 내가 아시아 학생이기 때문에 말 잘 듣는다고 나를 잘못
> 판단하고 있을수도 있어요. [지도하는 방법을] 모를수도 있고.

> *Is it because I'm a minority student? Is it because I'm Asian? What if I was an*
> *American student, would my advisor treat me like that? What if I was an*
> *American student, how would I manage this conflict? Would an American student*

be patient and take a step-by-step process to solve the conflict as I did? Did I need this process because I have no power? Would she misunderstand that Asian students are submissive? Does my advisor know how to guide ESL students? (Youngmi, October 12, 2006)

Her consistent self-reflexive questioning was her strategy to deal with her situation, and that resulted in raising her consciousness. Raising her consciousness brought about her eventual resistance and ultimately the end of their academic relationship. She learned from this experience that teaching means more than just teaching knowledge.

티칭을 하면서 티칭만 한다는건 굉장히 무의미한것 같아요. 학생을 사람으로 봐야지 오브젝트 대상으로 봐 버리면 그때부터 그 인간관계는 깨지는 것 같아요. 티칭을 하면서 그건 너무 미닝풀 하지 않다라고 생각이 들어요.

I admit that professors have more knowledge and experiences in academic disciplines than their graduate students. However, we all, as human beings, are equal to one another. Teachers must see their students as human beings. If a teacher sees his or her student as an object, the relationship is broken. That's not meaningful teaching. (Youngmi, October 12, 2006)

Youngmi's point is that students deserve to be treated as worthy human beings in spite of their unequal academic positions. Once a sense of worthlessness has been felt by the student, the academic relationship becomes unhealthy. This relationship then causes students to become negative about their Selves and to doubt their abilities. It can take a long time to recover from this kind of psychological damage. Professors who make their students feel "small and worthless are not qualified educators," and an ideal teacher is "a teacher who teaches with heart," Youngmi said.

Bonny

Bonny also stresses that a professor's close engagement with his or her students is critical. A close engagement is not limited to academic support; it also means having a personal connection. For example, a musical performance on the stage requires the performer's full concentration and therefore personal issues can hinder the quality of the

performance. In Bonny's opinion, good professors know how to help their students

manage their personal issues and studies.

> 교수님은 이론과 실기 또 학생들의 사적인 고민까지 알고 있어야 좋은
> 연주자를 만들어 내는 것같습니다. 교수가 실지로 자신이 연주함으로서
> 증명해 주지 않으면 아무리 말로 설명해도 이해가 안되고. 또한 매번
> 무대위에 서야하고 무대예술은 시간예술이라 아무리 연습을 많이 했어도 단
> 한번 그 시간이 넘어가면 되돌릴수 없는것이어서 고도의 집중력과 자기
> 콘트롤이 없으면 결과가 천지차이 이므로 선생님은 마인드 콘트롤까지
> 해주고 있지요. 그래서 언제나 선생님은 저의 문제점을 지적하면서도 저의
> 생각과 생활 또 고민에 대해서 묻고 해결해주려고 노력합니다.

> *A good professor knows how to make a connection between theory and practice,*
> *as well as an individual student's personal issues. If the professor doesn't*
> *demonstrate how to play by himself, his great effort to have students understand*
> *the theoretical part doesn't work well. My study is performance-based arts, so-*
> *called "time request arts." It requires extreme concentration. Even if the student*
> *practices hard, if the student makes a mistake on the actual performance day, all*
> *the hard work wouldn't be recognized. Depending upon each student's level of*
> *concentration and self-control, the result is hugely different. Because of that,*
> *professors care about students' personal issues and advice for mind-control is*
> *significant in my field.* (Bonny, May 16, 2006)

Hehjung

Since the students in my study compete in their course against their native

English-speaking counterparts, they believe that they will never be in an equal

educational position to compete with them no matter how hard they study. All three

stated that their professors' dynamic engagement and support for students' personal and

academic life played a crucial role in their academic success. They all desired to have a

professor who was willing to discover the student's needs through communication:

> 교수가 미국학생들하고 똑같이 취급을 한다는게 좋은일이긴 한데 어떤
> 면에서는 그렇다고 아무런 것 없이 그저 점수 깎기만 바쁘다는 것은
> 저로서는 너무 배려심이 없다라는 생각이 들어요. 에세이를 써 가지고 갖다
> 냈더니 교수가 빨간색 볼펜으로 언클리어라고 딱 써가지고 획 던지는
> 거예요 수업시간에. 다른 어떤것도 없이. 자존심도 상하고 속상했었어요.

그런 사람은 이에스엘 이라는 개념 조차도 없는 사람이고 외국인이 영어 때문에 받는 고민이나 고통을 전혀 이해를 못하는 사람이예요.

I like to be treated as equal as American students, but this is tricky because how equal is equal. When the teacher judges ESL students based solely on the students' performance of English and is not willing to see the students' process of working, the teacher gives students nothing but discouragement. For example, my English teacher wrote "unclear" in red on my essay in English and almost threw the paper in my face in front of class. You can't imagine how humiliating a moment it was. Plus, there was no explanation or feedback about what was so unclear to her. This type of teacher is always busy reducing points from each task without trying to know the students and what their needs are. I think this kind of teacher has no sense of understanding ESL students. This type of teacher doesn't know how to guide ESL students, either. (Hehjung, January 22 & February 05, 2006)

Through their educational experiences in American universities, the students in my study said that the shift between losing and gaining confidence has been a noticeable phenomenon. When they lost self-confidence, they would position themselves lower in relation to Americans. They used various strategies to regain their confidence. For example, their self-reflexivity, self-doubt, acceptance, resistance, and practice were noticeable strategies used by the participants. When they were able to regain their confidence, facilitated in large part by a better knowledge of English and American cultural practices and patterns, they were able to locate their position as being more equal to Americans. This process, and perhaps this achievement, is not an automatic result of having lived in the United States. It is constructed through their struggles and persistence and desire to survive in a self-selected foreign academic environment. Ultimately, the use of their various strategies was to survive.

"Teaching is a complex job," Youngmi said. Not only does teaching involve transferring academic knowledge to students, but it also engages both the professor's and the student's individual lives. The student's experiences, personal issues, concerns,

emotions, and linguistic and cultural backgrounds cannot be separated from the teaching philosophy and teaching methodology.

In conclusion, the ESL students in my study all had similar ideas about what the ideal professor's roles and images should be. First, these students desired to have professors who can balance textbook knowledge and real life practices. In the studnets' experience, many of their professors teach more from theoretical than applied knowledge. When professors apply their knowledge towards their students' day-to-day experiences, the students have a better understanding about the subject. In the case of professors of ESL students, this means that they should have some knowledge about their ESL students' backgrounds. Without really knowing the students they are teaching, their transfer of theory often results in students' frustration and/or academic failure.

Next, the students in my study stressed there must be mutual respect between the professor and the student. If the professor wants to be respected by students, the professor ought to respect his or her students. In the same way, students must show their respect toward their professors, ideally in the same way they want to be treated.

Finally, the professor's sense of caring was also commented upon by all three of my participants. A sense of caring means that a professor is willing to listen to his or her students' personal issues in addition to the students' academic needs. This allows the professor to offer the student better advice. My participants believe that having a sense of empathy towards their professors is meaningful to them and that results in better academic achievement.

"I've Become a Self-Centered Person"

In this section, I discuss how the graduate students in my study were affected by mainstream American culture, and the English discourse that was the foundation of their educational contexts. I begin by looking at what types of personal changes, in terms of persona or character, my participants have noticed since they started living in the United States. Based on their narratives, I found that the most prominent issue is the development of a self-oriented persona. This section, therefore, consists of the participants' reflections about individualism and discourse style difference.

Individualism

The biggest change that all my participants noticed is that they developed more individualist perspectives and behavior. They found that the notion of "personal space" became a much more important part of their lives in the United States. In Korea, a "together" or "collective" culture has deep historical roots. Although the "together" concept seems to be a sign of belonging to a social group, all three participants realized that this cultural aspect can and does restrict individual and/or personal freedom. They emphasized that their Korean sense of collectivism was eventually overridden by American individualism, and that emphasis upon individualism offered them a sense of freedom. In Korean culture, individualism is often misunderstood as selfishness. However, the participants treated individualism as an asset in their new lives as presented in the examples below:

Youngmi

한국에서는 서로 모여서 살고 이런거 좋아 하잖아요.공부 같이 하고 밥 같이 먹고 커피 같이 마시고. 그게 하나의 문화였기 때문에 그걸 나쁘게 생각한 적 없고. 그게 내가 그 사회에 빌롱 한다는거 아니면 친구한테 프랜드쉽을 빌롱 한다는거. 그런걸 느끼면서 살았잖아요. 그때는 불편한걸 진짜

몰랐어요. 근데 여기와서 불편하다는걸 느꼈어요. 그니까 친구가 내가
어떻게 하는지 사생활 간섭하는게 투머취인거예요.

You know Korean people like to do things together – study together, eat together, have a coffee together, etc. It is part of Korean culture, so I'd never thought it was bothersome. It was an indicator of belonging to society or to a friendship. That was part of our lives. It really didn't feel troublesome. But, it becomes irritating while living in America. For example, I've felt that my friend's attention to my privacy was too much. (Youngmi, February 26, 2006)

사생활 간섭받기 싫죠. 근데 한국은 친구를 만나도 사생활 간섭 시작
되잖아요. 물론 그게 하나의 프랜드쉽이고 관심이고. 여기는 굉장히
인디비젤 한것 같아요. 개인적으로 하는것이 공통적으로 있는것 같아요.
그렇게 생각을 하면 좀 개인화됐다고 해야하나. 개인적으로 하는게 좀 더
편안하다고 해야죠.

I like to keep my privacy. But in Korea, the moment you meet your friends their privacy attacks begin. Their behavior is treated as friendship and caring. Here, it is different. Americans have something in common in that they prefer to do things individually. I think I am influenced by that. It's getting more comfortable when I do things by myself. (Youngmi, February 5, 2006)

Bonny

남 상관 안하는거 이게 큰거 같아요. 한국 특히 아시아계 애들은 옷하나만
입고 가도 어디서 샀냐 아니면 바이올린 좀 잘켜면 너 잘한다 이쁘다 그러고
제 자신도 남에게 관심이 많고 관심받는것도 좋아했는데 여기선 내가
아무리 잘났다해도 콧방귀도 안뀌더라구요. 그래서 남일에 크게 관심을
쏟지 않고 궁금하지도 않게 되더라구요.

A big change is that I care less about others' private business. Korean students, or students from Asia show too much interest in others, such as dressing well, playing the violin well, or looking pretty, or not. I used to do the same thing and I liked to get others' attention in the past. Here, no one cares about what I wear, how I play the instrument, or anything. So, I've become less interested in others' private business; nor was I curious about it. (Bonny, July 17, 2006)

Hehjung

한국사람들하고 관계하는게 참 힘들었었던거같아요. 한국사람들
릴레이션쉽이 다 이어져 있기 때문에. 거미줄처럼. 뭔가 조금 행동을 잘못
하거나 그러며는 한 몇분만에 사람들이 다 알아요. 그니까 프라이버시도
없고. 처음 이년 동안에는 익스트림하게 한국으로 치우쳤었고. 왜냐며는

한국사회에서 서바이버를 해야 되잖아요. 많이 의식이 됐죠 남들이 어떻게 보는게.

For me, keeping a relationship with Koreans was hard in America. Koreans' network is all connected, like a spider web. If you don't behave, everyone knows in a few minutes. There's no privacy. For my first two years here, I stuck with the Korean community because I wanted to survive in the community. I was too conscious about my reputation at that time. (Hehjung, January 22, 2006)

개인주의적이 되어가고 있어요. 'None of my business' 혹은 'I don't care' 라는 말이 딱 어울리겠군요. 한국에서는 다른이의 일에 관심을 가져주는것이 미덕이라는 생각이 있지만, 이곳에 살면서부터 관심=귀찮음이 되었습니다. 오히려 다른사람의 참견과 시선이 부담이 되는것 같구요.

I'm paying more attention to my own business than others. I developed my attitude like, "none of my businesses" or "I don't care." In Korea, giving attention to other's privacy is treated as a virtue. However, since I've lived in America, their private interest becomes annoying. Other people's attention and view is too much of a burden. (Hehjung, July 21, 2006)

It seems that the participants have developed an "attitude" as their strategy – "I don't care" or "it's not my business" – in order to create and maintain their personal space. Due to their newly developed more individualist thinking and behavioral styles, my participants' families back in Korea often chastise them for being cold or more selfish when they come home for visits or holidays. In spite of this criticism, my participants welcomed this change because it allowed them to fully focus on their own interests, which in turn provided them a sense of fulfillment.

The purpose of my study is not to conduct discourse analysis. Therefore, I hesitate to try and relate linguistic variables, such as syntax or code-switching, as it relates to the development of a more self-centered persona. However, it might be illuminating to demonstrate some of the more surface level effects in such areas as the use of pronouns. For example, the participants' use of "I, you, she/he" forms are more frequent than the use of "we." Considering that the "we" forms are the most common usage in Korean

discourse (e.g., *our father* for *my father*; *our house* for *my house*; *our friend* for *my friend*), the shift to the first person singular form of English may suggest that the students make a clear distinction between individuality (I/my) and collectivity (we/our). An example of this phenomenon can be seen in the following anecdote. In August 2006, Hehjung visited her parents in Korea. When she was having a conversation with her mother, she unconsciously said to her mother, "엄마 남편 한테 물어봐 (*Ask your husband*)." "갑자기 부모님이 저를 빤히 쳐다 보시 더라고요 꼭 외계인 보시는것 처럼 (*Both of my parents stared at me as if I was an alien*)." Hehjung pointed out that translating 우리 아빠 (*our father)* to 나의 아빠 (*my father)* in Korean felt so awkward. As the use of "I" or "my" becomes more frequent in Hehjung's English vocabulary, it also starts to emerge in her L1 Korean which I believe is an example of her more individualized L2 identity creeping to the surface and influencing her L1 identity.

Discourse Style

The participants' comments about the effects of individualism in American culture and practices are closely related to American discourse styles. The participants think that American people tend to speak directly to their interlocutors and break topics into little pieces which results in very specific conversation. They think that they picked up these directive and detail-oriented discourse styles in both spoken and written English, and they all feel their communication styles are more direct and straightforward than before. The discourse changes they have noticed are not simply small changes in words and syntax; the changes have been more sociocultural in nature. Their observations and comments are presented below.

Youngmi

Youngmi made the point that she believes Koreans think and speak holistically and indirectly whereas Americans think and speak specifically and directly. Metaphorically speaking, Korean speakers focus on looking at the forest; English speakers focus on looking at each tree in the forest:

> 한국사람은 스페시픽 하게 얘기를 잘 안하는것 같애요. 주변 얘기를 많이 하고. 영어로는 쪼개서 쪼개서 하고, 그러니까 얘기가 길어질수가 있어요. 우리는 굉장히 제너럴하고. 그래서 한국사람하고 대화를 하면 별로 할 말이 없어요. 끊어지고. 다들 많이 숨기는것 같아요. 겉도는 얘기만하고. 라인을 긋고 싶어하지. 그래서 오히려 미국사람들한테 얘기를 더 많이 하거든요. 나의 어떤 심정이라든지. 퀘스천이 많아졌어요 옛날보다. 농담도 섞이고.

