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Academic Achievement of Second Generation Filipino and Korean Americans: A Look at Immigrant Families and Communities

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

Requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Sociology

by

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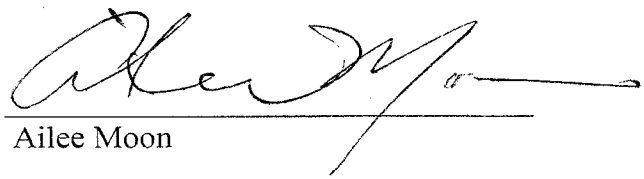

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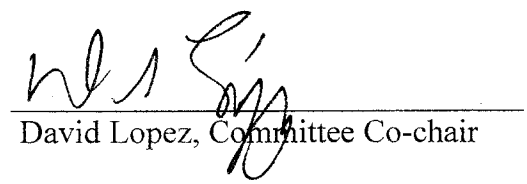

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To Mom and Dad for every sacrifice and all of your love

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter One
The New Second Generation 1

Chapter Two
Theoretical Framework and Methodology 13

Chapter Three
Filipino and Korean Immigrant Communities 39

Chapter Four
Peer Group, Family, and Culture 57

Chapter Five
Religious Participation among Korean and Filipino Second Generation 91

Chapter Six
Ethnic Media, Hagwon, and Language Schools 113

Chapter Seven
Conclusion and Policy Implications 140

Appendix A
Questionnaire 147

Appendix B
Letter to Gain Access 149

Appendix C
Recruitment Letter 150

Appendix D
Sample of a Research Consent Form 151

References 154

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Educational Attainment (% with college degree) by Place Race and Asian Ethnicity 25 years and older, U.S. Total, 2000 7

Table 2. Enrollment by Race, Ethnicity and Level Students at all ten campuses of University of California, Fall 2005 9

Table 3. Enrollment by Race, Ethnicity and Level University of California, Los Angeles and Berkeley. Fall 2005 10

Table 4. Asian American Population by Ethnicity: 1980, 1990, and 2000 Census 45

Table 5. Language Spoken at Home and English-Speaking Ability: 2000 (5 years old and over), in percentage 47

Table 6. Educational Attainment (% with college degree) of Foreign-born Asian Groups 25 years and older, U.S. Total, 2000 49

Table 7. Employed Civilian Population in California by Sector and Race/Ethnicity, 2000 52

Table 8. Median Family Income and Poverty Rate, 2000 53

Table 9. Average SAT scores, 2003 82

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Academic Achievement

of Second Generation Filipino and Korean Americans:

A Look at Immigrant Families and Communities

by

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This dissertation examines how ethnicity interacts with a complex array of cultural and structural factors to promote a positive academic experience and desirable outcomes among children of immigrant groups. The focal point of this study is to observe the roles of family and community and their effects on academic performance.

For the purpose of this study, I will focus on the experiences of two ethnic groups, Filipino and Korean immigrants, who are similar in demographic profile and family socio-economic status (SES) but very different in average children's educational outcomes. U.S.-born Filipino Americans do not seem to fare as well as their immigrant

parents and other U.S.-born East Asian Americans in educational accomplishments. This is puzzling when taking into account the high educational attainment levels and professional occupational status of their immigrant parents and all other measures associated with high levels of acculturation. In contrast, Korean children fare much better than their immigrant parents and their Asian American peers in education, even when they come from families with lower levels of acculturation and a loss of social status due to immigration.

By closely examining the families and the ethnic communities in which second generation Filipino and Korean students have been raised, this study unpacks ethnicity by focusing on culture and structure in academic achievement. This study suggests that cultural attributes may have an equally or perhaps more important role than family's socioeconomic status in the academic achievement of second generation youth. However, culture is not maintained in a vacuum but needs the support of ethnic social structures. This study finds that certain important ethnic social structures that support education are vibrant in the Korean community but mostly unavailable in the Filipino community. Korean youth benefit from an ethnic social capital that is conducive to academic learning and higher education while Filipino youth follow the average "American" norm in education. Therefore, this study suggests that complete "Americanization" is perhaps not the best avenue for academic success, but preservation of certain aspects of immigrant cultures and exposure to and participation in the ethnic organizations might prove to be beneficial to youth's academic performance.

CHAPTER 1

THE NEW SECOND GENERATION

Introduction

This dissertation examines how ethnicity interacts with a complex array of cultural and structural factors to promote a positive academic experience and desirable outcomes among children of immigrants. In the United States, education is especially important, not only because it is a major predictor of status hierarchy and income but also because schooling is one of the few means for upward mobility. This is especially true for children of immigrants since many of them come from families lacking access to social, economic, political, and other important connections to mainstream society. For adult first generation immigrants, success or failure is largely determined by their occupational achievement. For the children of immigrants, their future success is closely linked to educational achievement. How well these children perform in school and how much education they attain will determine their future occupational achievement and eventual position in the status hierarchy of American society.

This study addresses the issue of academic achievement of second generation immigrant adolescents by observing two ethnic communities and the families within. The focus is on the social structures within the families and communities that maintain and reinforce the ethnic cultures. I examine two groups, Filipino and Korean immigrants because of their similarities in pre-immigration socio-economic status. However, despite

their similar socio-economic backgrounds, children of Filipino immigrants trail behind in education children of Korean immigrants. In fact, U.S. born Filipinos lag behind almost all other U.S.-born Asian Americans in education except for the Vietnamese (U.S. Census, 2000). Furthermore, U.S. born Filipino Americans do not fare as well as their immigrant parents, "There is a troubling paradox in Filipino American educational attainment: Although immigrants come with relatively high levels of college education, their children and other American-born Filipinos generally are unable to replicate these same high levels" (Okamura, 1996: 68). A study done by the University of Hawaii (1996) shows that second and third generation Filipino Americans continue to be underrepresented in colleges and universities and are not achieving the same high educational status as their Philippine-educated counterparts (Okamura, 1991).

The relatively low educational attainment level of U.S.-born Filipinos is puzzling when taking into account the high educational attainment levels and professional occupational status of their immigrant parents and all other criteria associated with acculturation, such as English language spoken at home, parents' cultural exposure prior to immigration, and residence in middle-class communities instead of ethnic ghettos. Interestingly, Korean children have lesser means to achieve academically when only the conventional factors are taken into account such as acculturation patterns, occupational status and family income. The subject matter of ethnic group achievement is perplexing because the academic outcomes cannot be explained by the variables often studied by social scientists such as parents' socioeconomic status and other structural factors such as labor market conditions and neighborhood contexts. While previous studies have added

much insight on educational success among children of today's immigrants, they cannot fully account for why children of certain national-origin groups are doing better in school than others even under similar or less favorable socioeconomic and contextual circumstances.

By closely examining the family and ethnic community in which second generation Filipino and Korean students have been raised, this study unpacks ethnicity by focusing on effects of the interaction of culture and structure in academic performances. This study suggests that cultural attributes of a group play an important role in the academic achievement of second generation youth, equally or perhaps more important role than family's socioeconomic status. However, culture is not maintained in a vacuum but needs the support of ethnic social structures. Ethnic social structures that support education are vibrant in the Korean community but scarcely existent and often unavailable in the Filipino community. Korean adolescents benefit from an ethnic social capital that is conducive to academic learning and higher education while Filipino youth follow the average "American" norm in education. Accordingly, this study suggests that complete "Americanization" is perhaps not the best avenue for academic success, but a preservation of certain aspects of immigrant cultures and exposure to and participation in the ethnic organizations might prove to be beneficial to youth's academic performance.

