

Bilingualism and Bilingual Education: The Case of the Korean Immigrants in the United States

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Contents

- I. Introduction
- II. The Settlement of the Korean Immigrants in the United States
 - 1. Early History of Korean Emigration to Hawaii
 - 2. Postwar Korean Emigration to the Mainland
- III. The Degree of Bilingualism
- IV. The Role of Bilingual Education

I. Introduction

The United States is a nation of immigrants. Koreans are not a prominent minority compared to other minority groups. The presence of the Korean minority group in this ethnic society has either been ignored or neglected. There has been little attempt to study Korean immigrants in the United States. This lack of knowledge about Koreans has been to the disadvantage of the Korean immigrants in the United States who face a language barrier in the home, school, and interregional trade. So far, the Korean community in the United States has no meaningful educational programs for immigrant children and American-born Koreans. The Korean minority students suffer from the lack of a bilingual education.

This study is concerned with historical development of the Korean immigrants in the United States and their attitude toward bilingualism. In this regard, the focus will be on patterns of the Korean immigrants, the search for the implications or factors for the maintenance and shift of the Korean language in conjunction with domains of family, religion, education, and other cultural preserves, and, finally, the analysis of subsequent future prospects in bilingual education.

II. The Settlement of the Korean Immigrants in the United States

1. Early History of Korean Emigration to Hawaii

Korea was the last of the three Oriental nations to open its doors to the Western world. The coming of Christianity and the Japanese maneuvers caused general unrest and uncertainty throughout the Kingdom in the 1880's.

On May 22, 1882, the Treaty of Amity and Commerce was signed between the United States and Korea. Article VI of the treaty stated: "Subjects of Chosen (Korea) who may visit the United States shall be permitted to reside and to rent premises, purchase land, or to construct residences or warehouses in all parts of the country..."¹⁾

On November 2, 1896, during the meeting of the Executive Council of the Board of Immigration, Mr. Grunwaldt proposed to import Koreans into the Hawaiian Islands to take the place of Chinese and Japanese sugar-cane workers.

In 1902, the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association sent David W. Deshler to Korea to recruit Korean workers. Twelve male Korean laborers were imported to Hawaii until the end of June, 1902. Thereafter, during the period of six months in 1902, announcements were made and posters were placed at several port cities, such as Chemulpo, Wonsan, Mokpo and Pusan, giving some information on the Hawaiian Islands as well as the job situation for the sugar-cane plantation, and inviting applicants from Korea.²⁾

At last, on December 22, 1902, the first group of Korean workers aboard the *S. S. Gaelic* emigrated to Hawaii. In this group, which arrived in Honolulu, Hawaii, on January 13, 1903, there were 56 men, 20 women, and 25 children. Again, the second group of 59 men and one woman arrived in Hawaii on March 3, 1903. Thus, by the end of 1906, since the first emigration to Hawaii, a total of 7,226 Korean people in 65 groups emigrated to Hawaii as manual laborers.

These early Korean immigrants were of the lower social classes of Korea, such as manual laborers, coolies, household servants, woodcutters, coal miners, etc.³⁾ (to be discussed.)

Yun⁴⁾ points out that over 6,000 of such immigrants were young men, mostly bachelors, ranging from twenty to thirty in age at the time of arrivals (see Table 1). And, above all, 65% of them were illiterate (to be discussed; see Table 6). They had difficulty in understanding English at work; as a result, David W. Deshler, president of the East-West Development Company, ran an advertisement for Korean interpreters in the papers. Following this, Korean interpreters emigrated to Hawaii to work together with Korean laborers in sugar plantations in Hawaii.

Korean emigration to Hawaii came to a halt as of April 1, 1905.⁵⁾ It is assumed that Japanese were responsible for the Korean government's decree banning Korean emigration to Hawaii. Japan insisted that there should have been Korean diplomatic mission in Hawaii "which could protect Korean immigrants in disputes with their Hawaiian employers due to

- 1) Kim, B. B. H.; "The Koreans in Hawaii", in Kim, H. C., eds.; *The Koreans in America*, New York: Oceana Publications, 1974.
- 2) Yun, Y. J.; "Early History of Korean Emigration to America", *Korea Journal*, vol. XIV, no. 6, 1974, pp. 21-40.
- 3) Choy, B. Y.; *Koreans in America*, Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1979, pp. 69-104.
- 4) Yun, Y. J. (1974); op. cit., pp. 21-45.
- 5) Ibid., p. 41.

Table 1. Age and Sex Distribution of Koreans in Hawaii, 1910-1930.

Age Groups	1910		1920		1930	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Total	3,931	602	3,498	1,452	3,999	2,462
Under 5 yrs.	140	123	398	375	464	456
5- 9	91	99	209	183	530	509
10-14	65	45	123	123	401	407
15-19	81	32	78	84	222	176
20-24	255	42	52	237	120	121
25-29	889	60	68	99	76	152
30-34	994	56	301	77	55	235
35-39	636	43	691	82	327	161}
40-44	394	37	633	55		
45-49	210	23	433	44	1,115	136}
50-54	78	20	268	40		
55-59	40	6	111	22	560	73}
60-64	44	6	83	16		
65-69	9	6	29	9	111	31}
70-74	2	3	7	4		
75-79	—	1	3	2	17	5
80-84	—	—	1	—		
85 and over	1	—	—	—		
Unknown	2		10		1	

Data from U.S. Census of 1910, vol. III, pp. 1162-1163; U.S. Census of 1920, vol. III, pp. 1178-1179; U.S. Census of 1930, pp. 8-10.

misunderstanding caused by the language barrier."⁶⁾ This statement is interpreted as an excuse: Japan wanted to protect Japanese immigrants in Hawaii. In 1902, there were 31,029 Japanese immigrants, 73.5% of the total of 42,242 sugar-cane workers in Hawaii.

Between 1904 and 1907, nearly 1,000 Korean immigrants in Hawaii left for the mainland. During the same period, another 1,000 Korean immigrants in Hawaii returned to Korea. Thus, the Korean population in Hawaii declined between 1907 and 1912 (see Table 2).