> *Koreans don't speak specifically. They don't talk about themselves but about things around them. In English, I break down topics little by little. So, my conversation in English goes long. We [Koreans] are quite general when conversing, so there's not much to talk about with them. It seems that they hide something. They talk about things on the surface, and it seems that they like to draw a line. That's why I talk more freely about myself with American friends [than Koreans]. My change is that I ask many questions and make more jokes than the past when I speak in English.* (Youngmi, February 26, 2006)

Youngmi's point is that conversation with Koreans in the Korean language and with Americans in the English language is distinctive. Youngmi said that she seemed to speak without "filtering" her thoughts in English but not in Korean. She did not hesitate to say her thoughts to American friends as opposed to her conversations in Korean with Korean friends. This made her seem like an outgoing person when speaking in English. She believed that she became a positive person by practicing English discourse, and as a result, her anxiety, pessimism, and self-blaming attitudes were gradually lowered. Yet she felt that conversation with Korean peers stayed on the surface level. She assumed that it was probably because Koreans wanted to keep a distance from each other. "They talked about things around them, but not about them." This is another reason that she preferred

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to talk to English speakers. The comfort level of the two languages has caused

contradictory feelings.

> 미국 친구들 한테 좀 더 디렉트하고 솔직하게 내 생각을 말해요. 왜냐면
> 이사람들이 디렉트하기 때문에. 디렉트 하다는 말은, 싫고 좋고는 확실한데,
> 표현 자체는 굉장히 폴라일하고 예의를 좀 지키는것. 또 영어로는 쪼개서
> 쪼개서 하기때문에 얘기가 길어질수가 있어요. 영어 자체가 그런지
> 아니며는 그들의 대화 스타일이 그런지는 모르지만. 근데 한국사람 한테
> 얘기할 때는 조심스럽고 별로 할 말이 없어요. 끊어지고 겉도는 얘기만하고.
> 미국사람 한테 9 가지는 디렉트 하게 얘길 한다면 한국사람 한테는 반정도.
> 안할려고 안하는게 아니라 그 말하는 웨이에 있어서 그러는 것 같아요.
> 한국말로 하면 나이와 또 그 사람에 맞춰야 되니까.

> *I talk more directly and honestly to American friends because they speak directly.
> What I mean by being direct is that they clearly express their opinions but within
> the polite manner. In English, they tend to break down topics into little pieces, so
> the conversation goes on and on. I don't know if that's a characteristic of English
> or the way Americans talk. When I speak to Koreans, I'm careful with what I say.
> There are many cut-offs, and they talk about things around them but not about
> them. If 90% of my conversation with Americans is direct, 50% is with Koreans.
> Not because I don't want to, but because it's the way Koreans talk. With Koreans,
> I must find out their age and position first*. (Youngmi, February 26, 2006)

The important thing in her dialogue is that she reveals "convenient, comfortable,

honest, free, and dynamic" feelings when speaking in the English language, regardless of

her language proficiency. This discourse change seems to be a catalyst for her to expose

her authentic "voices."

Bonny

In Bonny's experience, the way of being humble in discourse in English has

generated some negative consequences. For example, she learned that not giving

straightforward answers was a way to be humble in conversation in Korea. However, it

was often interpreted as ambiguity in America. Ambiguous answers were not considered

as politeness in her academic environment and often caused confusion, misunderstanding,

or misjudgment. By expressing her opinions in a straightforward manner, she often felt

more valued and accepted. This stylistic difference made her become a more decisive

person.

우유부단한 면이 좀 없어진거 같아요. 싫으면 싫다 좋으면 좋다 이게 분명
해야겠더라구요. 저희 교수님이 이번방학에 유럽으로 비싼 캠프를 가라고
그러셨는데 전 생각해본다 그리고 부모님과 상의한다 이런식으로 답
했거든요. 분명 돈도 없고 무리가 되는대도요. 그런데 애들은 돈없다 난
그런데 못간다 그러더라구요. 한국 같으면 선생님이 못간다 그러면
차별대우 하고 이러는데 여기선 그냥 싫으면 마는 거더라구요. 안간다고
해서 미워하는것도 아니고. 괜히 입장만 분명히 안 밝히니깐 짜증만
내더라구요. 그래서 예스, 노를 분명히 하는게 훨씬 편하구 내 맘도 편해지다
보니 계속 그렇게 하게 되더라구요. 한국가서 이러면 약간 싫어 하겠지만.
생활면에 있어서는 한국에선 누가 잘한다 이러면 아니에요 못해요 좀
이래야 겸손하다 그랬는데 미국에선 그러면 진짜 실력이 없는줄 알고 위로
해 주더라구요. 그래서 이젠 누가 잘한다 그러면 비록 내가 못했어도 그냥
고마워요 하고 말아요.

*I used to be indecisive but that changed. I express clearly what I like or dislike. I
learned it from my experience in my department. When my professor suggested
attending a music camp event in Europe, my response was that I'll consider it and
I'll talk with my parents. It was obvious that I couldn't afford to go. My American
classmates directly told my professor on the spot that they couldn't go. My
professors in Korea would feel offended by the negative response and would treat
you differently after that. In Korea, the professor's suggestion means that I must
go. Here, there's no unfair treatment that was found after saying no. When I gave
my American professor a vague response about the camp, he seemed bothered by
that. So, I've become clear about likes and dislikes and yes and no. That makes
me feel comfortable, so I keep doing it. Also, when someone gives me a
compliment, I used to say, "Well, I am still not enough" or "I'm not very good." I
learned in Korea that was a humble response. Then, I found out that American
friends took it seriously. They really thought that I wasn't good enough. They
started encouraging me. Now, when I get compliments, I simply say "thank you"
even if I performed poorly.* (Bonny, July 17, 2006)

In the field of cross-cultural communication, it is common that Koreans prefer a

discourse style that tends to go around topics instead of bluntly addressing them head on,

and that this language behavior/pattern is treated as politeness. This politeness, however,

as embodied in Korean social standards and expectations, is often reserved more for

women than men. A straightforward response, especially a negative response, is often

seen as rude. Indirectness in discourse was, and still is, a sign of being humble among Koreans. By keeping this in mind, it was hard for the students in my study to reveal their true feelings and opinions at the beginning of study in the United States. Hehjung's experience is similar to Youngmi's and Bonny's.

Hehjung

지금은 확실히 노우 라고 말해요. 한국에 있었을때에는 솔직히 누군가의 부탁에 노우 라고 말할 수 없었던 것 같아요. 하지만, 어메리카나이즈 된 지금은 확실한 이유를대며 노우 라고 말합니다. 상대방이 언짢아 할지라도 어쩔 수 없는건 어쩔수 없으니까요. 두세번 권하거나 권함을 받지 않는 경향이 생겼어요. 한국인의 미덕이라면 적어도 두세번은 거절해야 하는거지만, 이제는 단번에 예스/노 가 나갑니다. 자신의 주관을 확실히 말하게 되더라고요. 사실, 한국인 유학생들은 못 마땅한 점이 있어도 윗 사람들에게는 컴플레인을 하지 않는편 인데요. 점점 제 자신이 그럼피 해져간다는 생각이들어요. 갈수록 조그마한 일에도 잘 참지못하고 컴플레인 하는저를 발견하곤 합니다.

I give clear yes and no answers. It was hard for me to say no in Korea when someone asked me to do a favor. But, in America, since I'm Americanized, I give clear explanations why I need to say no. Also, I don't offer twice. Korean culture in regards to this is that Koreans must offer two or three times. This is not the case any more. I directly say yes/no. I'm not hesitant to show my opinions any more. Most Korean students hesitate to challenge senior students or professors when they have a disagreement. I found myself complaining all the time. So, I feel like I became a grumpy person. More and more, I discovered myself being impatient and complaining. (Hehjung, July 21, 2006)

Hehjung said that she was not a language analysis expert, but felt that she was influenced both by the language and the way Americans communicate. The common thread from the participants' interviews was that they now externalized their thoughts without hesitation. Their new discourse, stylistic difference, and practice in their L2 country caused them to develop a new persona – from indecisive to decisive, from ambiguous to specific, from introvert to extrovert, and others. These changes made them feel valued because it was a way of "authoring their voices." As a result, their families

and relatives thought they became individualized, opinionated, aggressive, or even cold. In spite of this criticism from their own families, the students welcomed this transition. This is an interesting finding. Here is my observation. My American friends criticize American individualism and they assert that Americans need to learn how to share and be cooperative. My participants who are from a collective society criticize problems pervasive in collectivism, and they gladly accept the tendency of individualism.

"I'm the One Who Makes My Life"

This quote, taken from Hehjung's interview, indicates that living in this foreign country has given her the opportunity to reexamine her past life in Korea. The reexamination about their past lives was a common thread in all the interviews. All three of the participants indicated that their perspectives on their personal values changed. By personal values, they meant their academic achievements, career goals, and expectations for financial security for their own lives. This was a true change in perspective for all of them. In the past, the meaning of personal values meant their families' values rather than their own. In this section, I present the participants' change of value systems by comparing the meaning of the family value to that of one's own value.

The Family Value

When they were in Korea, the participants thought that their family values were primary, and the notion of individual value meant devoting their lives to the larger family's well-being. In a traditional Korean family value system, individual members of the family are strongly tied to their families. An individual family member's life (usually the oldest child, preferably, the oldest son) has been devoted to maintaining the whole family values and benefits (Roberts, 2009). The oldest child of the family often takes a

parenting role for younger siblings. When the oldest child has grown up, he or she is in

turn responsible for supporting the parents. An example from Youngmi's interview

demonstrates this obligation.

Youngmi

제가 큰 딸이었고, 여동생과 남동생 둘있고. 마음속에 항상 더 좋은 딸이여야
되고 내가 본보기가 되며는 동생들이 따라 올거라는 그런 생각. 그때는 롤이
뭔지도 모르고 그냥 자란거죠. 아버지가 아프셨을때 누가 볼 사람이
없잖아요. 누가 서포트할 사람도 없었고. 내가 다 했어요 서포트를.
부모님한테 용돈도 드리고 동생들까지 다 챙겼거든요. 그러면서 돈벌었죠.
악착같이 모은것 같다. 그러니까 질려버렸지. 삶이 싫었어요.

*I was the oldest daughter. I had a younger sister and two younger brothers. I
always had an idea that I must be a good daughter and a role model for my
younger siblings. I didn't even know what a "role" meant. When my father was ill,
there was no one in my family to take care of him. I nursed him and financially
supported my parents. I also looked after my siblings. At the same time, I worked
hard to save money. I was absolutely worn out by everything. I hated my life at
that time.* (Youngmi, February 26, 2006)

When Youngmi was in elementary school, she was sent to her relative's place in

the inner city. After moving out of the relative's shadow in her high school years, her

younger siblings joined her for a better education in the city while their parents remained

in the much smaller hometown. Since then, Youngmi took over her parents' parenting

roles instead of simply taking a daughter role. "In ordinary homes," Youngmi said, "this

role is played by parents."

As indicated in the above quote, Youngmi's long-term care for her siblings as

well as the parents was a bit of burden. She emphasized that she cared for her family and

that fact will not change. She was glad that she was capable of supporting her family.

However, her responsibility for the whole family was too much for her to maintain. She

felt that she missed something in her life in terms of her own personal goals and

achievements, although she did greatly value the time and effort she was able to give to

her family. The sense of missing something in her life drove her to come to the United

States. The physical distance has the effect of reducing the burden she felt from

obligations to her family. After living in America, the meaning of the family value seems

to have become more peripheral.

> 여기 와가지고 생활이 물론 공부한다고 바쁘고 또 파이낸셜한 것 때문에
> 걱정도 하면서 살지만 한국에서 사는것 보다는 팍팍 하지는 않아요.
> 바쁘지만 나 혼자에만 집착을 하면서 내 일에만 관심을 두면서 공부하고.
> 다른 가족에 대한 신경쓸거도 없고. 지리상으로도 떨어져 있으니까.

> *Although my life has been busy due to my studies, and my financial support in
> America is lacking, my life has been good. I can fully focus on my own interests. I
> don't have to worry about my family because I am geographically distant from
> them.* (Youngmi, February 17, 2006)

Youngmi found that her perspective was influenced by her observations of and

interactions with many different American people. Her *happiness* derives from the idea

that she desires to pay attention to her own life and her own needs.

> 주위에 미국 사람들이 많잖아요. 굉장히 여유롭게 사는것 같아요. 바쁜
> 와중에도 개인시간을 많이 가지려고 하는것 같고. 그래서 내 생활 습관이
> 달라졌잖아요 한국에서 있을때랑. 여유롭게 살아야 된다는 그런 가치관을
> 배운것 같애요. 행복이 뭘까를 생각을 해보니까 남한테 별로 방해를
> 안받으면서 살면 더 좋고 그런게 행복할것 같다는 생각을 좀 했었어요.

> *There are many American friends around me. They look relaxed. While they have
> busy schedules, they try to take their own personal time. By observing these
> friends' value systems, my life pattern changes, compared to my life pattern in
> Korea. My belief now is that I want to make a relaxing life and take it easy on
> myself. When I think about what happiness means to me, I think I would be happy
> if I didn't get imposed on other people.* (Youngmi, February 17 & 26, 2006)

> *Bonny*

Bonny presented a similar opinion.

> 유학와서 합격이 기쁘고 장학금이 기쁜게 아니라 이곳에서의 오디션은 나를
> 아무도 아는 사람이 없고, 나에 대한 어떤 선입견도 없는, 있는 그대로의
> 나의 실력을 보고 뽑아 주었다는 생각이 들었습니다.

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When I came to study at an American university, the fact that I was in a place where no one knows me made me glad, more than my acceptance to the school or the scholarship offer. I was glad that people in this country had no preconceived notion about me. I thought I was accepted fully based on my audition performance. (Bonny, May 30, 2006)

Hehjung

Hehjung's emphasis on the concept of the changing value of the family is revealed through her comments that her life is her business and not her family's or relatives' business. When she visited her relatives in Korea this past summer, they advised her to return "home."

친척어른들은 칠년씩이나 어떻게 거기서 사냐고 얼른 그냥 들어오라고. 근데 그분들의 얼른 들어 오라는 말이 저한테는 그다지 와닿는 말은 아니거든요. 이제까지 칠년동안의 제 삶의 터전은 이곳이었어요. 솔직히 부모님이나 가족들이나 친구들이 제 인생 대신 살아줄것 아니니까.

My elderly relatives told me they didn't understand how I could live in a foreign country for seven years. They told me that I needed to come back home as soon as possible. But, they didn't convince me. My seven years of life was founded here. To tell the truth, my parents, my relatives or my friends won't make a life for me. (Hehjung, August 31, 2006)

Hehjung also spoke of how the concept of "home" has changed. I think it is an indication of change of the concept of family value as a whole. In the past, "home" represented her immediate family and all the close relatives that included all the collective family values. At present, it means her personal and physical space, where she is and where she belongs. As she said, "Where I am now is my home."

The participants said they were not aware of how important it was to think about their own lives and values. Through observations and interactions in the United States, they noticed that they desired to pay more attention to themselves. It seems that living in the new L2 place has been an eye-opening opportunity for these students to reconceptualize their personal spaces and values. The next section presents some

examples that better illustrate how the participants' concept of personal values became contrary to family values.