Significance of the Study

Finding the causes for the education gap among second generation youth is the goal of my research. This study shows that socioeconomic status of first generation

Filipino and Korean parents are inaccurate indicators of second generation's educational success. Since socioeconomic status fails to explain the educational gap, one might be tempted to search for cultural explanations. Does Korean culture place more emphasis on education than Filipino culture? Secondary sources affirm that the desire for education has been a pervasive goal among Filipinos. "There is no question concerning the Filipino value placed on education, particularly higher education, which parents view as the best legacy they can bestow on their children for the latter's future socioeconomic security" (Okamura and Agbayani, 1997). According to Posadas (1999), education has been the single most compelling reason for migration to the United States since the end of World War II. In this respect, contemporary Filipino immigrants are no different from Korean immigrants, many of whom would also state that children's education was the primary reason for their decision to immigrate to the United States.

Since both Filipino and Korean cultures value education highly, the educational gap is even more puzzling. Therefore, this research project searched elsewhere for answers. First, I researched the context of exit for Filipino and Korean immigrants focusing on the educational system in Korea and Philippines. It is important to understand the educational structure and culture the first generation immigrants were exposed to and have experienced prior to their arrival in the United States. However, even if the country of origin upholds a traditional culture that emphasizes education, it does not guarantee a passing of that culture to the U.S.-born or -raised children. Thus, I focused my research on studying the Filipino and Korean ethnic communities and families in Southern California so see how cultural values can be transmitted to the

second generation. I interviewed immigrant parents, second generation high school students, church leaders, and teachers. I observed students at a high school and several after-school academic institutions. Finally, I became a regular participant observer at religious organizations, both Catholic and Protestant, to see to what degree Filipino and Korean high school students were religious and involved in religious organizations. By illuminating the social capital and structural forces that are available in the two ethnic communities, both secular and religious, this research is able to provide some concrete answers on the academic achievement of the new second generation.

In the following section, I introduce the two second generation adolescent groups – Filipino and Korean Americans. This will be followed by a literature review, theoretical questions and framework for analysis, methodologies, and an outline of the chapters.

Second Generation Filipino Americans and Korean Americans

Academic research has shown that a relatively large proportion of Korean youths are doing exceptionally well in school (Kim, 1997). There are many studies that indicate their academic success. Korean students make up more than 15 percent of the students accepted to the top three highly competitive specialized high schools in New York City although Koreans constitute less than 1 percent of the population in New York City (Min, 1995). Using the National Educational Longitudinal Study 88, Kim (1997) found that 33 percent of Korean high school seniors scored in the top quartile for the reading

standardized scores (quartile of all U.S. high school seniors) and 49 percent scored in the top quartile for the mathematics standardized scores.

In Portes and Rumbaut's (2001) latest study Chinese, and Korean ninth grade students (grouped together) stand out as the super-achievers when measured by high school grade point averages and standardized test scores. After controlling for other factors, Portes and Rumbaut found that many significant national origin effects remain which means that students of Chinese, Korean, and Vietnamese ethnicities benefited academically because somehow there is a positive ethnicity effect on education. However, Portes and Rumbaut did not provide concrete explanations to explain the national origins ethnicity effect on academic outcomes.

On the other hand, not all Asian national origin groups had a positive ethnicity effect in Portes and Rumbaut's (2001) study. Filipino students trail behind the Chinese and Korean students by at least 10 points in both math and verbal scores, and fall behind in their grade point average by approximately 0.4 points. They found no net Filipino ethnicity effect on senior high school grades after controlling for individual and family predictors. The Filipino ethnicity effect on changes in grades during high school is actually negative. Espiritu and Wolf's (2001) study of Filipinos in San Diego has also shown that Filipino American students are less academically successful compared to other national origin Asian American students even though their parents are highly educated, socio-economically successful, and acculturated. American born Filipino Americans are behind other Asian groups, but they do a little better in education than white Americans (Agbayani-Siewert and Revilla, 1995).

Table 1. Educational Attainment (% with college degree) by Place Race and Asian Ethnicity 25 years and older, U.S. Total, 2000

	U.S. Born	Foreign-born
Total Population	31.0%	
White	33.0%	
All Asians	54.1%	
African American	19.0%	
Hispanic or Latino	19.6%	11.5%
Filipino	**44.2%**	**53.2%**
Korean	**61.8%**	**48.9%**
Chinese	68.7%	50.2%
Japanese	49.4%	54.4%
Asian Indian	65.8%	68.1%
Taiwanese	86.0%	73.9%
Vietnamese	28.8%	27.1%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000 Advanced Query Sample Data File
Census Information Center in partnership with the Center for Koran American and Korean Studies
California State University, Los Angeles

The 2000 Census on educational attainment by ethnicity shows that American born Filipinos lag behind all other Asian American ethnic groups except for Vietnamese. However, the lower educational attainment by the Vietnamese can partially be explained by the low educational attainment of the first generation Vietnamese. Although the percentage of Filipino Americans obtaining a college degree is slightly higher than whites, it is significantly lower than most other Asian groups in rate of college enrollment. Between American born Filipino and Korean Americans, there is a 17.6 percentage point difference. In addition to having low college enrollment rates, once in college Filipino students tend to drop out at a high rate (UCLA Office of Budget, Institutional Planning and Analysis)

Okamura and Agbayani (1997) also note that second generation Filipino Americans are not achieving the same high educational status as their Philippine educated parents. Intergenerational differences in educational attainment can also be drawn from Table 1. The percentage of foreign born Korean immigrants with college degrees is 48.9 percent (Census 2000). The figure for American born Koreans is higher at 61.8 percent. This means that children of Korean immigrants are doing better than their parents. The trend is similar for American born Chinese, Taiwanese, and Vietnamese students. On the other hand, the scenario is opposite for Filipinos. 53.2 percent of foreign-born Filipinos have completed 4 years of college. Among the American born Filipinos, the figure is only 44.2 percent. The children of Filipino immigrants are not achieving at the rate predicted by their parents' educational level.

Another measure of educational achievement that I would like to bring to attention is enrollment at University of California campuses. In theory, the University of California system is reserved for approximately the top 10 percent of the state's high school graduates. The number of Filipino undergraduates at all UC campuses in 2005 is 7,493 which are only slightly less than the 7,927 Korean undergraduates. Although the Filipino figure is only 5 percent less than Korean's, one must take into account the population of Filipinos and Koreans in California. According to the 2000 Census, there are 918,678 Filipinos and 345,882 Koreans in California. In other words, the Korean population in California is only about one-third of Filipino population, making the Filipino – Korean population ratio 2.65 to 1. Since the total University of California enrollment number is similar for the two groups, it means that Korean high school

students are 2.65 times more likely to be enrolled at the University of California system than Filipino high school students upon graduation.

Table 2. Enrollment by Race, Ethnicity and Level
Students at all ten campuses of University of California, fall 2005

	Undergraduates	**Graduates**
White	55,499	21,875
African American	4,780	1,303
Chicano/Latino	22,221	3,297
Chinese	23,410	3,948
East Indian/Pakistani	7,739	3,641
Filipino	**7,493**	**721**
Korean	**7,927**	**1,023**
Japanese	3,187	621

Source: Information Resources and Communications, UC website www.ucop.edu/ucophome/uwnews/stat/

Table 3 focuses on enrollment numbers at two most competitive and highly selective University of California campuses, UCLA and UC Berkeley. I believe UCLA and UC Berkeley enrollment is a good indicator of the academic performance of Filipino and Korean high school youth in California because only the top high school graduates are accepted to these two universities. The declining trend in Filipino American enrollment at UCLA and UC Berkeley has been occurring during a period of unprecedented gains in East Asian American representation in the University of California system and in higher education in general (Okamura and Agbayani, 1997).