Most of the Korean immigrants in Hawaii were unmarried when they arrived in Hawaii. Subsequently, the arrival of the picture brides, however, did swell the numbers of Korean immigrants to some extent, leading to a development of the Korean community. For example, between 1910 and 1924, over 800 young Korean women went to Hawaii to marry Korean immigrants. Many people did not like to take their wives back to the hard life of the plantation, and they started to move to Honolulu, or to the American mainland to work in the rice fields of California.

6) Ibid., p. 41.

Table 2. Movement of Koreans to the Mainland and to the Orient

	To the Coast	To the Orient
1905	399	219
1906	456	326
1907	148	309
1908	1	105
1909	3	174
1910	7	51
1911	2	8
1912	7	58

Source: Lee, C. S. "The United States Immigration Policy and the Settlement of Koreans in America." *Korea Observer*, vol. VI, no. 4, 1975, p. 432.

New areas of settlement included Wahiawa, Schofield Barracks, and Waialua in rural Oahu, lower Nuuanu Valley and Precinct 24 on Punchbowl in Honolulu; Hilo and Honohina precincts in Hawaii. This movement of Korean immigrants in Hawaii resulted in the rise of the urban Korean population, representing 43.2% in the year 1930.⁷⁾ This scattered distribution, Reinecke further points out, accounted for a good mastery of English on part of Korean immigrants in Hawaii⁸⁾ (to be elaborated).

2. Postwar Korean Emigration to the Mainland

From the signing of the Protectorate Treaty of 1905 to the end of World War II, there was no official Korean emigration to the United States. However, a limited number of Koreans went to the United States as students or as visitors, especially under the sponsorship of the Christian missionaries.

In the meantime, the influx of Asian immigrants who left the sugar plantation for the entry to the mainland was on the rise because of the growing number of the Japanese immigrants. To cope with the problem, however, President Roosevelt issued the proclamation with the approval of Congress: "Every Japanese or Korean laborer, skilled or unskilled, applying for admission at a seaport or at a land border port of the United States...shall be refused admission" (*U.S. Government, Immigration Laws and Regulations*, 12 edition, July 1907, p.41). Consequently, the migration of Korean immigrants from Hawaii to the mainland was officially restricted.

On October 19, 1948, the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization, Department of Justice, was requested by President Truman to take out an order issued by the State

7) Reinecke, John E; *Language and Dialect in Hawaii*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1969, p. 61.

8) *Ibid.*, pp. 131-132.

Department in 1907 that prevented Korean and Japanese immigrants in Hawaii from entering the mainland.⁹⁾

In 1952, the Immigration and Naturality Act was enacted by the Congress. By this act of 1952, which is called the McCarran-Walter Act, the annual immigration quota of one hundred persons was fixed to Korea.¹⁰⁾ This system went into effect until the enactment of the Immigration Reform Act of 1965, which abolished the 1952 quota system altogether. The current influx of the Korean immigrants to the United States results from this act of 1965.

Choy¹¹⁾ is of the opinion that the Korean immigrants to the United States in the 1960's left their country owing to the military tension on the Korean peninsula and the political and social unrest of the country. Immigration in the 1960's was a sort of refuge.

The arrival of the Korean immigrants to the United States increased every year. During the one-year period between July 1972 and June 1973 alone, a total of 22,930 Koreans emigrated to the United States. In 1974 alone, 28,028 Koreans emigrated to America. Officially, as immigration statistics shows, it was estimated that the Korean population in the United States was over 288,000, as of 1978 (see Tables 3 and 4).

A unique characteristics of recent Korean immigrants, unlike the early immigrants in Hawaii, is that they are mostly well-educated professionals or skilled technicians. For example, 72% of those who emigrated to the United States between 1965 and 1973, were highly skilled professionals such as medical doctors. Of 13,401 medical doctors licensed to practice in the Republic of Korea (henceforth: Korea) since 1948, only 8,700 remained in Korea by 1973. Approximately, 45% to 60% of the graduates of the eleven medical schools of Korea emigrated to the United States to find employment. In 1975, there were about 3,000 Korean medical doctors in the United States.¹²⁾ Moreover, 56% of the Korean immigrants were college graduates, 15% with higher degrees; 18% of the recent Korean immigrants had an experience in professional fields back in Korea; 64% were either government officials or businessmen in Korea before emigration.

The average age is 35 years; the average number of children is 2.5; the average period of residence in the United States is three years. The average Korean immigrant family consists of four members: husband, wife, and two children of school age.

In 1968, only 64 out of 325 Koreans who received doctoral degrees in the United States returned to Korea. Over a fourteen-year period, only 6% of the Korean students who completed their studies in the United States returned to Korea.

The brain drain problem was serious enough, but the students did not return to Korea, mainly because they could take high-paying jobs in the United States, while Korea could not absorb well-trained professionals, especially in the fields of science and technology.

9) Kim, B. B. H. (1974); op. cit., pp. 110-113.

10) Lee, C. S.; "The United States Immigration Policy and the Settlement of Koreans in America", *Korea Observer*, vol. VI, no. 4, 1975, pp. 412-541.

11) Choy, B. Y. (1979); op. cit., pp. 246-252.

12) Ibid., pp. 217-226.

Table 3. Korean Residents in America by Immigration Status: 1950-1974.

Year	Immigrants	Nonimmigrants	Naturalized
1950	10	335	3
1951	32	183	1
1952	127	118	2
1953	115	11,271	46
1954	254	11,610	243
1955	315	22,555	295
1956	703	33,792	155
1957	648	11,998	122
1958	1,604	11,535	168
1959	1,720	11,501	416
1960	1,507	11,774	651
1961	1,534	11,111	1,031
1962	1,538	22,802	1,169
1963	2,580	22,063	1,249
1964	2,362	44,718	1,360
1965	2,165	44,077	1,027
1966	2,492	5,206	1,180
1967	3,395	6,306	1,353
1968	3,811	9,479	1,776
1969	6,045	12,178	1,646
1970	9,314	13,611	1,687
1971	14,297	17,477	2,083
1972	18,876	23,073	2,933
1973	22,930	23,335	3,562
1974	28,028	30,917	4,451
1974	28,028	30,917	4,451
Total	126,936	172,915	28,625

Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, *Annual Reports* (1969-1974).