The Self-Value

All three participants revealed different ways of conceptualizing personal values. Youngmi reflected on her cross-cultural relationship, Bonny reflected on her younger roommate's daily routines, and Hehjung reflected on her general impression about women's values in America.

Youngmi

Youngmi thinks that her cross-cultural relationship helped her raise her self-value. For example, she gives more credit to American male friends because, through her observations and experiences, they treat women more equally than Korean male friends. She said that she was treated as an equal, not as a subordinate as can happen in Korean society. (It should be noted that this is not an attempt to devalue or denigrate Korean men. She was commenting on a cultural practice she has observed.) This type of relationship with male friends in the United States has helped her build a sense of self-worth. Not to overgeneralize, but Youngmi thinks there is a mutual respect in relationships, such as respecting each other's personal space, which was often missing in her previous relationships with Korean men. She pointed out that it was not uncommon practice in Korea for women to blindly follow men's rules and traditions. However, she did not receive any such pressure in her cross-cultural relationships. There is a "middle ground" between the two parties, she said.

> 미국사람들을 다 이렇게 제너럴 하게 하는건 아니고, 내 현재 남자친구를
> 보면 이성적으로 합리적으로 생각을 하는것 같아요. 그리고 여자가 밑에
> 있다 라고 생각 하는것도 아니고 굉장히 이퀄하게 생각을 하고, 개인적인
> 퍼스널한 스페이스도 가질려고 하고. 그래서 그런게 편안해요. 그니까 니가

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내 꼭 따라올 필요도 없고 내가 꼭 니 따라갈 필요도 없고. 중간다리 공간이 항상 있는것 같아요. 한국 사람은 별로 안그런것 같아요. 남자가 해야되며는 여자는 따라야되고. 어떤 중간 공간이 있다라기 보다는 무조건 한쪽으로 치우치거나.

I don't mean to generalize about all American people, but based on my experiences with my current American boyfriend, he thinks rationally and pragmatically. My boyfriend treats me like an equal and likes to keep his personal space as well. I feel comfortable with that. It's like, you aren't compelled to follow me or I'm not compelled to follow you. It seems that there's a middle space between us. Korean people don't do things this way. If men decide on something, then women must follow that. There's no middle ground. It's always leaning towards one side [men's side]. (Youngmi, February 05, 2006)

Bonny

Bonny noticed changes within her value system when she reflected on observing her roommate's daily routines and life values. She felt her roommate's mature thinking and independent behavior made Bonny defensive about her "dependence." For example, her freshman roommate has multiple tasks: going to school during the day, working in the evening, and studying over the weekends. Bonny never heard her roommate complain about being overloaded. Even in her personal relationships, Bonny thinks that her roommate keeps things equal and independent. She never observed her younger roommate relying on her boyfriend or placing all of her expectations upon him. To Bonny, the roommate's relationship looked more person-to-person than girlfriend-to-boyfriend. This type of relationship was different from her past relationships. She used to depend on someone in the relationship in the past just because "he was my boyfriend."

제 룸메이트는 학부 1학년이었고 남자친구도 있다고 했습니다. 그런데 전 적어도 석사는 될것이라고 생각했던게 나이에 비해 생활이 너무 성숙했어요. 제 나이에도 맨날 집에 전화 걸어서 엄마에게 물어보고 이르고 경제적인 도움을 요청하는것과 달리 정해진 시간에 일어나서 공부하고 학교가고 밤에는 매일 일하고 이러면서도 전혀 부모님에게 크게 의존하지 않고 독립심이 아주 강해보였어요. 또 남자 친구에 있어서도 전 남자 친구가 모든것을 다 해주어야 한다고 생각했어요. 남자친구니깐... 밥 한번을 먹어도

남자친구가 주로 사야하고 나보다 조금은 잘나야 하고 아무튼요. 그리고 의존적으로 변하게 되고요. 하지만 제 룸메이트는 남자친구가 무엇을 해주면 좋은거고 아예 기대 안하고 자신도 똑같이 뭐든 해야한다고 생각하고 있었어요. 또 자신이 더 잘날수도 있고. 아무튼 뭐든 되게 독립적 이다는게 무지 의존성이 강한 저하고 많이 틀렸구요.

My roommate is in her freshman year in college and has a boyfriend. When I first met her I thought she was a graduate student because she was more mature than students her age. Unlike me, who call home complaining about my life here and ask my parents for financial support, she is self-disciplined in that she gets up at certain time, studies, goes to school, and works at night. She doesn't rely on her parents' finances. She seems to be strong and independent. Also, she doesn't depend on her boyfriend. I used to think that my boyfriend should take care of everything because he is a boyfriend, like going out expenses are on him, not on me. I was a dependent person. I also used to think my boyfriend should be smarter than me. But my roommate is cool about her boyfriend, and they seem to be contributing their time and money equally to maintain their relationship. She also thinks she can be smarter than him. I was embarrassed about my self being dependent and needy. (Bonny, May 17, 2006)

A great majority of college students in Korea rely on their parents' financial assistance throughout this time in college, and it is still common for students to live with their parents until they get married. Bonny had this financial support throughout her time in college. The independence shown by Bonny's young roommate and her progressive life style were, at first, surprising to Bonny. Later, these qualities became inspirational and something that she desired to emulate.

Hehjung

Hehjung believed that the United States gave her an equal opportunity to compete with other people. In America, an individual's ability is more recognized than in Korea. In Korea, she observed that, in spite of an individual's abilities, it is family connections, social networks, and/or socioeconomic status, that determine who gets offered better opportunities. Ordinary people without that fortune get unequal opportunities or advantages.

미국에서는 여자이기때문에 제한되는 일 등이 없다고 볼 수 있을 것 같습니다. 미국에서는 여자가~ 여자애가~ 라는 단어로 시작하는 말을 전혀 들어본 적이 없어요. 여자 남자를 떠나서 한 사람으로 봐 주는 곳 같아요. 레주메를 작성 하고 잡 인터뷰를 할 당시 우리나라 처럼 여성이기 때문에 나이에 의해 혹은 출신에 의해 차별하는 것은 본적이 없어요. 물론 100 퍼센트라고 말할 수는 없지만.

In America, I didn't find any special restrictions, particularly toward women. I've never heard an expression that begins with "because you're a woman or a girl." These are frequent expressions you hear in Korea. In America, regardless of sex, men and women seem to be treated as "a person." For example, in Korea, at the job interview, women are constrained by sex and age, and privileged school background is an advantage. In America, gender discrimination didn't seem as bad as in Korea although I shouldn't say it's 100 percent equal. (Hehjung, July 20, 2006)

Having an equal opportunity means a lot to Hehjung in terms of increasing her self-value. Hehjung's personal goal is having a secure life. She thinks that a healthy body and mind and well-established socioeconomic status is essential in securing her life. She wants to be both economically and psychologically confident. She said that such a life would be possible in the United States because equal opportunity applies to all and that will allow her to achieve her goals.

In summary, the participants' interviews illustrate that living in their L2 country has been an opportunity for them to discover self-worth and to build independence through their interactions and observations. Studying in a foreign country is a challenge for nonnative language students in every aspect. The participants' growth of self-worth and independence seemed to be the powerful source for them to continue their graduate studies in America.

"Korean Women Sort Out Their Messy Yarns in America"

The way the participants conceptualize their self-worth led me to wonder if their perspectives about the value of women has changed. I asked them to describe values,

roles, norms, and social expectations about women and if they noticed any changes in

their perspectives about this matter before and after living in the United States. In

response to my question, the participants' answers were diverse. While both Youngmi

and Hehjung had many things to talk about, Bonny replied that she had not discovered

any particular differences about women's values between the two countries. She said that

she did not have much time to look deep inside American society due to her short period

of residence (Bonny's U.S. residence was approximately eight months at the time of the

interview). After discussing women's values in different societies, I asked my

participants to imagine what would happen if they returned to Korea. In this section, I

present the participants' opinions in regards to women's social positions and gender

difference, as well as their predictions about returning to the home country.

Women Have Choice in This Country

Youngmi was the first to present a critical comparison between women's

socioeconomic position in Korea and in the United States. Through her observations of

women in America, she found that women in the United States were less restricted by

social norms, rules, and expectations than women in Korea. She thinks that Korean

women face more social obligations and restrictions in their lives. Youngmi used the

word "submissive" to describe Korean woman's position that is traditionally obliged to

follow a household. She pointed out that women are expected to be responsible for taking

care of children and domestic work even when they have jobs. She found the biggest

difference between the women of Korea and of America is in whether they have a

"choice" or not. Women of America have more choices in both personal and social

arenas. The following response was written in English by Youngmi.

Youngmi

Before coming to the U.S., I thought the value on women was high, and the status or position between men and women was pretty much equal. I still believe that, but less than I thought. The value on women here is much greater than it is in Korea.

Culturally, Korean society has certain expectations from women. For example, women should not raise their voices; women are supposed to be submissive; women should take care of family affairs such as cooking, taking care of children, and welcoming husbands when they come back from work. In addition, they are expected to behave well, such as sitting nicely, eating food without making any noise, and covering their mouths when they laugh. These are some of the roles and behaviors that Korean society expects women to play. At home, boys usually have top priority so girls give up what they want. However, recently, women have been able to work outside and to develop their professional careers. As society has changed, the roles and expectations to women have also changed. In spite of this, these roles and expectations to women are still deeply embedded in Korean society.

Based on my experiences and observations while living in the United States, I believe the roles of women in a multicultural society are diverse because women's roles in each culture are different. Thus, I think I need to talk about general ideas about women's roles in the U.S. Generally speaking, I don't think this country has specific criteria about how women are supposed to behave. The roles between genders are not really divided even if, according to my American friends, more women cook and take care of family affairs than men. However, at least women are not obligated to do these chores, but have choices. They do whatever they want to do. They say whatever they want to say. Women are absolutely able to work outside and develop their professional careers through education. For example, they go to school for higher education even if they get married and have children – that is rare in a Korean society. That is, women in the U.S. do not seem to limit their abilities and capabilities. Society also does not seem to limit women's roles. With each individual choice, they do what they want to do.

As a person who has lived in both contexts (even if I have lived in Korea much longer than in the U.S.), I still believe that the value on women in the U.S., in terms of roles, freedom, and speech, is greater than the one in Korea. With regard to gender, it seems that men in both countries are more powerful than women even if there is a difference in degree. However, women in the U.S. have more power and have higher status than women in Korea. Personally, I feel that I try to express more in the U.S. because I believe that expressing oneself (as a woman) is more acceptable than in Korea. I realize that, due to the fact that there are different roles and expectations for women in both societies, my understanding of women's roles has changed. It means that my identity has changed. I think this is my realization or understanding that I have relations between me and a larger

society, which creates a social identity. With time and space, my identity can be played out in multiple ways. (Youngmi, February 28, 2007)

Bonny

Bonny's ideas about women's status were distinctive from the other two students. She mentioned that she believed that a society does not expect women to take particular roles or treat them differently from men just because they are women. In her view, people seem to be treated equally based on their ability, but not based on their gender difference. By comparing Korean women with American women, she came to the conclusion that women's status is quite similar in both countries, although she partially agrees that the social position of women in America is somewhat better than that of women in Korea. In her perspective, no one, including women themselves, really pays attention to differences in gender or sex. Bonny's point was that perhaps some women in the past took advantage of the differences between the sexes. However, women no longer abuse their gender or sex difference in order to take advantage of it due to an overall improvement in socioeconomic status.

> 아직 얼마안되어서 여성에 대한 가치가 다른지 그런것은 못 느껴보았지만 사회가 특별히 여성에 대해 뭘 기대 하거나 그러지는 않다고 생각해요. 한국도 미국도 남녀 불문하고 잘하고 실력있으면 그게 다고 할말이 없는것 같아요. 또 요새는 여자다고 해서 여자들이 못한다 핑계대는 사람도 없으며 남자들이 여자가 무엇을 공부하거나 해낸다고 신기해 하는 사람도 없는것 같아요. 특히 미국에서는요. 하지만 한국이 조금 미국보단 덜하지만 거의 비슷한 느낌이 들어요.

> *I haven't felt any differences about women's values in America perhaps because my stay in American is short, but I don't think that the society expects anything special from women. Whether it is in Korea or America, anyone who has the capability to do things regardless of gender, that's what counts. **In contemporary time, women are not discriminated against due to their gender or sex difference. No men would be impressed by women's smartness or excellence in study, especially, in America. Although American society is close to being more equal, women in both countries are not much different.** (Bonny, July 18, 2006)*

Hehjung

"한국사회가 여자들에 대해서는 가차없어요 그 크리티사이즈 하는게. 근데 남자에 대해서는 남자니까 그럴 수 있지 이런식으로 넘어가는거예요. (*The Korean society criticizes women with no mercy. On the contrary, the society is generous to men. Because it is a man, it's okay, like that*)" (Hehjung, August 31, 2006). Hehjung said to me that Korean women in America seem to have an opportunity to free themselves from Korean social limits and restrictions. There is 선택의 여지 (*an option*) for women in this country. The "option" is an indicator of an equal opportunity and choice for women, equal to any human being. She pointed out that men in both countries are given more social power and privilege than women, and that women in the United States seem to keep a higher social status than women in Korea. However, in her view, women in the United States also face gender disadvantages that are pervasive in the American social structure.

> 미국에서는여자를 '한 사람'으로 봐주는 곳 같아요. 그런데 미국이 남녀 평등한 나라라고 자부하면서도 가끔 그렇지 않다라는 것을 발견하곤 합니다. 예를들어, 오피스의 비서직은 거의 대부분이 여자이고, 남자가 비서를 하면 사람들이 이상하게 생각하는것 같구요. 그리고, 직장을 잡은 클래스메이트들과 연봉에 대해서 이야기해 보면, 같은 위치여도 여자 클래스메이트들이 조금 덜 받습니다.
>
> *I think American society in general views women as "human." Although gender equality is possible in America, I sometimes discover unequal situations. For example, office secretaries are almost always women's catch. I found that my female classmates' income was different than my male classmates'. The male's income was higher than my female classmate's.* (Hehjung, July 20, 2006)

Hehjung seems to be aware of the issue of gender difference and gender discrimination. She recalled that once in Korea she was reprimanded by her male teachers: "여자가 되가지고 어떻게 그런 . . . (*How dare you do [this] as a woman*) " or

"여자애들이 교실에서 무슨 . . . (*You're a girl, how could you [run] in the classroom).*"

Hehjung said that there was always a suffix "woman" when her male teachers educated

the female students. In class, she used to hear: "너희들도 시집가며는 이기적으로 살지

말고 니들이 잘해야 가정이 편안하다고 (*When you get married, don't be selfish. It all*

depends on how you [as a houswife] act you bring peace or uproar to your family)"

(Hehjung, March 12, 2006).

Her home environment appeared to be more liberal compared to many of her

friends' home environments. Although her parents were relatively open to their daughter,

her parents once in a while advised Hehjung, "*Your tomboy-like personality should be*

corrected to be more feminine-like. Girls should watch their behavior (무척이나

개방적인 저의 집에서도 가끔 톰보이 같은 제게 부모님이 여자애니까 좀 조신하게

행동하라 라는 충고를 들은적이 있어요)" (Hehjung, July 20, 2006).

As a grown-up, she realized that the value of a woman in Korea has often been

determined by body type, age, educational level, marital status, and spouse's

socioeconomic class. In the United States, Hehjung observed that these measures appear

to be less important than in Korea. However, she added that it is only different in degree,

and that gender discrimination exists under the name of equity and equality in this

country.