At UCLA and UC Berkeley campuses, the gap between Korean and Filipino student enrollment is even more evident. Despite the 2.6 to 1 population ratio among Filipinos and Koreans in California, Filipino undergraduates at UCLA are only 64

percent of Koreans and 69 percent of Koreans at UC Berkeley. The gap widens at the graduate level. Filipino graduate students are only 62 percent of Koreans at UCLA and only 45 percent at UC Berkeley. These figures clearly demonstrate the successful academic achievement of Korean students and the less successful academic achievement of Filipinos.

Table 3. Enrollment by Race, Ethnicity and Level
University of California, Los Angeles and Berkeley, Fall 2005

	UCLA Ug	Berkeley Ug	UCLA Gr	Berkeley Gr
White	8,330	7,286	5,133	4,569
African American	799	829	491	324
Chicano/Latino	3,788	2,484	1,037	608
Chinese	3,852	4,802	1,089	767
East Indian/Pakistani	1,442	1,228	1,287	709
Filipino	**962**	**869**	**216**	**93**
Korean	**1,515**	**1,268**	**346**	**206**
Japanese	500	429	154	123

Source: Information Resources and Communications, UC website www.ucop.edu/ucophome/uwnews/stat/

Outline of Chapters

In this chapter I have set up the objective of this research by raising the research questions to be answered by this study. This chapter presented a current state of Filipino and Korean second generation in terms of their academic performance records and enrollment information.

Chapter Two provides a review of existing research and theories on the second generation. This chapter also lays out the theoretical argument and the framework for the analysis. Finally, it includes methodologies used for this research. The research method

has been a combination of participant observation, questionnaires, and in-depth interviews.

Chapter Three focuses on the contexts of exit and reception of first generation Filipino and Korean immigrants. I also describe the processes and impacts of immigration on the two ethnic communities. Finally, the chapter provides demographic profiles of Filipino and Korean immigrants including their population, educational attainment, English language proficiency, employment sectors, and income and poverty rate.

Chapter Four is about culture, family, and peer groups. This chapter puts segmented assimilation theory to the test. I show that the segmented assimilation theory is indeed an accurate description of the second generation Koreans, but not an accurate portrayal of Filipinos. I illustrate how culture can be transmitted from the immigrant generation to the second generation as well as from peer groups.

Chapter Five focuses on religious organizations. It portrays the immigrant church as the center of the Korean community. Surprisingly, it also illustrates an equally significant role of the church in the lives of second generation Korean adolescents. For comparison purposes, this chapter also provides descriptions of second generation Filipino youth involved in a Filipino Catholic church and a small Filipino Protestant church.

Chapter Six is about the ethnic media and ethnic institutions, particularly after-school academic institutions and language schools. Due to the lack of ethnic institutions in the Filipino community, this chapter is devoted to highlighting the availability of

ethnic resources in the business dominated Korean community. The chapter directs attention to social capital that provides important academic resources for second generation Korean youth.

Chapter seven concludes the dissertation with the final arguments, policy implications, and suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

Existing research on immigrant children's school experiences has focused on parents' socioeconomic status and other structural factors such as labor market conditions, and neighborhood and school contexts. Many scholars have attempted to answer the question of variability in educational success among children of today's immigrants (Gibson, 1988; Barringer, Takeuchi, and Xenos, 1990; Kao and Tienda, 1995; Zhou, 1997; Zhou and Bankston, 1998; Park, 2001; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). While previous studies have added much insight, they cannot fully account for why children of certain national-origin groups are doing better in school than others even under similar socioeconomic and contextual circumstances.

Indeed children of certain immigrant groups do better than others facing similar obstacles and many even surpass whites in educational achievement (Gibson, 1988). What allows this to happen? Previous studies have found strong and persistent ethnic advantages as well as disadvantages associated to specific national origins (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001), but what has not been explained sufficiently is how ethnicity as a variable has a positive effect on educational outcomes for children of some national origin groups but insignificant or even a negative effect for other groups.

Theories of Immigrant Adaptation

Immigrant adaptation has traditionally centered on the theme of assimilation, especially straight-line assimilation. For classical assimilation theorists, the factors that determine assimilation are time since migration, English proficiency, human capital, and non-ethnic enclave residence. The key to this theory is that assimilation is a necessary step to becoming "successful" in America. This theory assumes that acculturation is the initial and necessary step in the process of assimilation and predicts that ethnic and racial minorities will in time blend in with the native population and become indistinguishable. The assimilation model assumes a natural process by which ethnic minorities come to share a common culture and gain access to higher education and other opportunities of the new society (Park, 1998). Over time, it is assumed that immigrants regardless of their color, religion, or nationality will voluntarily or involuntarily lose their ethnic and cultural distinctiveness, gain access to higher economic structures, and become an unhyphenated American.

Gordon (1964) points out that Anglo-conformity or acculturation does not always lead to structural assimilation, especially for the non-white populations. He argues that American society is a structurally pluralistic one where primary group level interactions among different racial or ethnic group members are substantially limited. Thus, large scale entrance into cliques, clubs, and institutions of the host society on the primary level is hindered and delayed to form structural segregation to some extent. While Gordon stresses involuntary segregation or exclusion of ethnic and racial minority groups due to their subordinate position in the American power system, he does not take into account

voluntary segregation by the minority groups as each group continues to maintain its own organizations and institutions. Voluntary segregation can take place by the minority group members due to their affection for and desire to preserve the ethnic subculture. Rosenthal (1960) shows how anti-Semitism and Jews' religious distinctiveness have helped to sustain the value of group cohesion, which eventually leads to voluntary segregation. Newman (1973) also uses the idea of voluntary segregation to explain the situations of some economically successful minorities such as Jew or Asians. Because these groups want to preserve their own distinct set of cultural or religious values and lifestyles, voluntary segregation becomes an alternative or preferred path to eventual assimilation.

Hurh and Kim (1984) propose the "adhesive mode of adaptation," which refers to a pattern that Americanization of immigrants does not replace or weaken any significant aspect of immigrant traditional culture and social networks. They argue that this variant of pluralism is a result of interaction between discriminatory mechanism inherent in the American social structure and the desire to preserve ethnic cohesiveness. Children of immigrants, as they grow and attend American schools, become increasingly exposed to the values and standards of the larger host culture. At the same time, their immigrant parents and ethnic community will teach them the ethnic subculture and emphasize their separateness.

Another approach to studying the adaptation process is Portes and his colleagues' segmented assimilation. Portes and Zhou (1993) formulate a theory of segmented assimilation that focuses on why different patterns of adaptation emerge among

contemporary immigrants and on how these patterns lead to the destinies of convergence or divergence. There are three possible multidirectional patterns of adaptation for children of contemporary immigrants: "One of them replicates the time-honored portrayal of growing acculturation and parallel integration into the white middle-class; a second leads straight into the opposite direction to permanent poverty and assimilation into the underclass; still a third associates rapid economic advancement with deliberate preservation of the immigrant community's values and tight solidarity" (Portes and Zhou, 1993: 82). The authors argue that third pattern which they call selective acculturation is the best path for academic achievement and social mobility because it forges an intergenerational alliance for successful adaptation.

Class Theories on Educational Achievement

Blau and Duncan's (1967) classic study on education provided a model for the occupational attainment process of the American adult population. Their study shows that socioeconomic status of the family, particularly father's education, father's occupation, and family incomes are the most important determinants of educational level of the individual and the prestige level of his first job. Also using the Wisconsin sample, Sewell and Shah (1968) argue that socioeconomic class background is the most important variable for individual's educational aspirations. Their study shows that higher level of socioeconomic status results in higher level of educational aspirations which in turn affects educational outcomes even after sex, intelligence, and parental encouragement are controlled. Sewell, Haller, and Portes (1969) add a social psychological factor to the

above model, specifically the significant other's influence (SOI) that mediates the influence of parent's educational and occupational characteristics. Their data suggests that SOI has direct effects on individual's educational and occupational aspiration, as well as educational (i.e. college) attainment. In other words, it shows that parental encouragement is a powerful intervening variable between socioeconomic class background and intelligence of the child and his/her educational aspirations. Davies and Kandel (1981) strengthen the argument made by Blau and Duncan (1967). Their study shows that parents are stronger influences than best friends in determining the educational aspirations of adolescents and that this influence does not decline over the adolescent years.