As of the end of June, 1981, 67,729 Korean residents in the United States were engaged in commerce, 66,327 in other service businesses, followed by 30,013 in clerical jobs, 21,687 in engineering, and 16,112 in other specialized areas. For instance, in New York, 30% of the Korean immigrants, estimated at 54,000, were involved in commerce. In Chicago, about 1,700 were working as clergymen (The Korea Herald, May 22, 1982). As of 1980, there were 233 Korean Christian churches in Los Angeles.¹³⁾

13) Kim, K. Kong-On; Lee, Kapson; and Kim, Tae-Yul; *Korean-Americans in Los Angeles: Their Concerns and Language Maintenance*, Los Alamitos, CA., National Center for Bilingual Research, 1981, p.33.

Table 4. Korean Immigrants in the U.S.: 1820-1978 (In thousands)

Year	Total Immigrants in the U.S.	Koreans	Percent
1820-1978, total	48,664.0	247.0	0.5
1951-1960, total	2,515.5	6.2	
1961-1970, total	3,321.7	34.5	1.0
1971-1978, total	3,502.2	206.7	5.9
1974	394.9	27.5	
1975	386.2	28.1	
1976	398.6	30.6	
1977	462.3	30.7	
1978	601.4	28.8	

1. Prior to 1951.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the U.S.: 1980*. (101st edition) Washington, D.C., 1980, p. 93.

Today, the areas of heavy concentration of Korean immigrants in the United States are Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, Washington, D.C., San Francisco and Honolulu. An estimate has it that 169,000 Koreans are living in Los Angeles, 53,000 in New York, 44,000 in Chicago and its adjacent areas, 37,000 in Washington, D.C., and 36,000 in San Francisco (The Korea Herald, May 22, 1982).

Of the 591,930 Korean residents excluding employees of Korean trading firms, diplomatic envoys and their family members which are estimated at 47,000, about half are living in these six cities.

The New York Times, reporting in its July 30, 1981 edition, said that within ten years Koreans may become the biggest Asian ethnic group in the United States. The newspaper added that Korean immigrants in the United States rose 412.8% between 1970-1980, well exceeding the 128.8% growth in Philippine immigrants, the 85.3% growth in immigrants from the Republic of China and the 18.5% growth in those from Japan. Between 1970 and 1980, Korea's annual emigration to the United States jumped nearly eight times. There is no reliable information on actual statistics, but, at present, it is assumed that over 700,000 Korean residents are living in the United States.

Today, there are Korea Towns on Olympic Street in Los Angeles and on Flushing Street in New York City. In the Korea Towns, store signs are mostly both in English and Korean, and as long as a Korean lives in a Koreatown or in a language island, he or she may not have a chance to speak any language other than Korean. This is true of the older people who emigrated to the United States without any motivation whatsoever (to be discussed).

III. The Degree of Bilingualism

Soon after their arrival in Hawaii, Korean immigrants had to cope with the language barrier and cultural differences.

As mentioned, about 65% of the Korean immigrants who arrived in Hawaii between 1903 and 1905 were illiterate.

Initially, emigration to Hawaii had begun since 1876. Subsequently, the Hawaiian sugar plantation laborers consisted mainly of non-Europeans from many different language groups: native Hawaiians, Chinese, Portuguese, Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos, or Puerto Ricans. This multilingual community soon outnumbered the former population, i.e., native Hawaiian and *haole*.

At the time, the plantation work-language was Hawaiian. After 1876, however, a Hawaiian-based pidgin (also known as *oleo pa'i'ai* or taro language) was widely used on the Hawaiian plantations.¹⁴⁾

As for the Korean immigrants of the lower social classes who arrived in Hawaii between 1903 and 1905, I can make the reasonable assumption that their foreign language was not necessarily Standard English (the "higher" or H FORM of the language), without any significant contact with the majority of "White" speakers of English. Under the circumstances, it is assumed, they must have picked up or spoken primarily a regional dialect at work which represented a compromise among the plantation workers, such as "jargon", "pre-pidgin", or, at the most, "foreigner's English (the "lower" or L FORM of the language)", in communication with a small minority of the Hawaiians who spoke the L dialect of English with varying degree of proficiency.

Between 1910 and 1930, ten to twenty years after they worked in the Hawaiian plantations, Korean immigrants began to leave the plantations, thus leading to the scattered distribution of their small group. There is little known about actual language use on the part of the Korean immigrants in the Hawaiian plantations since no study has been done in print in any detail. Furthermore, it is highly questionable to what extent the child born of pidgin- or Korean-speaking parents learned and used the Hawaiian Pidgin English or the Hawaiian Creole English in the last two decades of the 19th century, when pidginization and creolization were in process in Hawaii. This is an open question. Generally, in the early period, their language cannot have risen above what could be called an "immigrant status", which in turn implies that the proportion of language maintenance among Korean immigrants was very high.

Although it is assumed that the L dialects were used at work, the mother tongue were reserved for family, friendship, and church service. Table 5 represents, respectively, 32.3% and 23.8% of the total Korean population who could not speak English as of 1930. In other words, a significant number of Korean immigrants in Hawaii had the language barrier.

In the meantime, the church was the only place that enabled Korean immigrants to engage

14) Bickerton, D.; *Roots of Language*, Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers, 1981, pp. 1-17.

Table 5. Male and Females Unable to Speak English, 1930.