Hehjung's narrative also provided an example of somewhat fixed Korean

traditional gender roles and values that seem to be preserved within American society.

Among the members in her Korean community in America, gender roles are clearly

divided in two places: the kitchen and the living room. At any type of social gathering

with this group of people, Hehjung observed that women naturally go to the kitchen and

start cooking while men almost always stay in the living room to chat with one another. She did not describe this as a negative, only as a common socializing and labor distribution pattern. However, what bothered her most was Korean women's discrimination towards other women. In her experience, when a couple of women went to the kitchen at the Sunday gathering at her church, she simply stayed out of the kitchen. One of the women, who was only a few years older than she, came to Hehjung and said, "넌 이런데 가며는 혼자서 거기서 앉아 있기만 하냐고. 일 안하고 (*Why are you sitting out there alone and not working with us in the kitchen?*)" (Hehjung, March 12, 2006). Hehjung was shocked by the request and immediately thought what she was doing was wrong. She asked herself, only in her mind, 새로 교리 교사로 온 제 또래의 남자는 왜 안시켰어 그럼 *(Then, why didn't you ask the new Sunday school male teacher who is my age?)*"

For older immigrant generations, this type of gender role and obligation is more salient and uncontroversial. Hehjung said that their outlook has remained fixed in the 1970s and 1980s at about the time they left Korea. They also still maintain a preference for sons over daughters, which is another typical Korean sexist cultural pattern.

> 여기 사는 분 들 집에 놀러 가며는 불편해요 오히려. 여기서는 한국사람들이 모이면 여자가 당연히 일을 해요 주방에서. 완전히 80 년대 70 년대 삶을 사는것 같애요. 정말 찌든 사고 방식. 남녀 차별하는 사고 방식. 아들 선호 하는것도 그렇고.
>
> *I feel uncomfortable when I am invited to Korean host. When Koreans gather, women without a question go into the kitchen. It's an absolutely reflection on their lives in the 1980s or 1970s, the time when they immigrated to America. Their perspectives are stuck in their past, like their never shifting gender discrimination or their preference for their sons.* (Hehjung, March 12, 2006)

Among married young student couples, Hehjung has observed that a wife must still become a super woman. The tasks of cooking and taking care of children are placed on a wife's shoulder and a husband may occasionally give her some "help." If one has to give up studying, priority goes to the husband and the wife must acquiesce. Hehjung believes that Korean traditional gender roles and the devaluation of women's capabilities and contributions are stuck in Korean men's mentalities wherever they go, even across the Pacific Ocean.

여자들은 점점 더 이쪽 사회에 물들어가요. 점점 더 리버럴 해지고 뭔가 좀 변하는것 같은데 남자들은 어째 점점 후퇴해. 대부분이 한국 남자들끼리 모여서 놀아요. 그러면서 미국사회를 알고 싶어 하지도 않고. 미국사회에 대한 험담만 할 뿐이지 자기 자신을 어떻게 해야 되겠다 이런 말은 안해. 컴플레인이 많이 늘어나요. 한국 남자 유학생들이 여기 살면서.

Korean women seem to comfortably fit into American society and become liberal; whereas Korean men seem to trouble fitting into the society. Korean men always get together. They're not interested in knowing American culture. They often blame American society, but they don't reflect on what is wrong with themselves. Korean men students always complain. (Hehjung, March 12, 2006)

In her view, male Korean students tend to regress in the United States and they fear change, especially in terms of gender equality. By contrast, Korean female students step forward and welcome the opportunity by challenged by new things and adopt them. Based on her analysis, many Korean male students seem to believe that "change" means making an equal stance with women and that will result in the loss of their male privileges. Hehjung added that the privileges Korean men enjoy over women were given by birth and not earned. Their paranoia of losing their privileges discourages them from trying new things. Female students, by contrast, are willing to open their arms to embrace a new environment, and this attitude carries with it the opportunity to "*Sort out their messy yarns* (엉킨 실타래를 하나하나 풀어가는것 같더라구요)" (Hehjung, March 12,

2006). Hehjung concluded that the United States has been a place where Korean women can overcome and detach from traditional Korean cultural constraints and gender obligations from their bodies.

> 여기 왔으며는 남자 여자를 떠나서 그사람의 능력이라든지 그사람이 어떻게 하는가에 따라서 그사람이 발전하는거잖아요 아니면 후퇴하는거고. 자기가 어떻게 하든지 나름이기 때문에 여자들은 외히려 한국에서 훨씬 잘 할수도 있는데 어떤 제한적인 리스트릭션 때문에 못했던것들 그런걸 여기와서 하나 하나 풀어가는것 같더라구요. 그니까 점점 더 발전이 되가는것 같애 여자애들은.

> *Once [Korean students] are here, they should move beyond traditional gender roles and promote themselves. People can change depending on their ability and willingness to change. Korean women were restricted by Korean social norms in Korea so that they couldn't make any difference in their lives. In America, they seemed to resolve all the Korean restrictions and actively and positively endorse their lives.* (Hehjung, March 12, 2006)

Hehjung had the opportunity to have a conversation with her Korean friends who had never left Korea. This was an opportunity to see how her perspectives about women had changed. This past summer, when she met her friends from high school, she noticed that these friends' schedules were determined by their boyfriends' daily routines. Ninety percent of their conversational topics were about the men in their relationships and barely 10 percent was about their own interests. What bothered Hehjung the most was that these friends' own plans or goals were missing in their conversations. They seemed to wait for their boyfriends' cue [a marriage proposal], and their future would be in these men's hands. Hehjung thought there was no room for their own plans and, considering that her future plans were all about herself, it was a surprising discovery. She left feeling a deep gap between her female friends and her perspectives. She knew this gap would never narrow since they now live in different cultural spaces.

Observations from Hehjung are important, relevant, and worth further discussion. Her male friend, who is a high school teacher in Korea, annoyed Hehjung when he claimed that there has been reversal of gender discrimination in Korea and now men routinely suffer discrimination at the hands of women. He also claimed that it was commonplace for men to share domestic chores with women in addition to doing their work of supporting the family, and that many husbands go to the kitchen and give a "help" to their wives. Hehjung told me that this comment disturbed her greatly. She raised her voice while saying, "어떤 피해의식인지 보상의식인지는 모르겠는데 남녀평등이라는거 하고는 전혀 관련이 없는 이슈가지고 남녀 차별이라고 그러드라구요 (*I think Korean men have some sort of passive-aggressive behavior problem or psychological problem that they claim there's reverse gender discrimination based on irrelevant issues*)."

> 남녀평등이라고 하며는 예를 들어서 같은 포지션이며는 월급도 똑같아야 되는데 월급도 다르지 않냐고. 같은 레벨에 있는 사람들끼리 대조를 해 가지고 거기서 사회적인 차별을 가지고 남녀차별 이라고 하는거지 일반적으로 남자는 이렇다 여자는 이렇다 이런거는 차별이 아니라고. 이런거는 다른점이지. 동등한 입장이다고 생각을 하는데 거기서 차별이 있는게 생각의 차별, 사회적인 차별, 남녀 차별이지. 한 공동체로 한 가정을 이뤘으며는 서로가 쉐어를 하고 서로가 같이 일을 해야 하는거지 왜 도와 주는걸로 하냐고. 그 말부터 잘못 됐다고.
>
> *My male friend misunderstood the real meaning between gender equality and gender discrimination. He ignored socioeconomic, historical, and psychological elements that had long discriminated against women. He was not able to distinguish the meaning between discrimination and difference. What did he mean by giving a help? The house is supposed to be constructed by both parties; not one gives a help to the other. That idea is wrong.* (Hehjung, August 31, 2006)

Hehjung felt that she probably would have retained the same misconceptions about the concept of gender as her friend if she had never left Korea and lived in America. She would never have developed her opinions about gender asymmetry and injustice towards

women. She thinks she is fortunate to have the opportunity to have new experiences with different people in different cultures.

By and large, the women in my study confessed they had not seriously thought about women's values, roles, and norms before they participated in my research. They were glad to have the opportunity to think over this issue and to reflect on their lives both in Korea and the United States. They were aware that women in both countries have been subordinated for a long period, and this situation should be remedied. They highlighted that people should open their eyes to see that gender inequality is still pervasive in society. They noted that the gender paradox exists in all societies without exception. The participants are able to see this paradox more clearly day-by-day. Again, they confirmed that if they had never left Korea and looked back at the culture from a distance, they would not have developed this critical eye.

I'm Afraid of Going Back

By listening to the participants' description of how their value systems have changed, especially in regards to gender issues, I became curious to ask how the changes would affect them when they go back to Korean society after completing their studies. I focused more on responses from Youngmi and Hehjung, who were close to the end of their studies, than on those from Bonny, who was in the middle of her studies.

Youngmi

Youngmi anticipated that she would have to deal with a number of predictable conflicts. For example, her American graduate degrees may cause conflicts with Korean colleagues who have never been outside of Korea. Her notions of equality and the casual relationship with members of the opposite sex would not be accepted in Korean social

and institutional hierarchies. Her concept of gender equity would be threatened when working in a male-dominated Korean workforce. Finally, her English and Korean code mixing could cause communication problems and stigmatization. Youngmi is concerned about going back home because she also knows that her personal space would be limited.

> 한국에 돌아가기가 일단은 겁나는게 여기 생활에 젖어있다가. 젖어있다는 말은 여기서 마음 편안하게 살고 있는데 무슨 디렉트한 프레셔도 없고. 내가 서른다섯이 됐는데 한국같으며는 왜 결혼 안했느냐부터 시작을 해서 무슨 문제가 있는걸로 알잖아요. 내가 무슨 정신적인 문제가 있나 아니며는. . . . 여기는 누가 그런말 안하죠. 한국가면 그 스트레스. 꼭 돌아가야하나 싶기도 하고. 근데 가며는 하여튼 마음고생은 할것 같아요 처음에는. 그 사회에 다시 적응을 하려면.
>
> *The reason I'm afraid of going back to Korea is I got used to this country. I mean there's no direct pressure from anyone and I feel so comfortable here. I'm a 35 year old single woman. You know what that means to Koreans, right? My relatives and even strangers would ask me why I didn't get married. They would assume that I am dysfunctional or mentally ill. . . . Here, nobody cares about those things because that's my business and choice but none of theirs. When I go back to Korea, it's so obvious that I will get stress from lots of things. So, I am skeptical that I really wanted to go back. When I return, I know that I'll have a hard time at first readjusting to the Korean society.* (Youngmi, February 05, 2006)

Youngmi expects that there will be a certain degree of identity conflict. "첨에는 아이덴터티 컨플릭이 오겠죠. 옛날에 있었던 내 아이덴터티랑 지금 형성하고 있는 그게 맞지가 않는거죠. 변화된거죠 (*When I return to Korea, there must be identity conflicts between the identities formed in Korea in the past and the identities formed in the United States in the present. Meaning, my identity has changed*)" (February 16, 2006). She said that readjusting to her native country would not be as easy as it may have been in the past when she returned home for short vacations or holidays.

Hehjung

Hehjung's thoughts had to do with the status of English and its positive impact in Korea. As presented earlier in this chapter, she had to deal with the emotional distractions caused by the English language, such as self-imposed pressure, stupidity, depression, and dissatisfaction. She expects that this emotional disruption would be relieved in Korea and that her advanced proficiency in English would allow her to improve her social position.

> 같은 영어를 하더라도 여기서는 아 쟤 영어 못하네 이러고. 한국에서는 아이고 그래도 말도 하고 괜찮네. 뭔가 인식이 다르잖아요. 여기있으면 아이 쟤 스투핀해 이런말 들어도 한국 가며는 스투핀 이런말은 안들어도 되는거.
>
> *Even though it's the same English language, here, my English makes me a dumb person – "her English is bad." However, in Korea, people will say, "she speaks English well. She must be intelligent." There are different perspectives about the same language between the two countries. Here, I hear that "she is stupid" due to the English language performance. When I return to Korea, I will not hear the word stupid.* (Hehjung, March 12, 2006)

Hehjung demonstrated no doubt that her advanced English language status and the higher degrees achieved from an American institution will give her an improved chance to find a prestigious job and ultimately improve her socioeconomic status in Korea.

When Youngmi and Hehjung came to the United States, they both took strong steps to fit in to this country for the purpose of their academic achievement. They wanted to survive in the foreign educational environment and return home with graduate degrees. However, going back to Korea may not be their first choice now, although factors such as immigrant status, family issues, and job situations may not give them any choice but to return. They are afraid of facing a reverse culture shock and new, unexpected, culturally-based confrontations and challenges.

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The participants said that they will make every effort to reduce the conflicts and settle down. They will readjust to Korean social standards, but how happy they will be is questionable. These women in my study know that they will not be who they want to be due to Korean social and cultural norms and expectations. Regardless, the participants believe that negotiation and acceptance of their "old but new" Korean social and cultural norms would be a way of governing the quality of their well-being. The participants also talked about potential identity conflicts when they return to Korea. I asked them to describe what identity means and what their own identity can be. The next section deals with their responses.

<center>*"This is My Identity"*</center>

"아이덴터티? 아이 진짜 어려운 질문을 하네. 글쎄요. 한국말로 하면 정체성인데 . . . (*Identity? Ah, that is a hard question. Well, in Korean, it is Chung Cheh Sung . . .*)" When I gave the question "describe identity" to Youngmi on April 2, 2006, she gave me a puzzled look. This reaction was predictable since my other two participants also had similar responses.

In spite of their uncertainty about the meaning of "identity," the participants described their identities through their self-reflections. A central theme made from their self-reflection was a discovery of shifting identity and multiple identities. The participants emphasized that the new identity is not an automatic result of living in the United States, but was the result of their struggles, pains, rejections, and acceptances of and by the American society. It was an outcome of their endeavor to maneuver and live their lives in the host country.

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In this part, I present each participant's description about her own self-identity. The first section presents Youngmi's self-description about the growth of her self-ego as her identity. The second section deals with Bonny's journey of deconstructing and reconstructing her sense of self as her identity. The last section demonstrates Hehjung's continuity in her perspectives, which is her identity.

The Growth of Self-Ego: Youngmi

Youngmi said that her identity is ever-changing, abstract, and multi-dimensional. In the course of forming her identity, she said that she is not the only one who contributes to the building of her identity, but the factors around her influence her identity shift. She emphasized the reciprocal relationship between herself and the environment where she lives, studies, and socializes.

> 멀티플한 아이덴터티가 내 속에 있어요. 성격, 종교, 릴레이션쉽, 컨피던스. 맨 처음에 왔을때는 그냥 하고 넘어 갔는데 지금은 랭귀지 프로피션시도 올라가서 표현할 수있는 자신감이 생기니까 내 보이스가 지금쯤에는 들려야 된다는 생각이 들어요. 그게 나의 아이덴터티를 한번 더 확인하는 나의소셜 프랙티스같애. 세컨랭귀지러너들의 아이덴터티가 당연히 디벨럽 되죠. 그렇지만 페인과 스트러글과 버너러빌러티가 항상 따르는 거예요. 나는 경험 했기때문에.