While parental aspiration is often used in the model to study educational attainment of children, it is often not a reliable predictor in immigrant families because immigrant parents want the best education for their children. For example, Korean parents' educational aspirations for their children have a very weak link on children's academic achievement because the aspirations are unanimously high (Park, 1998). Park's (1998) study of over 200 Korean American high school students in Los Angeles County shows that 94 percent of the parents wanted their children to be the best or above the middle of their class. 96 percent of the parents wanted their children to have a four-year college education or more.

Not surprisingly, studies on socioeconomic class effect on education for children of Asian immigrants also show a positive relationship between academic achievement patterns of 1.5 and second generation with first generation immigrants' high levels of

education. However, socio-economic variable is not as strong of a predictor for school achievement among immigrant children as Blau and Duncan's study might predict (Portes and Wilson, 1976). Wong's (1990) sample of foreign-born Asians (Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino), shows that socioeconomic status, although significant, had a lesser impact on the educational attainments of 1.5 and 2nd generation than other variables such as father's expectations for children's education.

Although the strength of the relationship between class standing and academic achievement is questionable, classical and recent studies on immigrant children's education force us to accept the importance of socioeconomic status on children's education. However, after controlling for socioeconomic status of the parents, we still see effects of ethnicity (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). Thus, studies relying solely on parental socioeconomic status cannot explain why socioeconomic advantages among Filipino immigrants do not translate to their children's academic success while a more moderate socio-economic advantage among Korean immigrants does seem to have a positive effect on children's education. Thus, we must look beyond parental socioeconomic status to study immigrant children's education.

Cultural Theories on Educational Achievement

What is it in ethnicity that causes educational outcome? Cultural theorists would argue that Asian Americans' Confucian values, particularly those that promote upward mobility in the U.S., values that emphasize hard work, family cohesion, patience, and thrift, result in academic success. Both conservative and liberal social scientists have

examined the role of ethnicity and culture to explain educational, occupational, and economic outcomes of minorities. The key measures of culture in the cultural theories of educational achievement have been parental control, authority structure, and family cohesion/collectivism. Sowell (1994) offers a conservative perspective by arguing that below average group outcomes are result of cultural factors that have an existence largely independent of and more important than social or economic circumstances. In *Race and Culture*, Sowell (1994) states that group differences in tests of IQ and scholastic achievement represent real differences in cultural attainment. The cultural deprivation theory (Coleman et al., 1966; Glazer and Moynihan, 1963) attributes low achievement of black, Hispanic, and American Indian children to "deficient" home or linguistic and other skills necessary for school success because their parents do not possess these skills to a sufficient degree to teach them to their children. The assumption in these arguments is that certain minority cultures are lacking the necessary criteria to pull them ahead.

On the other hand, cultural advantage theory which is the opposite of cultural deprivation theory attributes high academic achievement of Asian Americans to their culture (Vernon, 1982). This theory emphasizes the positive aspects of ethnicity and culture and highlight how culture can pull up minorities. Most commonly cited are "a traditional family system oriented toward collectivity, an acceptance of authority structure, firm parental control, a motivation for educational achievement and the need for hard work to gain success and to honor the family" (Lee, 1991).

Finally, there is the compatibility theory that argues that culture of an ethnic minority can be compatible or similar to the culture of the host society. Fukuyama

(1993) argues that some aspects of immigrant culture may "fit" the requirements of new life in the host country. Asian Americans are said to have access to cultural resources, which they adapt from their homelands and find conductive to high levels of educational aspirations and attainment. Taking the argument one step further, Fukuyama (1993) states that immigrant culture may even be a prerequisite for success in terms of social mobility in America. Fukuyama's theory has often been used to explain the academic success of Japanese Americans whose culture is said to be compatible with that of American middle-class culture (De Vos and Caudill, 1973).

The cultural "fit" that is often used to explain the academic success of Asian Americans is the Confucian ethic. Some social scientists have also attributed the educational success of Asian Americans to Confucian values, particularly those that promote upward mobility in this country, values that emphasize hard work, family cohesion, patience, and thrift (Sue and Kitano, 1973). They argue that Asian Americans have cultural precepts that originate from Confucianism and that these cultural precepts are compatible with the achievement orientation of white middle-class culture. Cheng and Yang (1996) argue that it is because of Confucian ideology that Asian Americans push their children to study hard. It has been well-documented that Asian American parents have higher educational expectations than whites for their children (Goyette and Xie, 1999: 33), and their aspirations for their children's academic success has been supported by ethnic institutions (Zhou ,1997; Zhou and Bankston, 1998). Asian American children are more likely to equate good grades with parental satisfaction and to agree with parental expectations (Schneider and Lee, 1990; Hao and Bonstead-Bruns,

1998). Thus, they argue that Asian culture can be utilized as a distinct form of capital including characteristics as parental expectations and obligations, information channels, and social norms that contributes to adaptation and social mobility (Glazer & Moynihan, 1970; Zhou, 1997).

Both groups, Filipinos in the Philippines and Koreans in Korea, strongly believe that education is the key to success in the world (Almirol, 1988; Seth, 2002). High respect for education as well as seeing education as the means for upward mobility are shared ideologies in Filipino and Korean societies. The critique of cultural explanation is the difficulty of transmitting the immigrant culture when children are embedded in American culture. Thus, even if immigrants come from traditional cultures that emphasize education, it does not necessarily mean that children will carry on that culture. Put in another way, we need to focus on how it is possible for the immigrants to pass their traditional cultural values onto their U.S. born or U.S. raised children when children "acculturate" faster than the parents. This is expected because children are seemingly more attracted to "American" culture and influenced by American peer groups. Portes and Rumbaut (2001) call this process *dissonant acculturation.* The expected outcomes of dissonant acculturation are loss of parental authority and of parental language, and role reversal, resulting in intergenerational conflict in the immigrant families.

Kitano (1980) observes that second-generation Filipinos have minimal or no ties with the Philippines generally do not speak their parents' dialects and tend to acculturate rapidly into American life. Kitano hypothesizes that this lessening of cultural ties by the children of Filipino immigrants may include a lessening of high value placed on

education held by their parents. If the answer lies in lack of cultural ties, then what is causing it to weaken more so among Filipinos compare to other Asian Americans? At the same time, do Korean immigrant children tend to adopt a more traditional, ethnic/family values that places a heavy emphasis on education? If so, the key question is why a similar cultural value on education become strengthened for children of one immigrant group and become weakened for another?

Social Capital Theories on Educational Achievement

Social capital theories are needed to fill the void because the ethnicity black box still needs to be unpacked. The definition of social capital is the ability to secure resources by virtue of membership in social networks or larger social structures is a widely accepted definition of the term today. In sociology, social capital became defined as: (1) a source of social control; (2) a source of family-mediated benefits; and (3) a source of resources mediated by non-family networks (Portes and Landolt, 2000).

In *Foundations of Social Theory* (1990), Coleman states that community ties were important for the benefits that they yielded to individuals in the form of reliable expectations. The source of social capital is closely associated with the emphasis placed by Coleman on community structures as a mechanism of social control. In other words, social capital exists where there are cohesive and closed networks among a set of individuals, promoting advantageous behavior such as normative control of their children. For example, cohesive communities or networks facilitate the role of parenting because

adults reinforce each other's normative control of their children. The "closure" of such communities represents a form of social capital because it helps parents instill work discipline and achievement values in their children.