Ethnic Group	Male Unable to Speak English		Females Unable to Speak English	
	No.	%	No.	%
Total	46,308	26.6	20,514	20.8
Hawaiians	625	7.1	842	9.5
Part-Hawaiians	44	0.5	67	0.9
Portuguese	408	4.0	652	6.3
Puerto Ricans	537	20.3	435	21.8
Spanish	42	8.7	64	14.5
Chinese	3,419	26.3	1,109	15.3
Japanese	14,095	27.1	14,055	33.1
Koreans	970	32.3	357	23.8
Filipinos	26,112	54.5	2,881	49.4
Others	56	—	52	—

Source: Reinecke (1969), *Language and Dialect in Hawaii*. University of Hawaii Press, p. 97.

in social gathering, using their mother tongue. At the church they spoke the same language and retained the same traditional Korean culture. About 400 Korean immigrants were Christians when they first arrived in Hawaii. In 1918, there were nearly 2,800 Christians and 39 churches in Hawaii.¹⁵⁾ The church, therefore, played an active role in educational and cultural efforts to maintain the mother tongue and ethnic identity. Children went to church Sunday school and learned the Korean language, history and culture. Pastors were instructors; the Bible and hymn books were used as textbooks.

Although there were foreign language schools run by Japanese and Chinese, the Koreans wanted to bring up their children as Koreans. This trend reflected the period: the struggle for independence of the Japanese colony.¹⁶⁾

Newsletters distributed by churches were used both as newspapers and teaching materials. Around 1909 to 1910, "The Korean National Herald" was published in Korean in Hawaii; in 1906, the Korean Methodist Church established the Korean Compound School in Honolulu, Hawaii.¹⁷⁾

However, in time, the Korean immigrants in Hawaii tended to be quickly assimilated into Hawaiian society. They spoke English better than before and, above all, their children, now the second generation, having little in common with their parents who did not have an English education, doubted the practical need to learn the Korean language. The second generation

15) Kim, H. C.; "History and Role of the Church in the Korean American Community", *Korea Journal*, vol. XIV, no. 8, 1974, pp. 26-37.

16) Reinecke, John E. (1969); op. cit., p. 131.

17) Kim, H. C.; "Korean Emigrants to the U.S.A.", *Korea Journal*, vol. XI, no. 9, 1974, pp. 16-24.

Table 6. Illiteracy among the Koreans in Hawaii, 1910-1930. By Age and Sex Groups

Groups	Percentages		
	1910	1920	1930
Total Koreans	25.9	17.3	17.6
Total Males	23.8	15.7	18.5
Total Females	46.1	22.4	15.7
10-14 years	4.5	0.4	0.1
15-19 years	15.0	3.1	none
20-24 years	22.2	15.6	0.8
25-34 years	23.6	11.6	15.6
35-44 years	29.6	16.4	19.3
45-54 years	37.8	23.8	24.5
55-64 years	—	37.9	35.4
65 and over	—	—	50.6

Data from U.S. Census of 1910, vol. III, p. 1173; U.S. Census of 1930, *Population-Hawaii*, Table 9.

believed that the key to the social success in American society was dependent on the proficiency in English, or an English language H, if possible.

Reinecke¹⁸⁾ stated that the Korean immigrants showed an unusually good mastery of English due to the scattered distribution of their small group. This may be one of the reasons, but the main reason for the good mastery of English is due to the fact that the Korean immigrants are quickly assimilated into the dominant group in order to attain occupational and social assimilation. The occupational assimilation results from competition between majority and minority groups. Regardless of their progressive acculturation, the Korean immigrants are likely to remain occupationally marginal in the United States as long as they are racially visible and cannot pass as "Whites", unlike the other European immigrants who are psychologically prepared to be assimilated into the society of a majority group. The social barrier such as racism can be diminished in some degree by means of the mastery of language or intermarriage.

According to the survey, about 8% of intermarriages involving Koreans and Americans end up in divorce, 44.8% of which are due to the language barrier and 30.5% due to the cultural gap (The Korea Herald, October 19, 1982).

In 1920, the Survey of Education in Hawaii (1932) estimated Korean language school attendance at 800, with 729 Koreans enrolled in the English school. In 1932, there were only 522 students, 24% of the English school enrollment.¹⁹⁾ By 1930 there were almost none among the younger generation who were illiterate. Table 6 shows a lower illiteracy rate than 65% of illiteracy between 1902 and 1905. Basing ourselves on the statistics of Table 7, if we assume

18) Reinecke, John E. (1969); op. cit., p. 131.

19) Ibid., pp. 131-132.

Table 7. Korean Population in Hawaii, 1927-1948

Year	All nationalities	Korean
1927	115,802	2,896
1928	120,491	2,818
1929	121,072	2,750
1934	97,335	2,673
1935	92,792	2,596
1936	89,065	2,525
1937	85,759	2,409
1938	83,300	2,352
1939	80,334	2,276
1940	77,704	2,206
1941	78,142	2,253
1947	75,623	1,815
1948	74,020	1,750

Source: *The Statistical History of the U.S.: From Colonial Times to 1970*, p. 94.

Table 7-(a): Ethnic Stock in Hawaii: 1950 and 1976

	1950	1976
All groups	499,769	827,394
Unmixed	405,588	615,783
Caucasian	114,793	230,078
Chinese	29,501	35,862
Filipino	53,382	83,791
Hawaiian	12,245	10,932
Japanese	180,508	210,824
Korean		10,733
Negro		7,637
Puerto Rican	15,159	3,183
Samoan		4,460
Other unmixed		9,283
Mixed	94,181	211,611
Part Hawaiian	73,845	135,287
Non Hawaiian	20,336	76,324
Not reported	—	5

Source: *Historical Statistics of Hawaii(1977)*, p. 27.

that there were 6,461 Korean residents in 1930, it will be seen that the proportion of those who retained the mother tongue is 46% if we place the number of Korean-speaking immigrants in Hawaii in 1930 at 2,977, as represented in Table 8. This figure is most likely low.

The degree of the social assimilation in terms of intermarriage was very high. During the period 1931-1950, as shown in Table 9 (also refer to Table 7 for Korean population in Hawaii), 36.6% to 48.3% of the whole Korean population were mixed with other races, with the exception of 1,535 unmixed Koreans. The high proportion of mixed Koreans is also responsible for the quick assimilation and subsequent loss of the mother tongue.