> *There are multiple identities inside me: my personality, religion, relationships, and confidence. At the beginning of living in America, I simply passed or accepted things without challenge. Now because my language proficiency is more advanced, I have confidence to express my thoughts, I believe my voice must be heard at this point. I think that's how I confirm my identity as my social practice. Second language learners' identities are developed, of course. However, the pain, struggle and vulnerability always follow. I have had those experiences.* (Youngmi, October 12, 2006)

Youngmi emphasized the idea that her identity has been embodied through interactions with American people and various experiences and, therefore, both have expanded and grown. The growth of her self-ego is important to Youngmi. She said that parents' support for building a self-ego is critical when a child grows up, but it was

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missing in her childhood. When she was living with her relative's family, she did not have full access to things she felt she needed as a child. This included material items as well as mental and psychological items. She tried to understand her parents' enthusiasm toward her receiving a better education in the bigger city away from home. However, in retrospect, she doubted if the absence of her parents' caring in her childhood brought her a better education or better life after all. As a little child, the effect of missing parents' hands and hearts created a big hole, which has remained throughout her life.

> 자아를 튼튼하게 해주는게 중요한데 그게 없이 자랐거든. 힘들었죠
> 어렸을때 친척집에 살면서. 미국에서 생활하면서 밖으로 표출 된건 아닌가.
> 미국에서의 교육경험과 언어가 자아를 튼튼하게끔 열어준 기회의 문이
> 아니었을까.

> *Parents' support for building a child's self-ego is important in childhood. I grew up without it. For a little girl, it was hard to be separated from my parents. But, I'm thinking, my educational and language experiences in America opened the door for me to fulfill my potential and reform my identity.* (Youngmi, February 26, 2006)

Youngmi believes that her life in the United States has brought her the opportunity to reflect on her past life, and has helped her change from an introverted personality to being more extroverted. She enjoys being that way, and she feels that is what she was supposed to be. She has contacted many ethnic groups and cultures in America and believes her perspectives have expanded. Her multiple perspectives have also helped her become a tolerant and open-minded person. The multiplicity within her educational and second language experiences seems to give her the opportunity to realize her potential, and that has contributed to the construction of her identity.

The Journey of Deconstructing and Reconstructing the Sense of Self: Bonny

Bonny's idea of deconstructing and reconstructing the sense of self is drawn from her own self-reflection. While studying in the United States, she has had the opportunity

to reflect on her past. In the past, she was a perfectionist. The harder she pushed herself to get a perfect result, the more she seemed to fail or fall short. She said that nothing worked out the way she wanted it to. For example, she was a promising violinist when she was a child. She received lessons from well-known teachers when she was in high school. She commuted to another city every week to receive private lessons. Yet, her time, money, and effort gave her little chance to succeed in as a violinist. She walked a rough path.

새끼손가락 근육이 이상해서 전신마취로 손가락 수술을 하게 되었는데 수술이 잘못되어 새끼손가락 한마디가 잘 구부러지지 않게 되었죠. 완전 치명적 이었습니다. 전 이제 완전 끝난것 같았죠. 그때부터 방황이 시작되었습니다. 전공을 바꾸겠다고 관련도 없는 의대에 있는 임상언어 병리학과에도 지원했죠. 그래서 합격도 했답니다. 그러는데 재미없는 공부만 하고 내가 하고 싶은게 아니니깐 그 과 책상에만 가면 구역질이 나더군요. 그래서 책만 펴면 계속 구역질을 하는 바람에 그만두었습니다. 집에선 아예 절 미쳤다고 했구요. 여전히 저에 대한 주변의 기대, 점점 망가져가는 제 생활, 더 이상 희망이 안보이는 바이올린, 대학을 졸업해 가는데 뚜렷한 목표없는나, 남자 친구 한테 배신 당하나, 그때쯤 엄마도 몸이 많이 아프시다는것을 알게 되었고 아버지도 가정에 충실하지 않으시고. 가고 싶던 유학도 가기가 너무너무싫고 돈도 가진게 없고 영어도 되는게 없고 뭘 해야하나 답답해하고 스트레스를 받으면서 체중이 10 킬로 이상 줄어 버렸습니다.

My pinky finger muscle showed strange symptoms and I had surgery. I was sedated by general anesthesia. The surgery didn't go well. The result was that I couldn't bend my pinky normally. It was vital to me as a violinist. My life became chaos. I tried to change my major. I applied to a clinical pathology program at a medical school and was accepted. It was so irrelevant to what I'd studied. Every time I tried to study, I started vomiting and I wasn't interested at all. I quit. My family thought I was crazy. People around me kept expecting things from me. It was a tremendous burden. My life was getting disoriented; there's no hope for a musician; there's no plan after college; my boyfriend cheated on me; my mother was ill; my dad was always out; my dream about study abroad was far from reality; I didn't have money; I didn't speak English. I was simply lost and didn't know what to do with my life. I was under stress and lost 22 pounds. (Bonny, May 30, 2006)

Bonny realized that music was her destiny so she prayed to have one more chance to play the violin. She thought studying abroad would be the last chance to fix things.

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Once she set the goal, she worked hard and saved money for two years prior to coming to the United States. "일단 돈을 모아야겠다고 결심했습니다. 그래서 닥치는대로 일이 들어오면 다하고. 떨려서 틀리던 말건 창피를 당하건 말건 무슨 연주만 들어오면다 했죠. 개인레슨도 열심히 했죠. (*I decided to save money. I took every job no matter that my hands were trembling in playing or I was embarrassed or not. I gave many private lessons, too [to make money]*)" (Bonny, August 06, 2006).

Bonny was desperate. Yet, she was determined to make things happen. She was accepted by five American universities. Due to her poor financial situation, she chose a university that offered her the best scholarship. "전 바로 짐쌌죠. 아, 계속 해야하는구나 난 (*I packed immediately, thinking my life is not over yet*)." Bonny described her identity in the following way:

> 실패나 좌절들이 많아지고 항상 길을 돌아가다 보니 이 모든 과정을 겪으면서 결국엔 갖고 싶었던 것 들을 잃게 되면서 하느님께 의지하게 된것 같습니다. 제가 생각하는 저라면 제가 더 이상 없다는것이 저인것 같습니다. 제가 생각하는 저란 하느님의 도구와 자녀일뿐 "나, 나의 꿈, 나의 목표, 나의 길, 나의 생각" 이런 것 들이 저에게는 이제 무의미한 것 같습니다.
>
> *I had many failures and frustrations. I always walked the long way around to reach my goals. I lost things I wanted. In the course of having the experience, I returned to my faith to God. When I think of me, there's no me. I'm just a tool for God, who helps people for their benefit, not for mine. There is no Bonny, my dream, goal, future, or idea. Those concepts are not meaningful to me anymore.*
> (Bonny, August 06, 2006)

When she realized that her journey was not yet over, she returned to Catholicism. This appears to be a significant turning point in her life. With her self-reflection and reconciliation as her approach, she was able to deconstruct her present Self to reconstruct a new Self. In addition, her observation and interaction in this L2 country influenced Bonny so that her pessimistic behavior changed to be more positive and relaxed. She no

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longer gave herself a hard time and became more flexible with other people. She learned

that the process of reaching her goals is more valuable than the result. She said that even

if the result of her endeavor is different from what she expected, she would appreciate the

fact that she at least had the opportunity to try to make things happen. Her process of

deconstructing her past Self and reconstructing a new Self seemed to free her mind.

The Continuity in the Change of Perspectives: Hehjung

Hehjung noticed that she is changing all the time in terms of her thinking,

behavior, and perception of events. She said, therefore, her identity is changing although

she is unsure what makes her change. She emphasized that one word cannot represent

who she is. Some words, such as "multiplicity," "diversity," and "equality" were used to

describe the changes she has experienced.

During the first two years of her life in the United States, Hehjung separated

herself from the American community; but later, she separated herself from the Korean

community to fit in with the American (non-Korean) community. This desire for isolation

seems to have facilitated her change of perspective.

> 처음 이년 동안은 미국사회와 저를 세퍼레일 했어요. 어차피 이사람들은
> 나를 이해를 못할거니까. 어차피 나는 공부만 하고 갈거니까. 내가 영어만 잘
> 배우면 됐지 여기 사람들하고 부딪치며 살아야될 필요가 있나 이랬는데.
> 다른 한국사람들이 생각하는 식으로. 나중에는 고마운 생각이 들고 아
> 문화를 알아가는거 이게 진짜로 배우는 거구나 하고 배우게 됐었고.
> 아이러닉 한게 미국문화하고 세퍼레일을 시키면서도 한편으로는 또 한국
> 문화도 싫어해 가지고 한국의 단점들에 대해서 비판적이었어요. 이삼년 전
> 까지만 해도 한국 문화에 대해서는 아예 딱 끊고. 왜냐면 그 당시부터 미국
> 문화를 배우고 싶었고 미국문화에 스며들고 싶었기 때문에. 그때 부터 미국
> 친구들이 생기기도 하고. 그때부터 한국 사람들하고 점점 멀어지기 시작
> 했어요.
>
> *I separated myself from American society for the first two years I was living in*
> *America. I thought Americans wouldn't understand me anyway; I would finish my*
> *studies and go back home. I thought learning English was my purpose so that I*

didn't want to have conflicts with people in America, just like many other Koreans. Later, I began to appreciate things I privileged to have and felt that knowing another culture is real learning. It was ironic that I separated myself from Korean culture as well until a couple of years ago. That was the time I wanted to fit in to American culture and learn about American culture. I started having American friends at the time and disconnecting myself from Korean friends. (Hehjung, January 22, 2006)

Speaking about identity, Hehjung described her ideas in English.

I see myself changing over time. Who I am now is different from who I was before (the time I came to the U.S.). I used to see things as clear-cut, like black and white. Now I see things, let's say, as it depends on the situation. I don't know what exactly influenced me the changes I made . . .

I can't describe who I am by using one word. Sometimes, I feel I don't think anything. Not a thinker. I used to go to parties all the time and liked to meet new people. That excited me. One day, going to the parties or meeting new people no longer excited me. It was tiresome. I don't know why . . .

Let's say, at the beginning of living in this country, I used to address factors; for example, I am from Korea, I have an international student status, I am a woman, and English is my nonnative language, etc. I decorated me with those labels and used them for making excuses for my poor English and some things that I wasn't comfortable with.

At present, since you asked me to think about my identity, I recognized that I describe myself without using those decorations. I think it is because I've tried to equalize myself with American people. If I decorate me as I used to, my relationship with American people doesn't start equally. So, I don't address those factors any more. That is a big change. Anyway, at first, I thought my identity was clear, but the more I think of my identity the more ambiguous it is. (Hehjung, December 06, 2006)

Through Hehjung's interview, I found that her "separating" her Self was her ultimate way to fit into either the American community or the Korean community. Her way of "decorating" her Self with her new L2 social positions played a significant role in shaping her new identity. Hehjung's choice to use English in responding to my question was to avoid frequent code-mixing between English and Korean. She mentioned that some words, concepts, or topics that were introduced to her, or that she first encountered

in the United States, are easier to describe in English than in Korean. The word "identity" is one of these newly developed concepts. Hehjung's language switch was possible because I was also exposed to both languages, Korean and English.

<center>*"This Is How People Position Me"*</center>

The participants recognized that the way they see themselves is often different from the way they are viewed by other people. The meaning of positionality is twofold: how one positions oneself in the social setting, and how others position the person in a particular stance. Positioning indicates not only the person's physical positions, but also the emotional, cultural, linguistic, economic, academic, racial, and gendered positions.

Youngmi

Youngmi found that people create the image of her based on their own perceptions. She realized that her identity can be made by other people's judgments.

> 다른 사람들이 나를 평가 하겠죠. 조용하구나, 굉장히 컨설버티브 하구나, 아니며는 지식이 많구나. 여러가지로 디스크라이브하지 하나로 할 수는 없잖아요. 다른 사람이 나를 어떻게 볼까 내 아이덴터티를 어떻게 볼까 생각은 하고 있죠. 다를수도 있겠죠. 그니까 내가 아무리 자신감있게 뭘 한다 하더라도 다른사람이 나를 세컨랭귀지 러넌데 그렇게 생각 할 수도 있겠다 라는 어셥션을 가지고 있어요. 내 스스로도 여기에서는 한계를 느끼는것도 있어요. 티칭을 한다든지. 저거는 내가 가르칠 수 있겠네 세컨랭귀지 러너지만. 그렇지만 저과목은 내가 아무리 해도 못 뛰어넘을 그런 과목 세컨랭귀지 러너로서. 그런거를 내 스스로 판단을 하기도 하지만 또 다른 사람이 나를 판단을 하지 않을까. 그런거 생각할때 자기들이 내 아이덴터티를 다르게 해석을 할수도 있겠죠.

> *Even though I am confident about doing what I do in America, people often lock me in a second language category and underestimate me. It limits them to see me as a full qualified individual. Of course, I know my limits. For example, teaching a particular course in English in America would be challenging because I would never be able to go beyond the cultural threshold in some contexts because of my late exposure to American society and cultures. Regardless of my self-recognition of my limits, I'm confident about doing what I do or what I need to do. But, some professors seem to have a preconceived assumption that ESL students are not eligible to teach. Period. They doubt ESL students' aptitude due to ESL students'*

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spoken language performance but not due to the level of their knowledge. In my classroom experience, many university level teachers assess or judge their students based on their personal assumptions and subjective measurements. I think the way my professors measure me becomes my identity. (Youngmi, April 02, 2006)

교수들이 예를 들면 자기하고 맞는 말을 하면 굳스투던트다 이러면서 너무 잘 한다고 임푸르브 많이 된것 같다 그렇게 얘길 하잖아요. 안 맞으면 아직 컨셉이 안잡혔네 이렇게 얘기 해 버리잖아요. 그거는 본인 생각이지. 자기 내에서 학생들을 그렇게 판단 해 주는게 아이덴터티 잖아요.

For example, when a student agrees with professors, they say the student is good and much improved. When a student disagrees with them, they say the student's concept is not well founded. That's their judgment. And the way they judge their student becomes a student's identity. (Youngmi, October 12, 2006)

Hehjung

Similarly, Hehjung was invited to a Korean friend's house, a woman who had

married an Anglo-American man. She was told by the husband that she was the most

Americanized Korean he had ever met.

지난주에 초대 받았던 분의 남편이 자기는 자기가 얘기하는 동양 한국여자 한국 남자들하고 남녀 관계를 얘기 하면서 남자 여자, 남자 남자, 여자 여자 이렇게 손 꼽아주면서 릴레이션쉽 얘기를 하는건 너가 처음이었다고. 그러면서 저더러 여기살면서 적응을 잘하고 오픈마인드로 사는것 같다고. 아, 그렇구나. 왜냐면 그건 제가 못 느꼈던 부분이었으니까. 가만히 생각해보니까 뭔가 인식하는게 한국적인 상황 그런게 약간씩 바뀌는 것 같애요. 전 못 봤어요. 못 느꼈어요. 근데 다른 사람이 얘기를 해주더라구요.

The dinner table topic was about relationships. And he said that, among Korean women and Korean men he had known, he had never met anyone like me who divided relationship types into the specific, like a man and man, a woman and man, a woman and woman, and others. Then he made a judgment that I adjusted to America very well and I was open-minded. When I heard his comment, it was an "Ah!" moment. I had not thought how I was viewed by others until then. I always thought it's the same: the way I see me and the way people see me is the same because it's me. Every time I hear [that I'm pretty Americanized], it is a good reminder how people perceive me. (Hehjung, March 12, 2006)

At the end of this interview, Hehjung said that she likes to see herself as being

equal to people in America. However, "To them [Americans], I'm always a foreigner

from Asia." Despite the fact that she has picked up many "Americanized" tendencies, she thinks her foreign English accent is a "birth mark" that prevents her from equally mingling with people in America. She replied that while her pre-existing Korean thinking and acting will not go away, they are not the same as when she lived in Korea several years ago.