Recent studies in the sociology of education have also emphasized the significance of family and community networks and the role of social capital in the school adaptation of children. Social capital theories emphasize relationships. However, given the fact that immigrants' social relations with families and friends are disrupted by the process of migration, the ethnic community and various ethnic institutions are crucial sites for immigrants to reconnect and rebuild their social relations (Zhou and Bankston, 1998). Zhou and Bankston (1998) note that social capital has a powerful effect on the academic success of students within immigrant communities. This is because communities provide a context in which social capital is formed. The close-knit, social relations within ethnic communities can provide constructive "patterns of social relations involving shared obligations, social support, and social controls" (Zhou and Bankston, 1998: 12). Therefore, the social capital that exists within ethnic social relations in a community can have a significant effect on shaping aspirations and educational values among ethnic immigrant children.

Zhou and Bankston (1998) show how social capital, namely ethnic social relations embedded in ethnic institutions, helps to compensate for the lack of human capital, economic resources, and other connections to mainstream American society. Zhou (1997) argues that immigrant social settings, such as participation in ethnic religious institutions, can generate social capital when immigrants participate in institutions or

organizations that promote advantageous outcomes. Under certain conditions, social capital becomes more important than traditional human capital for the successful adaptation of younger generation immigrants. Zhou and Bankston (1998) conclude that academic success among younger generation of Vietnamese can be attributed to several factors: a traditional value orientation of dedication to the expectations of others, parental aspirations for children's upward mobility, and an ethnic system of social relations to enforce the expectations and aspirations.

Stanton-Salazar and Dornbusch (1995) also highlight the importance of social capital. They state that "an individual is potentially able to derive institutional support, particularly support that includes the delivery of knowledge-based resources, for example, guidance for college admissions or job placement" (p.119). Having ties to the ethnic institutions may provide the necessary social capital that may be conducive to education. Therefore, it may be the case that Korean youth have more access to social capital for academic performance and college guidance than Filipino students because their ethnic environment has more resources. However, the literature on this topic tends to emphasize only the positive consequences of social capital and exclude less desirable consequences of social capital such as possible downward leveling of norms (Portes and Landolt, 2000). Such may be the case for Filipino youth.

Theoretical Framework

The theories that have been used to study the educational achievement of children of immigrants can be summed up in the following way.

Adaptation Theories

- Classical Assimilation (English proficiency, socioeconomic characteristics, time since migration, non-ethnic enclave residence) → Academic Achievement
- Adhesive Mode of Adaptation (voluntary vs. involuntary segregation) → Academic Achievement
- Selective Acculturation (immigrant language, immigrant community values, economic advancement) → Academic Achievement

Class Theory

- Socioeconomic Class (parental education, parental occupation, parental income) → Academic Achievement

Cultural Theory

- Traditional Cultural Values (parental control, authority structure, family cohesion and collectivism, belief in education as key) → Academic Achievement

Social Capital Theory

- Social Capital (networks, ethnic family/community resources) → Academic Achievement

As evident from the literature review, family socio-economic status is one of the most powerful predictors of educational attainment. The children of Filipino immigrants, however, achieve at a lower rate academically than children of Korean immigrants when

parental educational attainment, family income, and occupational prestige of Filipino immigrants are higher than that of Korean immigrants. Thus, we must look elsewhere for answers.

If the key to explaining inter-group differences in children's education lies in the ethnic community, then I argue that the gap is partly due to the strength of the ethnic community. Participation in the ethnic institutions enables the immigrant family to socialize their children in the direction desired by the immigrant parents. In this sense, the availability or lack of availability of ethnic-social-resources conductive to social mobility is the key to explain inter-group differences in educational outcomes. Lee's (1999) research on Korean American high school students in California shows that those who adapted to the mainstream culture while preserving their heritage had a superior grade point average than those who were mostly interested in mainstream culture. If so, how and why do Korean immigrant children tend to adopt a more traditional family/ethnic values that place a heavy emphasis on education? A related question is why a similar traditional cultural value on education become strengthened for children of one immigrant group and become weaken for another?

In order to answer these questions, we need to conceptualize a model that takes into account the interaction effects of ethnicity with key independent variables controlling for parental socioeconomic status, timing of migration, and residential patterns and see how it affects children's academic performance. Parental socioeconomic status is controlled because I am interviewing middle-class Filipino and Korean Americans. Timing of migration is controlled because the students for the sample will be

either U.S. born or U.S. raised children of first generation immigrants. Finally, residential patterns are controlled because I have chosen two communities for the project, Carson and Torrance, neither which are inner-city ethnic enclaves but well integrated suburban communities. Thus, controlling for independent variables that have consistent effects on educational achievement, I have chosen to observe the following interaction affects of ethnicity.

1. Ethnicity with family dynamics
    - language spoken at home
    - parental control
    - authority structure
    - family cohesion and collectivism

When ethnicity interacts with family dynamics, it affects educational outcomes.

Q. How does the language spoken at home affect family dynamics?

All the Korean students and Filipino students in the study spoke fluent English. All of the Filipino students said they were monolingual except for one student who was bilingual in Tagalog and English. There were more bilingual students among Koreans. Most of them had an ability to understand and speak limited Korean. The big difference is what parent spoke at home. All of the Filipino students and parents stated that parents spoke English to their children. Almost all of the Korean students and parents stated that they spoke Korean to their children. Some Korean parents spoke "Konglish," a mix of Korean and English to their children. The difference can be explained by the simple fact that Filipino parents are fluent in speaking English and Korean parents speak limited English.

Q. How is parental control practiced in Filipino and Korean families?

Filipino students expressed that their parents are not very strict. Filipino parents did not dictate how their teenage children should be spending their free time. Most Filipino students were allowed to socialize with their friends on weekends as well as school days. As for academics, Filipino parents wanted their children to do well in school, but students did not feel pressured from their parents to become either straight 'A' students or over-achievers. Many Filipino students used the expression "cool" to describe their parents. Korean parents were more authoritarian than Filipino parents. The majority of the parents showed genuine interest in their children's academic performance while some working-class parents did not go beyond nagging their children to study constantly. Through their social networks, Korean parents would research which afterschool programs and SAT schools are reputable or had the highest success rate and enroll their children even at a high financial cost.

2. Ethnicity with social network
   - peer groups
   - parental social network

Peer groups and parental social networks within the ethnic group affect educational outcomes.

Q. How do peer groups vary between Filipinos and Koreans and how do these peer networks affect educational outcomes?

There is a big peer group difference between Filipino and Korean students. Only few Filipino students had friendship circles with only Asian students. Most of the Filipino students had friends with various backgrounds. Some Filipino students stated

that their friendship circle is mostly Latino and African American because of common interests, especially music and dance. They stated that they "identified culturally" with Latinos and African Americans rather than Asian American students. Few Filipino students stated that they feel excluded by other Asian American students who feel that Filipinos are "not really Asian." In turn, these Filipino students did not identify themselves as Asian Americans at all but responded that Filipinos are "a separate group."

Q. How does parental social network vary between Filipinos and Koreans and how do these networks affect educational outcomes?

Koreans have a very tight social network with other Koreans whether it is a family network or one that is comprised of church members. Korean parents use their network to seek out the best private tutors, piano teachers, SAT schools, and other afterschool and summer programs. Thus, it is not surprising that Korean students end up taking classes with other Korean students because the arrangement had been made by their moms. The Filipino parents I interviewed also have close family networks. However, they also have friendships with their mainstream work colleagues. The Protestant Filipinos that I interviewed seemed to have a much closer relationship than the Catholic Filipinos. The primary reason for this would be that Protestant Filipinos had their own Filipino church while Catholic Filipinos do not have a church solely for Filipinos.

3. Ethnicity with ethnic community
    - religious organizations
    - business organizations
    - social service organizations

I argue that the way community is organized would affect the nature of ethnicity which would then affect educational outcomes.