Again, Table 10 represents the distribution of the Korean immigrants by age and sex. The female group of twenty to twenty-nine years of age constitutes the largest group. This is mainly due to the intermarriages between Korean women and male American citizens. Although no survey is available yet, if we assume that about two-thirds of the Korean immigrants in the United States are females, as indicated in Table 10, the retention rate of the mother tongue is likely to be very low. For one thing, it is to be reminded that the foreign-born and/or native-born Korean wives and children of American citizens such as war brides or adopted children have hastened the process of assimilation. Table 10 further shows that the number of girls under five years of age constitutes the second largest group. This is due to a larger number of girls than of boys who were adopted by American families. Their choice of girls instead of boys may be influenced by their concern with the problem of assimilation of the adopted children into American culture. On the whole, these adopted children, especially under ten years of age, do not retain their mother tongue.

The Korean immigrants in the United States are easy to localize with regard to their destinations. As pointed out earlier, during the period 1965-1978, the number of Korean immigrants far exceeded any other Asian immigrants. Table 11 shows major states concentrated by the Korean residents in the United States: California, New York/New Jersey, Washington, D.C./Maryland/Virginia, and Illinois, in that order of high percentage.

The census does not provide a state-to-state breakdown of Korean mother-tongue speakers; however, if we base our assumptions more on reasonable guesswork than on actual immigration statistics, Korean retention is likely to be very high in such concentrated areas as Los Angeles, New York, Washington, D.C., San Francisco, Chicago, and Honolulu. Table 14 is a direct reflection of difficulty with English on the part of the Korean immigrants in the United States (to be discussed), which supports the assumption that retention figures would tend to be magnified by the newcomers or the first generation of Korean immigrant parents. The Korean language shows its greatest strength in such heavy concentrated areas: that is, Korean is uniformly distributed, with focal areas in absolute numbers, thus forming a linguistic island in the Koreatowns. The result derives from the fact that the new Korean immigrants, who grew up in Korea where Korean is spoken, still use Korean as their own individual language in the Korean-speaking households. These mother-tongue claimants actively speak Korean in terms of domains of household, church, institution, mass media and so forth.

Accordingly, the intensity and location of Korean churches, organizations, Korean language institutes, public or private institutions, mass media facilities, etc., is a factor for

retaining Standard Korean in its H function and retarding or preventing English from replacing it, ultimately enabling Korean-Americans to maintain ethnic identity. The influx of high class Korean immigrants to the United States has further contributed to the role of Korean in its H function.

Table 8. Mother Tongue in Hawaii, 1930-1970
(Source: *Historical Statistics of Hawaii*, 1977, p. 30.)

Mother Tongue	1930	1960	1970 ^a		
	Foreign Born ¹	Foreign Born ²	Total	Native Born	Foreign Born
All languages	121,209	68,906	768,300	692,964	75,595
English & Celtic	3,056	3,379	447,200	439,100	5,407
German	815	1,361	5,700	4,434	1,658
Portuguese	3,847	830	9,300	7,240	436
Spanish	472	547 ⁴	13,300	9,691	1,160
Other European lgs	1,378		10,400		
Chinese	7,467	3,075	26,900	19,037 ⁴	5,403 ⁴
Korean	2,977	941	6,200		
Japanese	48,416	23,020	116,900	105,498 ⁴	20,078 ⁴
Tagalog ⁵	52,672	25,917	50,200		
Hawaiian	—	—	18,700		
Pacific Island lgs ⁶	31	1,047	4,200	61,469	40,790
Other languages	75	2,015	13,200		
Not reported	3	6,768	46,100	46,495	662

1. In 1930 'mother tongue' was defined as the language usually spoken in the home of the person before coming to the U.S. or any of its territories or possessions. The published data are adjusted by inclusion of the 52,672 persons born in the Philippines, all of whom are assumed to have had Tagalog or other Filipino dialects as their mother tongue. This adjustment was made for greater comparability with the 1960 and 1970 tabulations, which classified persons from the Philippines as foreign born.
2. Based on the question, "What language are spoken in this home before he came to the U.S.?" and thus comparable to the 1930 date.
3. Based on the question, "What language, other than English, was spoken in this person's home when he was a child?" and thus not directly comparable to the 1930 and 1960 data. The total column is from the one-percent Public Use Sample, while the native- and foreign-born distributions are from a 15-percent sample; the data by nativity may accordingly not add exactly to the corresponding total for both groups combined. The final census count was 769,913.
4. Included in "other languages."
5. Includes Ilocano and other Filipino tongues. Estimated for 1930.
6. Figure for 1960 refers to Polynesian only; for 1970, to Polynesian (other than Hawaiian), Micronesian, and Melanesian. Persons born in American Samoa are included with the native-born population in all three years.

Table 9. Births by Race of Known Parents: 1931-1950

Father	Haw'n	Part-	Cauca-	Chi-	Japa-	Korean	Filipino	Puerto-	All	Total	(Mixed)
		Haw'n	sian	nese	nese			Rican	others		%
Hawaiian	4,374	3,704	422	205	190	32	383	46	26	9,037	51.6
Part-Haw'n	3,125	14,329	2,364	1,238	261	429	166	109	23,386	100.0	
Caucasian	1,631	6,910	32,784	926	2,543	579	823	905	229	47,330	30.7
Chinese	307	1,795	332	9,112	658	193	63	35	6	12,501	27.1
Japanese	282	1,282	475	435	66,134	192	74	32	6	68,912	4.0
Korean	79	256	97	134	280	1,535	25	13	4	2,423	36.6
Filipino	1,920	3,126	1,450	268	1,205	148	17,245	899	46	26,307	34.4
Puerto-Rican	103	320	600	36	82	13	137	3,092	16	4,398	29.7
All others	117	393	151	22	59	14	70	55	288	1,169	
Total	11,939	32,115	38,675	12,502	72,389	2,967	18,904	5,242	730	195,463	
Percent (Mixed)	63.4	100	15.2	27.1	8.6	48.3	8.8	41.0			31.3

Source: Lind, Andrew, *Hawaii's People*. p. 113.