From the participants' interviews, I found that identity is tied to the idea of the Self-Other positions. By being positioned, the participants seem predetermined to run into an identity conflict. For example, on the one hand, they think they are part of American culture; on the other, their foreign status, positioned by people in America, drove them to think they would never be "true" insiders in American society. Interestingly, they also doubt whether they are "true" insiders measured by Korean social and cultural norms. The way they think, perceive, and act now is different from when they left Korea, and they speculate that it will be continuously shifting and changing. From their point of view, these ever-changing identities compete with each other. Thus, an identity conflict, in one form or another, will always seem to exist.

Summary

The findings from this study gave me insights that identity is a fluid concept and the development of one's identity is not a linear process. It is an elaborate, emergent, and elastic process, not a rigid one. In discussing Youngmi's narrative, I focused on the power asymmetry aspect of her relationship with her former academic advisor and the problems it caused her. I also highlighted her description of how she felt about using the English language. In relation to her identity, I stressed the growth of self-ego in a different space and time. For Bonny, her emphasis was on teaching and learning styles of

difference and how she adjusted to the different institutional standards. Her attempt to deconstruct her Self as a tool and then to reconstruct herself was the highlight of her narratives. Finally, I highlighted Hehjung's critiques about teachers' lack of knowledge and understanding about ESL students. Her criticism in regards to gender equity was an important theme to emerge from her interviews.

CHAPTER 5 DISCUSSION

Introduction

Throughout the dissertation research, I explored the full dynamics of my principal research question: In what ways are female ESL students' identities altered by the experience of graduate studies in the United States? There were two guiding sub-questions utilized to help answer this question: (a) How is identity affected by second language? and (b) How do female Korean graduate students respond to American institutions? The challenge of defining identity required me to take different perspectives and definitions into consideration. I eventually settled on Hall's (1996) belief that identity is a concept. Identities "emerge within the play of specific modalities of power and thus are more the product of the marking of difference and exclusion, than they are the sign of an identical, naturally-constituted unity" (p. 4).

In this chapter, I discuss some of the significant findings and their implications for second language learning. I begin by summarizing the prominent findings from the study by answering the research questions. Then, I explain two types of identity that I think represent my participants' ways of adjusting to new environments: strategic identity and discursive-place identity. In the implication section, I further discuss why the concept of identity development provides explanatory power in higher education and the process of L2 learning in the second language context.

In What Ways Are Female ESL Students' Identities Altered by the Experience of

Graduate Studies in the United States?

All the participants in this study found that their graduate education in American universities provided them the opportunity to reexamine their sense of self. As discussed

in the previous chapter, Youngmi revealed that her graduate education in the United States helped her build an assertive voice and, through her new self-authority, she believed that she was able to stabilize her self-esteem. Bonny found it possible to deconstruct her preexisting persona and is now in the process of reconstructing her new persona. Finally, Hehjung's graduate education in the United States awakened her self-consciousness about freedom of choice and equality. This consciousness led her to reexamine her Self as a Korean woman and increase her self-value.

In terms of the subquestion of "How is identity altered by second language?" identity shift is likely to take place through second language discursive practice. The participants revealed that second language discourse styles influenced them to develop second language identities. For example, the direct and detail-oriented spoken and written English discourse patterns made them think more specifically and explicitly. The participants pointed out that, in general, Korean speakers tend to go around the topic and avoid straightforward expressions because such language tendency is considered impolite in Korean social contexts. The participants highlighted that they feel "honest, comfortable, and convenient" when initiating conversation in English because they do not feel they "filter" their thoughts before speaking out, as opposed to speaking in Korean when they tend to "think twice" before expressing their thoughts out loud. This shift was not something they expected when they came to the United States. This point was made by all of the participants regardless of their English language proficiency.

Practicing American English daily allowed the participants to be aware of themselves as equal human beings. The consciousness of equality through L2 English practice seems to play a significant role in the participants' considering themselves equal

and worthwhile individuals. Characteristics embedded in the two languages may have contributed to this phenomenon. The Korean language contains hierarchical and honorific linguistic features so that Korean language speakers are never on an equal footing. Interlocutors take a stance that is either higher or lower, depending on their appropriate age and/or social positions. Appropriate gestures accompany the honorific language usages. By contrast, the English language does not require strict honorific usages and proper behaviors as the Korean language does. The participants reported that the concept of equality through the L2 practices has gradually settled in and has influenced their perceptions. The equal stance with interlocutors made them feel a sense of self-worth, which brought them a great deal of self-confidence.

Gaining self-confidence and the search for self-value as women meant a lot to the participants because these gains played a role in removing the participants' negative feelings about themselves. The participants' language struggles went hand-in-hand with their emotional struggles. They reported that emotional stress caused by the English language, such as fear, anxiety, and depression, resulted in negative effects. As a consequence, they avoided people, lost their motivation, and achieved low academic accomplishments. Fortunately, the participants found a way to transform their negative emotional struggles into something more positive. These women students' volition to change their lives made this a positive transformation. An important aspect to keep in mind is that this transformation was not an automatic consequence of their living in the United States but the outcome of struggles and scuffles in the course of surviving in the host country.

With regards to another subquestion of "How do female Korean graduate students respond to the American institution?" the participants responded that asymmetrical academic power between professors and foreign students strongly exists. Asymmetrical power relations in academe are nothing new to these students. However, this point seems to be more relevant to their expectations that the relationship between the professor and the student is close to equal in American institutions. Thus, discovering the hierarchical academic relationship in American institutions was a surprise to these students. Whereas the practice of the English language has given them the opportunity to develop a sense of egalitarianism, the institutional stance evoked feelings of disparity and oppression. These feelings were compounded by subsequent self-blame and self-doubt. In the process of overcoming emotional disparity and oppression, and is making an effort to alter uneven power positions in American institutions, the participants used strategies of adaptation, resistance, interaction, and self-reflection.

Consequently, the participants seemed to develop multiple social positions through the second language and through cultural experiences in American institutions. Such social positions are an ELL, an Asian student, a Korean woman, an international student, an alien, or an outsider. These multilayered subject positions, as Hall (1996) wrote, become "concepts" of L2 identities that emerged within the play of L2 modalities of power in American institutions. The students' second language identities are situational and ever-changing. A great majority of these aspects, as presented by my participants, are explained by Rogoff (2003): "Individual and cultural processes are mutually constituting. . . . Human development is a process of changing people's participation in sociocultural activities that themselves develop with the involvement of

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people" (p. 51). Identity has never been a unified outcome of activities, Hall says; it is, as my study has demonstrated, a diverse concept that each participant produces as part of an ongoing, reciprocal process with Others.

My study was designed to develop a research methodology and framework in which to present and analyze female L2 students' self-representation. Through my research, I was able to unpack how the process through which female Korean students have been affected by their L2 and American cultures, and how their experiences have impacted the subsequent representation of their identities as women, as educators, and as bilingual/bicultural members of their home and host societies. In the course of my research I have found that the female L2 students are constantly faced with the challenge of reexamining their self-identities, as well as the way in which they are viewed by others both inside and outside their respective social, cultural, and/or academic communities. The experience of living in a host country provides the opportunity and motivation to pay more attention to each L2 learner's own interests and to reexamine gendered self-identities. The process of consistent and perpetual self-examination in L2 contexts may also be closely related to the result of "becoming who they are" (Hall, 1996, p. 4) and the confrontation between how they *want* to be represented and how they *are* represented by the Others, all of which evidently affects the student's identity.

Interrelationship Between the Individual and the Environments in

L2 Identity Construction

The findings of my research reinforce the idea that for L2 students moving from their L1 country to L2 country is often a big transition and that, from a sociocultural perspective, the individual and the environments are interrelated (Allen, 1999; Cooper,

1974; Massey, 1999; Rose, 1999; Thrift, 1999; Whatmore, 1999). The underlying belief presented here is that an individual and geography are "relational" (Basso, 1996, p. 7; Massey, 1999, p. 12). The use of the second language, as it relates to the geographical changes, seems to be closely related to changes of ESL students' perception. While negotiating new sociocultural differences in their L2, ESL students are able to use the L2 as a tool to perceive worldviews differently. The second language discourse practice seems to allow students to become conscious of both their preexisting persona constructed in L1, and the new persona constructed in L2. In this section, I will discuss two identity types that emerged from my participants' L2 discourse practices: strategic identity and discursive-place identity. After discussing these identities, I will conclude this chapter by offering some implications for ESL students and educators.

Self and Identities

"I" (Self) and "identities" are interrelated but distinctive. My participants' narratives suggest that there is a singular "I/Self" and plural "identities." This point is supported by Freeman's (2003) claim that Self and multiple social identities are distinctive. My participants' frequent descriptions about "I am who I am" supports my idea that the "I" (Self) is not moving and is the core of one's self. On the contrary, the participants' repeated narratives of "I am different from before; I see myself changing all the time; I feel like there are multiple colors inside me" are concepts that represent their so-called identities and that support the idea that identities are multiple, plural, and shifting. These students' perceptions seem more symbolic than actual; we cannot prove that their identities are actually still, moving around, one-dimensional, or

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multidimensional. It is, rather, figurative that they "think and feel" that there is a separate

"I" (Self) and "colorful" identities.

In examining the interrelated relationship between "I" (Self) and identities, it

seems that "I" (Self) can play the role of a container for multiple self-identities, which

means the identities shape a one-dimensional "I" (Self). In the same way, the "I" (Self)

embraces multiple identities. Similar to my idea about the "container" Self that

"embraces" multiple identities, Feldman (1971) used the concept of "nesting" in order to

describe layers of identities within the Self. ESL students' everyday discourse occurs in

different situations and in different places, which are diverse, complex, and ever-

changing. The students' identities are in constant flux. The identities are created and

recreated, predictable and unpredictable, and appear and disappear over time and within

different locations. However, the "I" (Self) seems to stay and advocate its mobilization of

multiple and shifting identities. Understanding the concept of "I" (Self) and multiple

identities will help understanding my discussion about ESL students' strategic identity

and discursive-place identity in the following section.

Strategic Identity

When people are physically transferred to new sociocultural environments, they

are also cognitively transferred into different social settings (Proshansky, Fabian, &

Kaminoff, 1983). When L2 students endeavor to transfer into new social and institutional

settings, findings from my study propose that their transference seems to be temporary,

conscious, and strategic. This temporary, conscious, and strategic process affects them so

that they develop an ESL identity – what I call *strategic identity*. My participants

consciously developed their own idiosyncratic strategies that were deliberate and

temporary: separating, decorating, mimicking, adopting, passing, and resisting. The following examples extracted from the participants' narratives can help better explain my foundation of strategic identity.

First, a predominant strategy the participants used in order to fit in to one community (Korean community) or the other (American society) was *separateness*. When the participants desired to fit in to L2 society, they deliberately alienated themselves from their L1 community. On the other hand, when they desired to belong to their L1 community, they kept a distance from their L2 social and cultural influences. The separateness strategy appeared more frequently at the beginning of their living in the United States than later. They adopted this strategy to boost their L2 acquisition and understanding of the host country's society and cultures. The separateness eventually helped them develop a bilingual and bicultural Self. While separateness was being used, *decorating* their Selves with L2 social positions was another significant strategy to which we need to pay attention. Decoration protected them from misusing L2 words or adopting socially inappropriate foreign-like behaviors. The decoration strategy seemed to be effective as a way to make anything excusable and plausible, and that facilitated them fitting in to the L2 community easier. As with separateness, this decoration strategy appeared more often at the beginning and gradually reduced, but never disappeared no matter how long they had lived in the host country.

The participants' desire to develop strategies like *separateness* and *decoration* provide evidence that adjusting to the L2 host country requires a certain degree of consciousness and deliberateness. L2 students' struggles to resolve two contradictory feelings – that they belong to the L2 country while simultaneously feeling that they are

alienated in both societies – was a new phenomenon for them. Adopting this strategic identity might have been driven by these ESL students' desperate need to feel that they are members of either one society or the other.

Next, when the participants negotiated within their L2, they first mimicked L2 discourse patterns as a way to resolve communicative problems and confusion. They learned and adopted their L2 usages and applied them pragmatically to their situations. The adoption of L2 discourse required a certain degree of strategic decision making and skills. When the participants did not have basic knowledge of the general social, cultural, and historical norms of American culture and society, the conversation with their peers did not naturally flow. They often used strategies of *passing* the topic or *pretending* they understood. This "passing or pretending" discourse strategy was used as a way to *save face*. This "save face" discourse pattern is well matched with what Gee (1992) called "mushfaking" discourse strategy. Mushfake discourse happens "when true acquisition is not possible. Partial acquisition coupled with metaknowledge and strategies makes this happen" (p. 118). My participants cared strongly about their self-esteem. Their meaning of saving face is a way to "save" their reputation, to prevent losing their self-esteem. That explains why these ESL students chose to rely on mushfaking discourse as a partial strategy to sustain their self-esteem. I think this "save face" motivation eventually drove them to form strategic identity.

Finally, the participants developed *resistance* as a strategy to confront their feelings of L2 "inferior" position and institutional overpowering, and thus to value their Selves. The participants developed strategic Self, maneuvering their thoughts and acting them out through the L2 discourse as a way to balance their academic status and power

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within American institutions. Again, this resistance strategy played the role of a survival tool. Strategic identity, as a survival tool, seems to be a manifestation of their struggles to earn and maintain their academic success.

In their L1 situation, the participants did not need to develop these strategies. They needed to develop these strategies in order to succeed in L2 contexts. This standpoint suggests that if the participants' language and institutional environment change, their strategies to deal with the new language and environment would likely change. In describing strategic identity, it seems that the participants' Selves do not seem to shift. However, the process of developing their strategic endeavor in their L2 context may have driven them to scaffold layers of L2 identity concepts, which I pointed out in the previous section of this chapter.

This discussion suggests that the changes ESL students make in the course of their studies are most likely a tentative and conscious process. Paralleling my discussion, Stritikus and Nguyen (2008) use the term "strategic transformation" found among Vietnamese students. In their description, female ESL students tended to "employ strategic transformation, which refers to the process in which students intentionally define gender or cultural identities as ways to leverage social status and power within specific situations" (p. 889). Stritikus and Nguyen's study, and presumably a number of studies about ESL learning, have revealed that ESL students' use of strategies is a common approach. However, no scholar has treated this strategic movement or "strategic transformation" as identity; they only describe it as a phenomenon. I argue that it is important to treat it as L2 students' partial identities because the result of their strategic

process is a representation of who they are and a reflection of "who they have become" (Hall, 1996).