Q. How is the ethnic community organized for Filipinos and Koreans?

For Filipino immigrants, near acculturation into the mainstream American culture seems to be an accurate description of their adaptation process. Post 1965 Filipino immigrants are characterized by high educational and professional backgrounds and a good command of the English language. Filipino immigrants' prior familiarity with American culture and their ability to speak English make it easier for them to adapt to the American way of life. The professional backgrounds seem to discourage the establishment of ethnic neighborhoods and many Filipinos prefer to live near their places of employment and not in any identifiable ethnic enclave (Kim, 1978). On the other hand, Korean immigrants maintain a high connection to their ethnic identity compared to other Asian immigrant groups. According to Min (1995), cultural homogeneity, high affiliation with Korean immigrant churches, and concentration in small businesses contribute to Korean immigrants' strong ethnic attachment.

The business-oriented and church-centered Korean community is very different from the loosely organized Filipino community. Because over 70 percent of Koreans attend Protestant Korean churches, churches play a huge role in the lives of Korean immigrants. In addition, there is a large Koreatown in Los Angeles that is vibrant with ethnic businesses. Even in ethnoburbs such as Torrance, businesses that cater to co-ethnics, particularly for children's education, are numerous. As for Filipinos, church attendance is non-regular for many families although most claim to be Catholics. In

addition, because Filipinos are not entrepreneurs for the most part, there is not a presence of a Filipino town.

Q. What are the relationships of being embedded in an ethnic community to academic success and how does this relationship differ between the two groups?

Hurh and Kim (1984) argue that immigrant children become increasingly exposed to the values and standards of the larger host culture as they attend American schools. In order to prevent complete "Americanization" of their children, immigrant parents try to teach their children the ethnic sub-culture. However, immigrant parents will not be successful without the support from the ethnic community. Ethnic institutions strengthen cultural ties and maintain immigrant parents' high value placed on education. The Korean community with businesses that cater to children's academic needs instill work discipline and achievement values in their children. Thus, the social capital that is available in the Korean community gives children an academic advantage. Because ethnic institutions are largely unavailable to Filipinos, second generation Filipino Americans do not have an ethnic academic advantage.

Q. How do religious and ethnic organizations allow parents to pass on their traditional culture to their children?

Korean immigrant churches reinforce Korean values to the second generation. The teachings at a Korean church are not only religious but cultural as well. All the large Korean churches have a Korean language school operating in the church facility. The purpose of the language school is not only to become proficient in reading and writing of the Korean language but also to instill ethnic pride and culture to the youngsters.

Furthermore, Korean church and language school serves as a place for Korean youth to bond with other Koreans and form meaningful friendships.

Although the majority of Filipinos are Catholics, the Catholic churches they attend are not mono-ethnic. Although there are churches with a dominant Filipino congregation, a "Filipino Catholic church" does not exist. The Catholic Church observed in this study had Filipinos, Latinos, Samoans, and whites in the congregation. Because of its multi-ethnic nature, it is not feasible for a Catholic church to teach any one particular culture. Besides, Catholic churches focus on fulfilling religious and spiritual needs, not cultural needs.

Methodology

Project Sites

This project will be carried out in two communities in Los Angeles County, Carson and Torrance. Carson and Torrance are adjacent cities in the South Bay area with mainly middle-class residents. The city of Carson has a total population of 89,730, and Filipino residents make up 16,905 or 18.8 percent (Census 2000). The Korean population in Carson is very small at 577. Torrance is a city that made the top ten list for being one of the U.S. cities with the largest Korean population. Out of 137,946 total residents in Torrance, 9,671 or 7 percent is Korean. There is also a sizable Filipino population in Torrance with 3,294 or 2.4 percent (Census 2000). There are four high schools in Torrance, and the Asian American student population ranges from 37 to 43 percent in each of the schools (School Accountability Report Card). Although the ethnic

breakdown is not available to accurately account for the Korean student population in each of the four high schools, I estimate that they are approximately 7 to 10 percent.

The median household income for Carson residents is $52,284 and for Torrance residents the figure is $47,217 (Census, 2000). Although income is higher for Carson residents than Torrance residents, median home value is higher in Torrance than in Carson, $320,700 compared to $183,200. When driving around the two cities, one can clearly see the nicer homes in Torrance than in Carson. However, the high real estate cost in Torrance results in large proportion of renters. Approximately 56 percent of Torrance residents own their homes while 44 percent are renters. The situation is much better in Carson with 78 percent of the residents owning the home that they live in. The chosen high school site for this project is North High School in Torrance.

School Site

Founded in 1955, North High School is one of the four high schools in Torrance school district. North High has a racially diverse student body. Of the 2200 students enrolled, 31% is white, 7% African-American, 21% Latino, 35% Asian, and 3% Filipino. North High was a reasonable choice of school to study for my research because of its location in Torrance which is also the site for two of the three churches. The other reason for choosing to do the study at North High was because my sister works as a history teacher at North High. Although I had a help of an insider, gaining access to the campus and permission to interview the students on site was not an easy process. First, I had to write a letter explaining the procedure to the North High's principal. After the principal

approved the research, she presented my case at the District School Board Meeting. Finally, I heard the news that I can visit the campus regularly and interview students in either my sister's classroom or the library during the lunch hour or after school.

Students in their junior and senior year were recruited by my sister and two other teachers. Because the students were minors, a permission slip to participate in the research was sent home and students brought back the signed parent consent forms. The compensation for participating in the research was extra credit points for my sister's class and a $5 gift card for Blockbusters Video store. Twenty interviews were scheduled, ten Korean students and ten Filipino students. With an exception of one student, everyone showed up. Three additional students were later recruited through referrals from students who had already participated in the research. If I break down the gender of the students, there were six Filipino males, five Filipino females, six Korean males, and five Korean females. If I break down by class standing, there were fourteen juniors and eight seniors.

The interview started with the description of my research and an explanation of why they qualified to be a participant in the study. In front of me, I had a sheet of paper with twenty questions to ask. However, the interview was not limited to only the twenty questions because many of the questions were open ended. The students were given a chance to tell me about their high school experiences, their family and peers, their social and academic activities outside of school, and their religious participation. Toward the end of the interview, I administered a one page survey that they filled out. The survey included questions about their family's socioeconomic status, academic performance

including grades, AP classes, and SAT scores, and extra-curricular activities both secular and religious. The survey was anonymous and after they were done, they put the survey in a large envelope.

Church Sites

Carson has a newly renovated Catholic church, St. Philomena, that is not exclusively Filipino but the head pastor and at least half of the congregation is Filipino. It is a beautiful building inside and out. There is a Catholic school for grades K to 8th on the premises. However, there is no language school to teach Tagalog or any other Filipino native language. For a city that has 19 percent Filipinos, the city does not seem very "Filipino" in any measure as one is driving around the town. I have been told by the members of the Catholic Church that there are two Filipino restaurants in Carson that are very popular, but one does not see any ethnic stores such as grocery stores that would suggest that it is Filipino client-based.

In Torrance, there are many Korean Protestant churches. Founded over twenty years ago, Torrance First Presbyterian Church (TFPC) is one of the largest Korean churches in the U.S. with 3,000 members and offerings totaling 2 million dollars annually (TFPC annual report, 2002). The majority of the Koreans were not church-goers in Korea. Korean Christians have joined the church after immigrating to the U.S.

On the entrance to the church parking lot there is a big sign advertising its affiliated Korean language school operating every Saturday from 9:30 a.m. to 1:20 p.m. Currently, there are approximately 540 students and 40 teachers for preschool to high

school age students. Besides this mega-church, there are dozens of other Korean churches in Torrance with its own language schools.