Table 10. Korean Emigrants to America by Age and Sex, 1959-1969

Age \ Year	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	Total
Under 4 M	273	146	205	113	88	131	128	95	127	148	238	1,692
F	474	331	484	299	238	272	248	261	309	455	3,609	
5-9 M	105	73	78	64	83	77	81	67	144	121	231	1,124
F	112	76	101	76	96	130	93	119	176	171	249	1,390
10-19 M	48	37	41	41	69	57	80	133	139	194	918	
F	45	48	61	63	117	156	141	144	256	223	353	1,607
20-29 M	50	60	53	75	182	80	51	105	194	224	387	1,461
F	454	560	344	595	1,198	1,071	989	987	1,327	1,356	2,131	11,012
30-39 M	40	38	40	57	157	65	71	208	516	387	654	2,233
F	79	113	94	119	282	234	257	349	588	494	761	3,370
40-49 M	11	3	7	7	20	9	8	28	80	66	117	356
F	9	11	10	11	16	25	13	22	65	63	108	353
50-59 M	5	4	3	1	4	6	4	6	13	18	32	96
F	-	3	3	9	11	9	7	18	34	45	63	202
60-69 M	-	3	5	2	5	5	2	3	9	15	18	67
F	1	1	3	4	11	5	12	18	28	21	40	144
70-79 M	1	-	2	1	-	1	1	3	2	-	2	12
F	-	-	-	-	3	5	1	2	2	8	11	32
80 and M	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
over F	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	1	3	1	8
Male Total	533	364	434	361	608	453	404	596	1,218	1,118	1,873	7,961
Female (Total)	1,184	1,143	1,100	1,177	1,972	1,909	1,761	1,897	2,738	2,693	4,172	21,748
Grand (Total)	1,717	1,507	1,534	1,538	2,580	2,362	2,165	2,492	3,956	3,811	6,045	29,709

Source: Kim, H.C. "Korean Emigrants to the U.S.A." *Korea Journal*, vol. XI, no. 9, 1974, pp. 16-24.

Table 11. Area of Intended Residence for Korean Immigrants: 1969-1973.

	Korean
Regions:	100%
Northwest	24%
North Central	22%
South	22%
West	32%
Selected States:	
California	20%
Hawaii	5%
Washington State	2%
New York/New Jersey	16%
Pennsylvania	4%
Massachusetts	2%
D.C./Maryland/Virginia	9%
Illinois	7%
Michigan	3%
Ohio	3%
Texas	3%
All others	26%
	100%

Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, *Annual Reports* (1969-1973).

Korean churches play a significant part in the maintenance of the mother tongue. The Dong-A Ilbo reported on its July 12, 1984 edition that there were 11 Christian churches in 1965, 233 in 1980, and 358 in 1984, in Southern California alone, adding that 7% of Korean-Americans living in the same area were Christians in 1981, whereas there were some 20 Buddhist churches in 1973.

Only Korean is used in such churches for the majority of people, with the exception that a few churches conduct an English worship service for the second generation. The additional role of these churches as a center for friendship, language teaching, extra-curricula activities, and so forth have contributed to the positive attitude toward the mother tongue and ethnic culture.

Generally, the role of the early Korean language schools was minimal, in terms of language maintenance. In 1937, the Korean National Association was established in Los Angeles to provide funds and teaching materials for the Korean language schools. However, most of the Korean language schools of the earlier immigration disappeared as the children became more and more Americanized and passive in learning non-English. Likewise, the early Korean immigrant parents, in turn, were reluctant to send their children to Korean language schools. In 1971, for example, a Korean language school remained open during the summer vacation, with about 30 children enrolled.²⁰⁾

20) Song, J.D.; "Educational Problems of Korean Children in the United States", *Korea Observer*, vol. VII, no. 3, 1975, pp. 231-244.

Quite recently, however, there has been a noticeable development of Korean language schools, both in quantity and quality. In 1981, according to Kim,²¹⁾ there were 19 Korean language schools and 37 churches in Southern California, with about 4,000 Koreans enrolled. In the same year, the Korean School of Southern California, which opened in 1972, had 549 students and 38 teachers, with the three branch schools in its vicinity.

As for Korean language mass media, such as newspapers and radio and television broadcastings, there are the Korea Times, the Dong-A Ilbo, the Joong-Ang Daily News, the Hankook Ilbo and the Shin-Han Minbo plus church newsletters widely circulated in Korean communities. KBS-TV, Korea Times TV, Worldwide Broadcasting Network, KBC-Radio Station and other radio stations located in Los Angeles, Chicago, and Honolulu provide a variety of programs in Korean, especially for new Korean immigrant parents who have language difficulties.^{22), 23)}

In addition, over a couple of thousand different kinds of businesses, institutions, organizations, and comparable community services, in which Korean is actively used among themselves, have exerted a substantial influence on Korean retention and ethnic cultural identity.

IV. The Role of Bilingual Education

While the newcomers or the first generation parents tend to retain their mother tongue, the second generation, who live in households where Korean is spoken but where their usual individual language is English, are apt to shift to the language of the host society without hesitation. (In this regard, the trend also results from the high geographic mobility of the Korean immigrants: eg., 89% between 1972 and 1977 in Southern California.²⁴⁾) This does not mean, however, that Korean children do not have any problems in terms of language and cultural differences.

The problems that they are faced with come mainly from a language barrier in process of assimilation. The task of English proficiency is the most difficult problem. Song²⁵⁾ points out that Korean students do well in mathematics and science but poorly in English. One survey shows that only 20% of Koreans in Los Angeles had a suitable English proficiency (The Joong-Ang Ilbo, Mijupan, December 19, 1974); according to Choy²⁶⁾ only 10% of the age group over twenty-three had no difficulty with English, 25% of them had studied English previously but could not understand it well, and 40% did not speak English at all.

21) Kim, Kong-On, et al. (1981); op. cit., p. 37.

22) Ibid., p. 40.

23) Thernstrom, S., ed.; *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980, pp. 601-606, pp. 629-638.