I want to justify why I opt to think that L2 students' strategic process needs to be theorized as identity being associated with the theoretical frameworks discussed in Chapter 2, Literature Review. In sociocultural perspectives, one's ability to learn and use culturally and socially mediated tools, such as language and cultural signs, develops his or her Self (Vygotsky, 1978, 1986): "Learning awakens a variety of internal developmental processes. Once these processes are internalized, they become part of the person's independent developmental achievement" (1978, p. 90). Vygotsky stresses that one's thought process and the use of language is inseparable. ESL students' use of strategies in their L2 is definitely a learning and thought process. A long term and repeated use of particular strategies in different situations, using their L2 as a mediated tool, is evidence that L2 students' thought processes are interrelated with their L2 discourses, and the process of internalizing L2 strategic activities brings about the transformation needed for L2 students to grow. Each time L2 students use their strategies through talk, they value themselves. In other words, L2 students' internalizing strategic process and valuing themselves are unified with the growth and formation of their Selves.

The interconnectedness between internalizing strategic activities and the growth of Self is a result of each L2 student's "conscious process" in the L2 dialogic mode. Since Bakhtin (1986) urges that this consciousness affects the person to form identity, and L2 students' conscious strategic movement is, eventually, to "form meaning construction" in their L2 positions, I posit that L2 students' conscious strategic process is strategic identity. Gee (1990) says, each individual is the "subject of the Discourses," and

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it is tied to "a particular social identity within a particular social group and to certain social settings and institutions . . . each is a form of life" (pp. 174-175). In relation to the feminist standpoint (Harding, 1993, 2004; Hartsock, 1998), identity is not static; it moves, grows, and is ever-changing. Identity also reflects the sociocultural, political, and institutional traits of the society. An individual nonnative student's way to deal with this complex L2 society differs from individual to individual in different situations and positions. Their conscious process within the L2 dialogic mode is "a form of life," their strategic activities and practices in their L2 position is a "form of life" and is, therefore, identity. Strategic identity proves an explanation for the position that L2 identity is in flux and idiosyncratic – it is not something we have, but something we *do* in different space and time (Gal, 1995). It is not someone we are, but someone we *become* (Hall, 1996).

Discursive-Place Identity

Language use and its influence in a particular situation have been taken into consideration as a critical representation of identity (Dixon & Durrheim, 2000; Roberts, Settles, & Jellison, 2008; Tuan, 1975, 1980). Identity, thus, represents particular settings and places where the individual is positioned. The embodied space and place is represented through our daily discourse. Discursive-place identity is an integration of discursive space with a particular place and situation.

From a sociocultural point of view, there is a strong belief that identity is produced through "dialogue." The individual (Self) and social (Other) relation "must not be conceived as dialectic either/or but rather as different degrees each possesses of the other's otherness" (Holquist, 2002 p. 51). The dialogue permits "people to make sense of

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their locatedness" within the otherness (Dixon & Durrheim, 2000, p. 41). The influence of the use of L2 every day is in itself an identifiable and quantifiable event resulting from American "otherness."

Rose (1995, 1999) explains that space represents the persistence of certain configurations of power through the particular discursive practices. Space is practiced and produced through dialogue undertaken by the dynamic interrelationship between Self and Other (p. 248). In line with Rose's ideas, Massey, Allen, and Sarre (1999) say that "space and place are made through materially embedded practices or through the social production of lived space" (p. 246). These viewpoints are foundations of discursive-place identity in ESL.

Dixon and Durrheim (2000) explain that discursive-place identity is something that people create together through talk – a social construction that allows people to make sense of their connectivity to place and to guide their actions and projects accordingly. As with Dixon and Durrheim, Hall's (1996) idea about identity can also be used to further explain the concept of discursive-place identity:

> I use 'identity' to refer to the meeting point, the point of suture, between on the
> one hand the discourses and practices which attempt to "interpellate," speak to us
> or hail us into place as the social subjects of particular discourses, and on the
> other hand, the processes which produce subjectivities, which construct us as
> subjects which can be 'spoken'. Identities are thus points of temporary attachment
> to the subject positions which discursive practices construct for us. They are the
> result of a successful articulation or 'changing' of the subject into the flow of the
> discourse. (pp. 5-6)

It seems that my participants' meeting points to conceptualize identity occur between their L2 English language discourse and its everyday practices and the process of producing their L2 subjectivities within the American social and institutional environments. Their discourse practices "hail" them into a place in which they construct their subject positions as foreigner, nonnative language speaker, international student, Korean woman, outsider, desperate insider, and bilingual and bicultural members of American society. L2 discourse practice contributes to the whole process of constructing the students' subjectivities.

As an example of how the L2 discourse practices "hail" the students into a place of producing subjectivity, I demonstrate how my participants produce gender subjectivity. It has been a fundamental source of inspiration for the participants to rethink their gender subjectivity as "Korean woman." Cameron (1998) and Hall (1996) agree that gender is a significant component of embodying female L2 students' identity constructed through discursive practices. Gender is a "structure of relationships that is often reproduced, sometimes challenged, and potentially transformed in everyday linguistic practices" (Freeman & McElhinny, 2001, p. 221). One of the more prominent results to emerge is a change of how these participants perceived their self-values as Korean women. Their gendered social position as "Korean women" in America was reflected in L2 language and cultural interactions. Even though my study participants learned English as their second language in Korea, the language impact on self-reflection of their values as "Korean woman" merely occurred to them because "gender identity not only takes place in time, but is itself a temporal process which operates through the reiteration of social norms" (Butler, 1993, p. 373). This indicates that the participants' Korean social norms

have continuously affected their construction and reproduction of their gender identities. The changes in their perceptions about gender equality and self-values apparently started to occur when they began living in the United States and began interacting with people in the English language. This suggests that language is not the only creator of the student's subjectivity. Their physical and geographical movement along the lines of the language use and cultural shift may cause this happen.

My argument supports work done by previous researchers (Norton & Pavlenko, 2004; Pavlenko et al., 2001; Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000) who conclude that (a) the ideas and meanings connected to gender roles, norms, and expectations continue to be reshaped as L2 students encounter new cultural practices and discourses, and (b) social interactions and personal experiences of the language affect the construction of female ESL students' identities. Although linguistic characteristics contribute to the shape and construction of speakers' identities (i.e., Korean honorific language features vs. English non-honorific language), my argument is that L2 students' language in identity construction must be viewed in "the dynamic interdependence of social and individual process" (John-Steiner, 1998, p. 1). L2 students' discourse practices have contributed to the creation of language varieties and have revealed that L2 learners adopt specific cultural patterns of language socialization connected to their particular L2 place.

I started my dissertation study within an integrated framework of sociocultural perspectives and feminist standpoint perspectives. While I bring them together in conjunction with my study findings, what I found was that the concept of discourse practices ties all these things together and provides a useful lens that enables us to better understand the experience of L2 learners and its relationships to identity. Through my

study, I argue that L2 environments in L2 space and place play an extensive role in shaping L2 strategic identity and discursive-place identity, which are situational and deliberate.

In conclusion, discussion about L2 students' strategic identity and discursive-place identity construction affected by L2 discourse practices is significant in understanding that L2 students' identity changes are not static, but dynamic and purposeful. An individual's identity is driven by the individual's identification in relation to dominant ideologies (Rose, 1995). L2 students' recognition of difference in both countries while living in the host country certainly suggests that the students become self-reflexive about their self-values. The process of, and the consequence of, self-reflexivity appears to be a great influence on the shift of L2 students' identities. In identity construction within L2 contexts, strategic identity and discursive-place identity are not all that common in second language acquisition studies. However, I believe a focus on these identities can have real promise for contextualizing our understanding of L2 students. The symbolic meaning of space and the physical indication of place may be the most illuminating way to explain the process of how L2 students transit through their lives and construct identities through experiences in American postgraduate educational institutions. An individual L2 student's identity should be examined within the area of the social and cultural situation of an individual in relation to Other. Data from the field of second language acquisition and identity should be used to further refine second language acquisition scholars' respective theories and to develop a more common framework to better understand one another and inform society.

Implications of Study

Why is studying L2 students' identity important? Who would benefit from understanding how L2 students construct their strategic identity and discursive-place identity through their L2 discursive practices? While I was discussing *what* identity ESL students produced, the question about *why* identity matters emerged as an equally critical issue. McCarthey and Moje (2002) emphasize that identity matters because it is a way to understand "how humans make sense of the world and their experiences in it" (p. 228). My primary motivation for exploring the subject of female postgraduate ESL students at American universities and their identity transformation was to understand my own Self and make sense of the changes in my own worldviews. By studying the experiences of the participants, I felt I could better understand myself. In this section, I begin by looking back on my own journey. Then, I intend to use the results and analysis of the three participants and my own retrospective narrative to suggest a number of implications for educators of ESL students and for those who utilize feminist research methodologies.

For Understanding My ESL Self

In January 1999, nearly 10 years ago, I was in a car heading toward the Southwest United States. I started in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and my destination was Albuquerque, New Mexico. A snow storm in Wisconsin made driving difficult; the old Volvo towing a U-Haul trailer on the back wiggled and slipped down the highway, but remained on the road. I knew little about my destination. My relatives and friends in Korea wondered why I had decided to leave the home country for a foreign country to study for a graduate degree at such a *late age* – I was in my early 30s.

I had left a fairly successful career, my families and close friends, my comfortable native language and culture, and my *late age* behind in Korea. My decision to come to an unknown place in the United States required a certain degree of boldness and curiosity on my part about my future. From landing at O'Hare International Airport in Chicago, to driving through gigantic Texas ranches and wondering where all the people lived, to passing the "Welcome to the State of New Mexico" sign, I had never imagined myself living in a country other than my native country of South Korea. When I arrived at my destination, I felt I was in the middle of nowhere. I meant *nowhere* not because of my arrival in a desert, but because of my feelings of isolation. My parents and siblings were across the Pacific Ocean and back in Korea. I did not have any friends or a profession in New Mexico. It was my emotional and psychological *nowhere*.

At my age, women do not go back to school in Korea. Their place is either working outside the home or in the home as a wife, mother, or daughter-in-law. However, I suddenly became a *student* at my *late age*. I started building a new life in this new town and new country. Years of experience at an American university have moved me, quite remarkably, from a feeling of being nowhere to now being *somewhere*. In terms of language and cultural experiences, studying at the University of New Mexico was an awakening of sorts. My exposure to the existence of multiple American cultures and languages challenged my assumption that everyone speaks Standard English. It was a surprising moment when I discovered that Spanish monolinguals could live in Albuquerque without any real inconvenience due to their lack of English. It was a strange, but comforting discovery because my imperfect English, along with my thick accent, did not seem to generate any unwanted attention, so I felt I had found a place to settle in.

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The opportunity to live and study in a culturally diverse American university environment exposed me to a wide range of cultural norms and perspectives. As I went through my graduate programs (both a master's and then a doctorate), I realized that I would have to reexamine my Korean worldview. This, in turn, has changed the way I view my own values and roles as a Korean woman, just as some studies (Pavlenko 2001; Rose 1995, 1999) in gender identity construction have found. I discovered new expressive power and roles via my ESL persona. To live and study in New Mexico has also been an opportunity to expand my viewpoints to accommodate an understanding of other peoples, cultures, belief systems, values, and perspectives. The cross-cultural and linguistic contacts I experienced made a real impact upon me for "becoming who I am" (Hall, 1996). In the middle of nowhere in the United States, from landing in Chicago O'Hare International airport to my tiny adobe apartment in New Mexico, it was my alteration process of reconstructing my ESL persona in a new place.

Throughout all these experiences I started wondering why I felt like a different person. At the same time, I was thinking, I am who I am, in line with my participants' voices. I have also discovered that some people viewed me as a conservative typical "Asian" woman; others saw me as a liberal outspoken "Americanized" woman. My curiosity about myself caused me to wonder why I was being viewed differently. Why am I viewed as a submissive woman or a feisty woman? I am both. I am neither. Have I developed a personality disorder in America? Have I created a chameleon-like personality while studying abroad, just as my participant, Hehjung, used this expression for describing herself?

As a result of these reflections about myself and my personal experiences in America, I became interested in exploring the dynamics of the identity transformation process among female students from Korea to see whether other students shared a similar experience. I wondered if other women with a similar cultural and demographic background would share the language and cultural journey that I have made. More importantly, I wanted to see if they would also rebuild their identities, as I have, through their journey from, "nowhere" to "somewhere." By studying important issues of theory and practice in higher education, as well as the field of second language acquisition, I began my journey to explore the journeys of three female Korean students at American graduate school institutions. Through my dissertation research, I have found that the dynamic changes and re-formation that I experienced was a common change. This study helped me understand the challenges that each of the participants faced, as well as helping me realize that the process I have gone through, in forming my identity in the context of others, was a road to developing my own epistemology (Hesse-Biber, Leavy, & Yaiser, 2004).

In retrospect, reexamining my preexisting Korean woman's worldview and its priorities was the greatest challenge. My discussion about ESL students' strategic identity and discursive-place identity highlights and offers some explanation of this challenge. The characteristics of Korean language and Korean social norms which had shaped me for more than 30 years were inhibiting and perhaps interfered with the expansion of my worldview when I came into contact with new peoples, languages, and cultures in the United States. The challenges also came from the conflict among my Korean worldviews, my exposure to English, and my desire to absorb American social and cultural practices.

Korean cultural practices and language are much more overtly hierarchical in nature and practice. It took me time to adjust to the freedom I discovered in the United States. I did not take the identity transition in the host country for granted. The process of reexamination associated with my discursive practices helped to create my expressive voice and resulted in my transition from L1 identity to L2 identity (Dixon & Durrheim, 2000; Young, 2009). My efforts to survive L2 challenges and institutional and cultural differences created my L2 strategic identity, much like those of my participants. The construction of my bilingual and bicultural Self was a result of English discourse in American institutional space and place.

Previously, I mentioned that the process of theorizing about the participants' identity construction was a self-reflexive time for myself. It was also another way of understanding feminist epistemology. I realized that my relationship with the participants was much more personal and went well beyond just findings. Our researcher-subject relationship shifted to that of equals; we helped each other achieve a new level of self-awareness. Within this relationship, I was embedded with my participants and theorizing both my own (Self) and the participants' (Others) experiences rather than solely theorizing my participants' journey. This exemplifies the idea that epistemology is a "theory of knowledge" built upon our ordinary daily lives (Harding 1987, p. 3). My awareness about this harmonizes with bell hooks' (1994) notion of theory that lives with and within us: "theory emerges from the concrete, from my efforts to make sense of everyday life experiences, from my efforts to intervene critically in my life and the lives of others" (p. 70). The epistemology derived from the process of theorizing my own and my participants' ESL experiences was not far from where we were – it was right there by

us in every moment of our existence. The way I theorized my own Self through and with the participants' lenses was indeed feminist epistemology gained through my dissertation process.

In conclusion, I do not seek to make generalizations based solely on theorizing and reflecting upon my participants and my own ESL experiences. Making generalizations can lead to the perpetuation of harmful stereotypes and an inability to see important individual differences. I show how people can theorize their own Selves by looking at Others. The process of theorizing my journey and my participants' journies of becoming who we are in the host country is one way of better understanding other ESL students, and vice versa. I think it can also be used as a catalyst for theorizing ESL students themselves. I believe that when we make sense of changes in our worldviews through a research paradigm, such as the one presented in my study, we can better accept others' different ways of knowing their Selves. That could free us from being locked in our own small world, free from our own cage of epistemology.