In addition, there are Korean signs in many of the small and large shopping centers in Torrance. Most noticeable are the numerous restaurants, large and small grocery stores, churches, tutorial centers, daycare centers, video stores, and hair stylists. Although Torrance is far from being a little Koreatown, scattered Korean stores all over town marks the significant presence of Korean residents in Torrance and its surrounding areas, including Palos Verdes and Gardena.

Word for the World, the third religious site, is a small Filipino Protestant Church in Torrance. The pastor is a father of one of the Filipino students I interviewed at North High School. The congregation is mostly first generation Filipino immigrants and their children. Surprisingly, however, the entire church service is conducted in English, including the singing of hymns. According to the pastor, the majority of the congregation was once Catholics. They converted their religion to Protestantism.

Data Collection

The primary data set are questionnaires and interviews of Filipino and Korean high school students and their parents. I conducted interviews and passed out questionnaires at all four sites, North High School in Torrance, St. Philomena Church in Carson, Torrance First Presbyterian Church, and Word for the World Church in Torrance.

As for reaching out to the students at North High School, I was granted formal access. With help from two teachers, I was able to interview 11 second generation

Koreans and 11 second generation Filipinos, all in their junior or senior year. Once I had the student volunteers for my study, I asked them to fill out a 10 minute questionnaire. After the students completed the questionnaire, I interviewed the students using a loosely structured question format. The interviews lasted 40 minutes to one hour.

The Korean Presbyterian Church and the Word for the World Filipino church also gave me permission to pass out a questionnaire to all its high school students. I used the data for high school juniors and seniors only. Furthermore, I conducted face-to-face in-depth interviews with students, parents, pastors, and teachers at all three church sites. I have conducted over 40 personal interviews (20 adults and over 20 students) at these sites.

Key Variables

The main research question for this project is how we explain the lesser academic performance of second generation Filipino students compared to Koreans. Since educational outcomes cannot be explained by parental socioeconomic variables, this study focused on variables related to ethnicity such as immigrant family, ethnic community, and social networks. I argue that being embedded in an ethnic community facilitates academic success. The goal of this project is to find the processes of how second generation youth's educational outcomes are being affected by variables interacting with ethnicity.

The dependent variables in the survey will be SAT scores (if taken already), grade point averages, college goals and college acceptances. The independent variables include: parents' level of education, family income, years of residence in the U.S.,

gender, involvement in ethnic institutions (ethnic church attendance, language school attendance, after-school programs run by co-ethnics, co-ethnic tutors, co-ethnic music teachers, etc...), afterschool or weekend employment (particularly if it is working at their parents' business), parenting styles, and other tangible support from the parents.

The in-depth interviews with the students allowed me to observe the interactive effects of ethnicity with (1) family dynamics, (2) social networks, and (3) community organizations. I was able to record the details of students' lives including extra-curricular involvement in ethnic and non-ethnic organizations such as Korean tutorial schools and Korean church, friendship patterns, relationship with parents, ethnic identity, self-esteem, and psychological well-being. The interviews with the parents allowed me to understand their socioeconomic background, pre-immigration status, work-pattern of the parents, parental expectations - academic, cultural and social, and the parenting strategies they are using to meet their goals. The interviews with pastors, church leaders, Sunday school teachers, Korean school teachers and principles, and managers and teachers of afterschool academic institutions also provided valuable information on students' psychological and social well-being, academic adjustment, and social capital. Overall, the interview data shed light as to why some of the associations that were revealed in the quantitative data exist. In addition, the interviews made it possible for me to examine the processes of how some of the variables work such as the parenting strategies and other variables that are difficult to capture from the questionnaire data alone.

CHAPTER 3

FILIPINO AND KOREAN IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES

Immigration History: Contexts of Exit

Filipino Immigration

Filipinos comprise one of the largest and fastest growing immigrant groups in the United States, but they are one of the least understood and most often forgotten group of Asian Americans. Filipino immigration can be classified into three waves, with each wave having its own set of economic, political, and social reasons for coming to the United States. Massive Filipino immigration to the United States began during the American occupation of the Philippines from 1898 to 1946. The first wave although small in number was comprised of Filipino intellectuals. In the early 1900s, Governor-General William Howard Taft developed an educational program for the Philippines which provided Filipino students with pensions for higher education in the United States. These students, known as the *pensionados*, often were children of prominent Filipino families. By 1920s, almost all the *pensionados* returned to the Philippines upon completing their education and assumed leadership roles in agriculture, business, education, engineering, and government (Espiritu, 1995). The *pensionados* who returned home and lived in prosperity inspired other Filipinos to come to the United States and study in American universities. However, there was no longer the availability of government pensions to pay the tuition. Most of the later *pensionados* ended up leaving the university. Instead of returning to the Philippines and facing being branded as

failures, many of these *pensioados* remained in the United States and worked as unskilled laborers (Strobel, 2001).

The Filipino immigrants of the second wave were predominantly male laborers hoping to make money in the United States and return to their homeland. The second wave of Filipinos settled in Hawaii, Alaska, and on the West Coast. Prior to the arrival of Filipinos, inexpensive labor was provided by the Chinese and the Japanese. Exclusionary laws such as the Chinese Exclusionary Act of 1882 and the Gentlemen's Agreement Act of 1907-8 cut off the flow of migrants from China and Japan. The Filipinos were not subject to Asian exclusion at the time because they were classified as American nationals under the colonial rule (Takaki, 1989). This classification allowed Filipinos to enter the United States to work but did not allow them to become naturalized American citizens. Because of their unusual legal status as U.S. nationals, Filipinos had become the favored source of inexpensive labor on Hawaiian plantations. The termination of Japanese immigration in Hawaii increased the Filipino immigration to 44,000 during the second half of the 1920's (Espiritu, 1995).

In the midst of the Great Depression in the 1930's, the U.S. government tried to repatriate Filipinos by offering a free passage to sail back to the Philippines, but only 5 percent of the Filipinos in the U.S. accepted the offer. Despite the strong anti-immigrant and anti-Filipino sentiment present at the time, most Filipino laborers did not want to return home without a savings (Takaki, 1989). In order to restrict the number of Filipino immigrants, their legal status as U.S. nationals had to be altered. Anti-Filipino campaigns triumphed in 1934 with the passage of the Tydings McDuffie Act. While this

law gave independence to the Philippines, it drastically curbed Filipino immigration. The Tydings McDuffie Act changed the status of Filipinos from nationals to aliens and limited the immigration from the Philippines to 50 individuals per year.

Everything changed with the passage of the Immigration Reform Act of 1965. Over a three-year period, the legislation eliminated national origins quotas and instituted a series of preferences based largely on two goals, relieving occupational shortages and achieving family reunification. The 1965 law increased the immigration quota for Asians to 20,000 yearly. The Filipino population in the United States tripled in the post-1965 decade. Approximately 350,000 Filipinos immigrated to the U.S. in the 1970's, 550,000 in the 1980's, and 500,000 in the 1990's (Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 2001). The Filipino American population grew by 66 percent from 1.42 million in 1990, both from immigration and American-born Filipino children. In 1980, the Philippines replaced China and Japan as the Asian country sending the largest number of immigrants to the U.S. Today, Filipinos are the second largest Asian American group with 2.36 million Filipinos in 2000, including those of mixed-race or mixed-ethnic background (U.S. Census, 2000). Filipinos follow only the Chinese Americans with 2.88 million (U.S. Census, 2000).

The 1965 Immigration Act alone does not explain why so many Filipinos immigrated to the United States. Over 100 years of U.S. colonial and postcolonial influence contributed to the massive flow. The colonial heritage produced a pervasive cultural Americanization of the Filipino population and influenced Filipinos to regard American culture and its way of life as superior to their own (Espiritu, 1995). Infused

with the abundance of positive American images in the media and optimistic stories of America from friends and families already in the U.S., Filipinos did not hesitate to take advantage of the 1965 immigration law to emigrate to the U.S. Furthermore, grave economic conditions in the Philippines and political corruption in the land also attributed as push factors.