24) Kim, Kong-On, et al. (1981); op. cit., p. 7.

25) Song, J. D. (1975); op. cit., pp. 236-244.

26) Choy, B. Y. (1979); op. cit., pp. 230-237.

Currently, a majority of Korean-American college students were born in Korea. Johng²⁷⁾ reports in his survey that 40.2% of the subjects had the language barrier in college (see Table 12). Again, Table 13 indicates to what extent Korean-American students have difficulty with English: 37% of the subjects had no language difficulties, about 30% had some difficulties with English, over 22% had considerable difficulties, and 6% had extreme difficulties. Boys had more difficulty with English than girls.

Table 12. Items of Difficulty in Campus

	Total (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)	Less than 5 years (%)	Over 5 yrs (%)
Language barrier	40.2	39.9	41.3	47.0	21.9
Learning process	18.9	20.2	20.3	21.3	14.8
Making friends	9.6	11.6	12.3	9.8	7.8
Getting along with opposite sex	10.6	12.1	10.1	10.9	8.6
Cost of college education	11.3	13.2	13.0	9.8	13.2
No answer	9.4	2.9	2.9	1.0	33.6

Source: Johng (1979), p. 454.

Table 13. Degree of English Language Difficulty

	Total (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)	Length of Residence	
				Less than 5 years (%)	Over 5 years (%)
None	37.0	35.3	40.6	17.5	62.5
Somewhat	29.9	33.5	28.2	36.6	20.2
Considerably	22.5	24.3	20.3	28.4	14.8
Extremely	6.1	6.9	5.8	9.8	0.0
No answer	4.5	0.0	5.1	8.3	2.4
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Johng (1979), p. 455.

27) Johng, D. S.; "Korean-American College Students: Basic Characteristics", *Korea Observer*, vol. X, no. 4, 1979, pp. 454-455.

Table 14. Languages Other Than English Spoken by Persons 4 Years Old and Over: 1976
(In thousands)

Language Spoken	Persons 4 years old and over	Difficulty with English(%)	Second lg, number
Total	199,310	X	X
Speaking language other than English	15,354	42.1	8,965
Spanish	7,755	46.3	3,906
Italian	1,196	43.6	822
French	874	23.1	645
German	844	10.7	694
Polish	544	34.1	406
Chinese	432	45.7	187
Greek	343	38.1	204
Filipino	315	17.8	186
Portuguese	307	53.5	150
Japanese	233	62.9	145
Korean	127	72.6	54
All other	2,384	30.7	1,564

Source: *The Statistical History of the U.S. From Colonial Times to 1970*, p. 41.

Especially, Korean immigrant mothers, grandfathers and grandmothers suffer from language barriers owing to their limited contacts in American society. These immigrant parents who do not speak English well have a hard time communicating with their own children. In general, the first generation of immigrant parents do not have opportunities to have any additional education in the United States. Because of their poor English ability, adult Koreans have problems in seeking jobs outside Korean communities, whereas their children have the problem in school. Table 14 indicates the percentage of Korean residents in the United States who have difficulty with English, the highest ratio of 72.6% of all races.

In recent years the trend in education is toward the bilingual concept. The Bilingual Education Act, passed by Congress on January 2, 1968, provided federal saction and funds for the use of ethnic languages as a medium of instruction. It is generally believed that the bilingual education is the only reasonable solution to ease the language problems.

Any immigrant children who do not speak English are denied an opportunity to learn in the public school system in the United States. In Los Angeles, for instance, E.S.L. programs have been implemented for non-English speaking children throughout grades 1 to 12. Korean children are placed in an E.S.L. program for one year or more. It usually takes six to twenty-four months to be placed into the regular classes as far as Korean children are concerned. Kim²⁸⁾ estimates that there were around 6,600 non-English speaking/limited-English speaking

28) Kim, Kong-On, et al. (1981); op. cit., p. 39.

Korean children in California.

The Korean minority is not an invisible minority group any longer in the light of the scope of immigrants. It was not until recently that the statistics of the U.S. Bureau of the Census listed Koreans as Koreans but not as Chinese, Japanese, or All others. At present, Korean students who are attending elementary and secondary schools within the Los Angeles City School District amount to over 2,000 in number. Most of them attend schools in the area of Olympic Boulevard. Table 15 shows the number of Korean students in leading schools.

Table 15. Leading Schools with Korean Students in Los Angeles City School District

Elementary		Junior High		Senior High	
Hobart	357	Berendo	246	Los Angeles	270
Wilton Pl.	249	Bancroft	124	Fairfax	82
Hoover	153	Virgil	121	Hollywood	65
Queen A. Pl.	58	Le Conte	87	Belmont	62
Cahuenga	51	Burrough	42	Hamilton	36
Magnolia	35	Mt. Vernon	27		

Source: Adapted from L.A. City School District, *Racial and Ethnic Survey*, Fall, 1973.

In San Francisco, there are over 600 Korean students. According to the data, the total number of students in California is 4,979,277. The Asian-American students consisted of Koreans, Japanese, Chinese and Filipinos are over 7,350 or 4.5% of the whole student population; nevertheless, there are only seven certified teachers of Korean extract in the district (San Francisco School District, "Selected Data for Study in the Challenge to Effect a Better Racial Balance in San Francisco Public Schools: 1974-1975, September 1974").

According to Table 16, in 1973, 79.8% of Korean residents in Los Angeles were under 45 years of age, with 32% under 18 years of age. Or, in 1979, over 25% of them were under 9 years of age, 18% were under 10 and 19.²⁹⁾ The Federal census of 1970-1973 shows that 36.5% of all Korean immigrants were under 20 years of age when they arrived in the United States (see Table 16 for further information).

In proportion to a steady increase in Korean immigrant population in the United States, the issue of bilingual education, as well as the role of it, has come to exert an important influence on the Korean community. In this regard, both the Korean government and the Korean community in the United States are responsible for reevaluating and fostering bilingual education for Korean immigrant children.