For Educators

The results and discussion presented in this study have a number of implications for educators of ESL students. To begin, I would like to make it clear that I intend to suggest *what* to consider in teaching and dealing with ESL students, not *how* to teach the students. I am not going to focus on classroom instructional methods. My goal is to focus on how theorizing ESL students' identities, through their graduate educational experiences and the process of examining their own Selves, can be used as a resource for educators to better understand their ESL students. My discussion about strategic identity and discursive-place identity urges educators to (a) pay attention to what is happening to

ESL students inside and outside the classroom, (b) establish relationships with ESL students, (c) realize that female students in particular value the "self-in relation to others," and (d) think of the function of their own classroom space and place for ESL students. In all four of these areas, my emphasis points to the need for educators to be open and receptive to ESL students. If they create and *open-up* the space for ESL students, they can potentially empower their students to develop positive identity.

The development of open, flexible, and individualized subject spaces will allow educators to connect with students and narrow the gap between the educators' and the students' subject positions. Teaching is not simply the action of transferring content areas of knowledge from one person to another. Teaching requires the active engagement in creating space for ESL students to develop their subject positions within the host country. While interacting with ESL students, educators should also be aware that the subject positions they create and inhabit affect the students. Educators and ESL students are often located on opposite sides of the social positional equation, and this creates an asymmetric power relationship. A smaller positional gap between educators and ESL students would allow educators to avoid treating their ESL students as "objects" and allow them to give everyone equal treatment. "Professors who make their students feel small and worthless are not qualified educators" (Hehjung; Youngmi). An ideal teacher is "a teacher who teaches with heart" (Youngmi). My participants' comments were insightful and important. In their collective opinions, a good educator treats his or her students as full members of the academic community while helping them negotiate changing subjectivity (in this case, as a Korean woman within American society as well as American institutions). A good educator collaborates with ESL students, which helps them to be more successful in

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negotiating the complicated process of adopting new priorities and practices both in and outside class.

Finally, in the opened-up space it is critical for educators to provide sufficient time for ESL students. Although not all ESL students go through this process as naturally as my participants did, it appears to be a common request among my participants – they needed time to get to know American society, they needed time to get used to American educational systems, and they needed time to complete their projects in class. I mentioned earlier that ESL students' physical and global movement from one country to another is often an important catalyst for the construction of their identities because their movement signifies a material change as well as a shift in language and culture. When ESL students build knowledge through English as a nonnative language speaker in a host country, they increase their academic knowledge as they advance their proficiency in English. More advanced English competence may bring them a greater degree of language power, which allows them to fully articulate their voices. However, learning a new language and using the language within the L2 community is a "conscious" process (Gee, 1990; Krashen, 1985). ESL students' personal enrichment and development through their second language, therefore, takes time. The classroom should be seen as an embodied place. This place should not be intimidating due to a lack of given time. Any approach that creates an open space should help educators to avoid making immediate judgments about ESL students.

It is not an easy task for educators to redesign and reconceptualize their classrooms explicitly for ESL students. It requires a certain degree of awareness and background knowledge about ESL students and a willingness to open themselves up to

ESL students. My discussion about strategic identity and discursive-place identity can be a resource for educators to know who their students are, not only for the purpose of designing curriculum, but for providing the best assistance possible. If educators think of their classroom as an open space, they have a way of "theorizing" their classroom. In this open space, both educators and students learn about themselves through a reciprocal relationship.

In conclusion, teaching is a complex profession. It is critical to note that educators opening the space will help them to get out of their "academic boundaries or conceptual box" (Youngmi) and allow them to hear their ESL students. Meaningful teaching is more likely to occur within a more humanistic relationship between the teacher and student. I hope that educators at American universities will use my study as a resource for developing a humanistic relationship with their ESL students and to guide ESL students in more appropriate ways. Institutions should not be a place for making ESL students feel badly about themselves. Educators who create spaces for ESL students will allow ESL students to feel good about themselves and enjoy the learning process, whether the subject be linguistic, cultural, or social in nature.

For Feminist Research Methodology

One of the characteristics of feminist research is that it utilizes women's experiences as a resource and, therefore, it is a study *about* women and *for* women (Harding 1987). Based on my study of female ESL students, I want to add that feminist research is also a study *with* women. While researching the identity of ESL graduate students, I realized that the subject-researcher relationship is organized like a mirror image, in that I believe that a feminist lens within "self-in relation to others" has a real

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possibility of helping ESL students make their sense of self (Letherby, 2003). ESL students' identities do not emerge in some predictable form simply by living in the L2 country for a period of time. It is the result of students' struggles, pain, rejections, and acceptances of and by the L2 society. It is the outcome of their endeavors to maneuver and take control of their lives in the host country. For example, while I was theorizing my participants' experiences, I had the opportunity to see myself through their lenses. The mirror image metaphor came from this experience. I feel that I was *with* the participants within my study framework.

Based on the results of this study, I realized that it is critical to recognize and acknowledge the researcher's own subject position in the field of ESL studies within a feminist research methodology framework. My emphasis on the researcher as holding his or her own subject position is that the researcher's position is not a passive role that merely reports the result of data. Rather, the position requires an active involvement in the research process. Active involvement means that the researcher's subjective view is shaped in the study process to some degree, such as data gathering, data analysis, and data interpretation. Some scholars are concerned about the researcher's subject position as one of inherent bias and/or subjectivity. I want to argue that each individual's worldview itself is biased; what we call "perspective" is, so to speak, bias. Instead of trying to bury the researcher's subject position, it should be visible in the study of ESL students' identity within the framework of feminist research methodology. In this way it is acknowledged and can be referred to when reading or interpreting the results.

Finally, I would recommend place-based research in relation to research about L2 acquisition and L2 students' identity construction. The result of place-based research is

closely related to feminist standpoint theory. Situated knowledge is driven by where the participants are geographically located in terms of language, culture, class, gender, and education. My study demonstrated that examining linguistic competence is not a passive way of exploring the dynamics affecting ESL students. Examining linguistic knowledge in accordance with space and place, both inside and outside of classrooms, results in more authentic outcomes. Through my study, I have stressed the idea that a second language is essentially a tool for inhabiting space and creating identity. In the study of L2, some feminist researchers might have overlooked this significance of space and place associated with L2. Place-based research, therefore, has the potential to reveal reliable and meaningful knowledge situated within particular ESL groups. Researchers' abilities to better understand their research subjects and connect them to their place will help to make research on ESL students more meaningful. I hope that the implications may help feminist researchers working in the field of L2 studies expand understanding and theorizing of the relationship among language, culture, education, and gender in accordance with ESL students' identity construction, thus creating yet another way of practicing synergistic feminist research methodology.

Suggestions for Further Research

A careful research methodology can help us expand what we know and allow us to discover what we do not know. While I was trying to discover what I did not know about ESL students' study processes and the effect of these processes on identity formation/reformation, I discovered that my study design could be used to facilitate additional and supporting research in the following areas.

First, my study focused exclusively on female postgraduate international students. It is not a surprise that male Korean students have been privileged and that female students have long been invisible both in their L1 and L2 countries. One of my primary motivations, therefore, was to conduct a study of female students in order to make them "visible" in the field of educational academic research. My study showed the wide range of important factors and forces that can and do impact Korean women students' identity-construction processes within L2 experiences and educational experiences in the United States. Although my attempt was to conduct in-depth research of these women, including male postgraduate students from the same country would have skewed my research and dilute results – the important cross-gender differences would be subsumed in the results by lumping them with male participants. However, I do concede that including underrepresented male students' voices would also be a means of applying feminist research methodology within a new domain. However, I remain convinced that I made the right choice given the limited time, scope, and resources that I could bring to bear on this study.

Second, I have questioned how younger students (K-12) would theorize the L2 journey in their host country in terms of second language acquisition and identity construction. Integrating younger students into the study, either international students or immigrant students, would certainly help expand our theoretical views in SLA, but again, my primary interest was Korean woman graduate students. Expanding beyond that would have made this project unwieldy and potentially untenable. My insistence on having a small number of participants was to conduct a qualitative in-depth study. Increasing the numbers of participants would help to further validate the qualitative study outcomes, but

I remain convinced that my results are an accurate snapshot of the issues and concerns facing many, if not all, older Korean women attending graduate school in the United States.

Finally, my study showed the importance of discursive practices in Self-Other relation in L2 space and place and how it can be used to theorize the identity-construction processes undertaken by ESL students. In retrospect, it might have been more authentic if ESL teachers' voices could have been incorporated. By authentic, I mean that the study could have been more engaging if teachers could speak for themselves instead of being spoken about in the third person by the ESL students. My participants emphasized how their positionality was determined by their professors and Others. Ironically, it was in this process that I realized that their professors' identities were themselves being positioned by my participants during the interviews. Therefore, integrating the teacher's space into the research would enlighten both ESL students and educators.

A Last Minute Thought

When I planned to study ESL students through a feminist methodological lens, I thought it was an odd but interesting challenge. Sure enough, while I was theorizing the students' experiences, I experienced self-doubt. Who cares about a feminist framing of the dynamics found in ESL teaching and learning contexts? Why did I pick this topic of identity? It retains a concept that is hard to explain to Others. More importantly, I asked myself will I even get a job with this dissertation. Another self-doubt came from my cognitive ability to pass through this long process of dissertation and writing skills in my L2. Will I be strong enough to see this process through to the end? How would I make my writing in a perfect matter without having the stress of looking for an editor? I

thought that being a nonnative speaker of English was a hurdle that I had to fight to overcome.

About a month ago, I had an opportunity to dine with a couple of new friends. One of them was a senior faculty member at a university on the east coast. He knew nothing about my major or my dissertation research. Simply because I was an ESL person, he asked me a few questions about ESL students. He had experienced trouble dealing with ESL graduate students, most of them from Asian countries. His students' foreign language assessment scores were usually far higher than required, some even had perfect scores. However, their high scores did not significantly help his students in class. He said, in a frustrated tone of voice, "They don't talk. They don't open themselves." My immediate response was, "They might not know how to open themselves in American classrooms. They might think sitting in the classroom quietly and listening to the professor is the way of best opening up. They might not be comfortable in your class. How are female students in your class?" After my nonstop questions, he said, "They [female students] are worse [in terms of having them open up] than male students. I don't know how to deal with them. What is your experience?" His subject position as a male professor made it more difficult for him to connect with female ESL students who were new to his university. He looked for an answer about how to deal with female students from my experiences, largely because I was a female ESL graduate student.

That was my "ah-ha" moment. During this hour of discussion about his ESL students, I realized I was defending my dissertation study and sharing my own ESL experiences. It all came down to the issue of ESL identities. I came to the realization that some educators actually need some resources; a study like this present study could give

insights in that it can be referential and, perhaps, a model for both ESL students and educators. My "ah-ha" moment gradually decreased my self-doubts about my study and increased my self-confidence about what I have been doing for the last couple of years. My nonnative writing skills were not the problem; it was an excuse for maintaining my self-doubt about my abilities. I am now confident in saying that theorizing ESL students' identity development through a feminist approach is a way of establishing epistemology. Being an ESL student is not a defective condition. Being an ESL student is a theoretical resource for Others out there. In this sense, I wonder if I can dare to say that an individual ESL student is an epistemologist.

APPENDICES

Appendix A Consent Form

CONSENT FORM

University of New Mexico,
Main Campus Human Subjects Institutional Review Board

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by Seon Sook Park, from the Department of Language, Literacy and Sociocultural Studies in College of Education at the University of New Mexico. This study will contribute to Seon Sook Park's dissertation research project. You were selected as a possible participant in the study because you are adult English as a second language (ESL) learner, graduate student in the USA, and you have no significant difficulty in speaking and hearing.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the relationships among second language use, education, and the construction of identity among female Korean students who are studying at universities in the USA. I will explore how their social interactions and related graduate academic experiences in English impact their identity as Korean women and what changes, if any, have occurred in their self described constructions of identity as they have progressed through their studies.

You are asked questions regarding the purpose of the study described above. Your answers of the questions will be recorded and transcribed by Seon Sook Park. Your participation in this study will require a couple of times of interviews. Each time of the interview exceeds no more than an hour and a half. After the interviews you are received follow-up questions by Seon Sook Park via email in order to clarify your answers and have clear meaning making. Some of you are received only open-ended written questionnaire, which does not necessarily request interviewing. In that case, your responses to the questionnaire will be saved and used by Seon Sook Park for dissertation research purpose. Your participation in this study will be voluntary.

The risk inherent in this study may be described as no greater than in other activities in which you might take part during a normal day. If you should become tired or need to take a break while interviewing, you can stop and take a break at any time. You can also drink of water at any time during the research. You can choose, switch, or mix with two languages of Korean and English at any time and in any context. There is no pressure to only use English or Korean for both interviewing and writing. Your investigator, Seon Sook Park, will never judge your English proficiency because it is not the purpose of this study. You have the right to withdraw consent and discontinue the study with any time and for any reason.

You will not receive direct benefits from your participation in this study. Your participation, however, will contribute to the field of second language acquisition in general and higher education, and more specifically, your participation may bring understanding of a number of female ESL students of Korea in the USA for their academic purpose.

Any information obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law. All interview recordings, transcripts, and written responses will be kept by Seon Sook Park only, and the identifying information about you will possibly be shared by the faculty advisors. Your name will be anonymous. All the follow-up activities or reports about your participation will be used academic purpose only. In addition, you are welcome to review and/or edit your answers to the interview questions and questionnaires either or both on tape-recording and the transcripts.

It is possible that the result of this study may be published in an educational journal, teaching, and presentation of the research at conferences. In the public events that publication, teaching, and presentation result, it is possible that your personal identities might be recognized by some readers through your anecdotes although your names and institutional affiliations etc. will be anonymous and the investigator attempts to keep your personal information confidential. In order to give best protection for your privacy, identifiable personal characteristics will be deleted or altered. In the case of the public events result, therefore, the investigator needs to know whether you prefer the data to be kept entirely private or you would allow the investigator to use the research data to be distributed as accompaniment to a publication, teaching, and presentation in educational fields.
Please read the following paragraphs carefully and choose the one you prefer. Your choice will not affect your participation in any way except to determine the level of confidentiality for the data.

____   I prefer that the interview be kept private, and will be used for unpublished written or oral report
____   I allow my interview and written responses to be included as accompanying material for any article that may result in this study, which includes direct quotes from the interview and written responses. If an article is published, the interview data and questionnaire data could be disseminated by the publisher, including possibly posting them on a web-site. Neither the recordings nor any possible publication will contain any of my personal information, nor will they reveal my identity. I also allow the investigator to save the tape and the related research materials for use in future research after this research is completed.

You can choose whether to participate in this study or not. If you volunteer to participate, you may withdraw at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you might otherwise be entitled. You may also refuse to answer any questions you do not want to answer and still remain in the study. The investigator may withdraw you from this research if circumstances arise which warrant doing so. Your participation should be

engaged in truthful and honest answers. If any false information from you is found, the investigator will withdraw from the study regardless of the consent.

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact: Seon Sook Park, 1501 Indian school Rd. NE., D204, Albuquerque, NM 87102. (505) 247-7482, Email: sunsk@unm.edu
If you have other concerns or complaints, contact: Professor Jose Rivera, the Institutional Review Board at MSC 05-3400, 1 University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM 87131-001, (505) 277-2257, Email: jrivera@unm.edu.

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANT

I understand the procedures described above. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study. I have been provided a copy of this form.

_____   _____   _____
Name of Participant   Signature of Participant   Date

SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR

In my judgment the participant is voluntarily and knowingly giving informed consent and possess the legal capacity to give informed consent to participate in this research study

_____   _____
Signature of Investigator or Designee   Date

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