In general, there has been the scarcity of statistics about the Korean immigrant population, with the exception of Los Angeles, San Francisco, New York, Chicago, Washington, D.C., and Honolulu. This is one reason for bypassing of Korean bilingual education in many other areas.

29) Ibid., p. 7.

Table 16. Age Distribution of Korean Immigrants at the Time of Arrivals: 1970-1973

Total	Male Distribution Percent	Age	Female Distribution Percent	Total
21,193	100%		100%	34,909
3,139	15	Under 5	14	5,008
2,429	11	5- 9	8	2,703
2,883	14	10-19	11	3,819
4,019	19	20-29	40	14,028
6,363	30	30-39	18	6,410
1,526	7	40-49	4	1,419
494	2	50-59	2	811
340	2	60 Up	2	709

Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, *Annual Reports* (1970-1973).

In addition, it is to be suggested that there be more Korean-English or English-Korean bilingual teachers and that bilingual education for Korean-American students in the United States be reevaluated to the effect that it will both maintain ethnic identity and American culture. Dominant English teaching materials and culture would make it impossible to achieve a balanced approach between the two cultural systems. In this regard, in 1979, two Korean consuls were dispatched to Los Angeles, the other two to Washington, D.C.

There has been a tendency that Korean students lose their proficiency in Korean. Yoo³⁰⁾ points out that high assimilation is closely related to English proficiency; in other words, the student with better knowledge of English is likely to be more quickly assimilated. Moreover, linguists share the universal agreement that children easily acquire language proficiency.

Lewis³¹⁾ proposes several rationales in promoting bilingual education in terms of culture and ethnicity: "(a) A bilingual education ensures that a minority ethnic group safeguards its original native culture while participating in modernizing and innovating tendencies. (b) In so far as the ethnic language is closely associated with traditional religious observances, a bilingual education safeguards religious institutions and religious sentiments. (c) A bilingual who does not receive a bilingual education is likely to be at a greater disadvantage in both cultures than a monolingual is in either. A bilingual education is necessary in order to take full advantage of the two cultures. (d) A bilingual education promotes ethnic identity by making explicit and maintaining the differences between the groups. (e) A bilingual education helps to limit ethnocentrism and to promote tolerance between language groups."

30) Yoo, J. K.; "The Correlates of Cultural Assimilation of the Korean Immigrants in the United States", *Korea Observer*, vol. VI, no. 1, 1974, pp. 88-97.

31) Lewis, E. G.; *Bilingualism and Bilingual Education: A Comparative Study*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1980.

Table 17. If the Course "Korean Studies" Is Offered

	Total (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)	Length of Residence	
				Less than 5 years (%)	Over 5 years (%)
Will take	59.5	60.1	58.7	41.5	85.1
Will not take	32.8	32.4	34.1	50.3	8.6
No answer	7.7	7.5	7.2	8.7	6.3
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Johng (1979), pp. 454-455.

In implementing a bilingual program for Korean immigrants, it would be desirable for Korean to be included in a school curriculum. But this is just an opinion; Table 17 shows a high preference for Korean. Johng's survey³²⁾ indicates that over half of Korean-American students would take the Korean Studies course if offered. It is assumed that the ethnic identity as Korean-Americans is very significant.

Judging from the history of Korean immigrants, the first generation tends to withdraw from the new culture, while the second generation consciously succeeds in achieving a partial assimilation to the new culture. However, it was not long ago that the third generation tried to restore the lost identity. The trend of the language maintenance in the Korean community is recent. Unlike most European immigrants, Koreans are visible physically. Even the native-born Korean-Americans or the third generation whose mother tongue is English begin to realize that, in the long run, they cannot be completely assimilated into American society. This consciousness of racism makes them restore the Korean language as well as the lost identity. With this trend in mind, it would be desirable that the new generation be educated to be functioning members of the society of cultural pluralism with ethnic identity by establishing a balanced bilingual program.

Nonetheless, it is up to the future language planners to determine the direction of a bilingual education for any particular minority group: whether or not the bilingual education, "by temporarily slowing the advance of English in the H function, should simply make easier the transition to ultimate English mono-lingualism",³³⁾ as long, in my judgment, as there exists any minority group which is not to be completely assimilated into the dominant society for various reasons.

32) Johng, D. S. (1979); op. cit., pp. 454-455.

33) Gilbert, G. G.; "French and German: A Comparative Study", in Ferguson, C. A. and Heath, S. B., eds., *Language in the U.S.A.*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981, p. 265.

국 문 초 록

이중언어와 이중언어 교육
- 미국내의 한국이민자의 경우 -

邊 明 燮

이 연구는 미국내의 한국이민자의 이중언어 현상과 그 교육의 현황을 기술하고 있다. 이민의 성격 및 양상에 따라 달라지는 모국어의 유지 및 상실에 서로 변이 역할을 하는 가정, 종교, 매스미디어, 언어교육, 문화적 영역등을 살펴보면 이들 영역은 모국어 유지 및 회복에 긍정적 역할을 하는 것으로 나타나고 있다.

초기의 이민들은 모국어를 지키는 경향이 매우 강하고, 이민 2세대들은 2중언어 사이에서 동화(assimilation)와 정체성(ethnic identity)간 갈등을 보이고 있다. 그 반면, 이민 3세대들은 미국문화 및 사회에 쉽게 동화(acculturation, assimilation)하고 있으나, 한국 이민의 성장과, 인종학적, 민족문화적 금지등의 요인들에 의해 부모들의 문화와 언어에로의 회복 및 자각의 노력이 엿보인다.

높은 언어장벽을 겪고 있는 이중 언어자들의 문제해결에 이중언어교육이 효과적이다. 다른 이중언어교육에 비해 비교적 열세를 면치 못하고 있는 한국어·영어의 이중언어교육은 아직 그 초창기에 있으며, 이민사회의 관심으로 등장하였다. 이중언어교육의 방향은 민족적 성격에 따라 다를 수 있으며, 한국 이민사회의 경우, 민족문화 및 언어를 유지하며 동시에 이민국의 문화 및 언어를 배우는 균형있는 이중언어교육이 바람직하다.