In 2000, seven of the ten cities with the largest Filipino populations were in California. Their heavy settlement in California is partly the result of social networks formed by military relationships between the Philippines and the U.S. The U.S. naval bases heavily recruited Filipinos for enlisted positions and civilian jobs. Many enlisted Filipinos were sent to bases in the U.S., and then decided to stay in the region. For example, San Diego and Long Beach can attribute their large Filipino community as direct outgrowths of the naval bases. The neighboring area of Los Angeles-Riverside-Orange County ranks as the top metropolitan region with the heaviest Filipino population, 434, 781 (U.S. Census, 2000).

Unlike the earlier immigrants who were largely farm workers and military personnel, the third wave of Filipino immigrants were highly educated and skilled workers. The arrival of post 1965 college educated immigrants has been referred to as Philippine "foreign aid" to the United States because they were filling the need in the American labor market (Okamura and Agbayani, 1997). Many were doctors, nurses, engineers, and technical workers, particularly in the medical fields. Because of the shortage of medical personnel in the U.S., particularly in the inner cities and rural areas,

health-related practitioners are overrepresented among the recent Filipino immigrants (Espiritu, 1995).

Korean Immigration

The history of Korean immigration to the United States differs from that of Filipino immigration except for the third wave brought by the Immigration Reform Act of 1965. There are three distinct phases of Korean immigration to the United States. First is the period of immigration from 1903 to 1949, during which approximately 7,200 Koreans arrived in the Hawaiian Islands as laborers. The restrictive legislation against Asian immigration such as the Gentlemen's Agreement Act of 1907-8 limited Korean immigration with the exception of picture brides because Korea was under Japanese colonialism at the time. The second wave, from 1950 to 1964, includes primarily young Korean women married to American servicemen, Korean War orphans adopted by American families, and a small number of elite students and professional workers. The third and the largest wave is the contemporary period of family immigration since 1965, following the passage of the Immigration Act of 1965 (Hurh, 1998; Min, 1995).

The generous family reunification category of the 1965 Immigration Act largely benefited the relatives of three groups of Koreans: wives of American servicemen, Korean students who stayed to find work in the United States after the completion of their education, and professional workers (Kim, 1987). Between 1961 and 2000, more than 800,000 immigrants from Korea were admitted to the United States as permanent residents (USCIS, 2002). As a result, the ethnic Korean population grew more than

tenfold in just three decades, from less than 100,000 in 1970 to more than 1.2 million in 2000, including Koreans who are part-Asian and mixed race (U.S. Census, 2000). Foreign-born Koreans accounted for nearly 80 percent of the ethnic Korean population in the United States and 72 percent of the foreign born arriving in the United States after 1980 (Reeves and Bennett, 2004; Xie and Goyette, 2004).

Korean immigrants have come from diverse socioeconomic backgrounds. However, it is the migration of largely urban, well-educated, and professional immigrants that make up the foundation of contemporary Korean immigration. More than 40 percent of the Korean immigrants who entered during the 1980s were professionals and managers prior to immigration, one of the highest percentages of professionals and managers among immigrant nationalities (Portes and Rumbaut, 1996). In addition, the highly selective immigration of Koreans since the 1960s is reflected in the 2000 U.S. Census data, showing that 58 percent of foreign-born Koreans between 25 and 34 years of age held a college degree and 97 percent a high school diploma (Xie and Goyette, 2004). Many post-1965 Korean immigrants came with families and family savings.

Korean immigrants are highly concentrated in just a few large metropolitan regions: Los Angeles, New York, and Chicago. The recent arrival and unique settlement pattern of Korean immigrants indicate that the clustering of Korean population and that of Korean-owned businesses in any given locale is likely to transcend geographical boundaries. In the areas of high concentration, nonetheless, there has been a tremendous growth of Korean businesses, churches, and ethnic media including television, radio, and newspapers.

Current State of Filipino and Korean Americans

Both Filipino and Korean communities have grown rapidly since the passage of the 1965 Immigration Act. The large influx of Filipino immigration was the result of more than the sum of individual strivings for a new life. The Philippine government built a complex superstructure of laws, regulations, agencies, and institutions to encourage and profit, both financially and politically from this new wave of immigration (Weinberg, 1997). In the 1970's, the Korean government under President Park also encouraged its people to emigrate. The government hoped that Korean workers abroad will send home foreign currency and boost the economy. In contemporary Korea, the government is not taking an active role in pushing its citizens to emigrate. However, we are not seeing a reduction in the number of new immigrants coming across the Pacific. This is because family and business networks already established in the U.S. continue to lead more individuals and families to immigrate to the United States.

Table 4. Asian American Population by Ethnicity: 1980, 1990, and 2000 Census

	1980 Census	1990 Census	2000 Census
Race/Ethnicity	**Number**	**Number**	**Number**
Asian Am	3,259,519	6,908,638	11,070,913
Chinese	806,040	1,645,472	2,633,849
Filipino	**774,652**	**1,406,770**	**2,089,701**
Korean	**354,593**	**798,849**	**1,148,951**
Japanese	700,974	847,562	958,945
Asian Indian	361,531	815,447	1,785,336
Vietnamese	261,729	614,547	1,171,776

Source: Xie and Goyette, 2004.

Table 4 shows that as of year 2000, U.S. Census reported 2,089,701 Filipinos and 1,148,951 Koreans which are big jumps from the population only three decades ago (Xie and Goyette, 2004). In California, Filipinos constitute the second largest Asian-origin immigrant group and Koreans rank fourth. Census 2000 reports 918,678 Filipinos and 345,882 Koreans live in California. In Los Angeles County alone, the Filipino population is 260,158 while Koreans trail behind with 186,350 (U.S. Census, 2000).

Due to Philippines' history as a Spanish colony and an American colony, new Filipino immigrants are perhaps the most westernized of all Asian immigrant groups (Agbayani-Siewart and Revilla, 1995). It has been argued that Filipinos are attracted by life in the United States because of the Americanization of Filipino culture through U.S. Colonization (Carino, 1987). Even before setting foot in the United States, Filipinos are similar to Americans in terms of language, customs, and values, and thus they are highly motivated to immigrate to the United States (Agbayani-Siewart and Revilla, 1995). Over 70 percent of Filipino immigrants reported that they can speak English before immigrating. The high percentage of English speakers among Filipino immigrants has to do with the educational system in the homeland. The prospect of employment in the United States directly affected educational decisions prior to immigration. Students whose employment aspirations pointed overseas tended to avoid, where possible, a bilingual program, preferring to learn English only (Weinberg, 1997). Filipino immigrants' prior familiarity with American culture through the U.S. influence on the Philippines and their ability to speak and read English make it easier for them to adapt to American life. Table 5 shows that in year 2000, over 75 percent of Filipinos reported

either speaking only English at home or English spoken very well. In other words, less than a quarter of Filipino American population speaks English less than very well. In Korean American families, over 80 percent reported speaking Korean at home.

Table 5. Language Spoken at Home and English-Speaking Ability: 2000 (5 years old and over), in percentage

Ethnicity	Only English at home	Non-English at home, English spoken very well	Non-English at home, English spoken less than very well
Filipino	**29.3**	**46.6**	**24.1**
Korean	**18.1**	**31.4**	**50.5**
Chinese	14.6	35.8	49.6
Japanese	52.7	20.0	27.2
Asian Indian	19.3	57.6	23.1

Source: We the People: Asians in the United States, Census 2000 Special Reports

First generation Koreans, on the other hand, are not very acculturated compared to Filipinos. Over 50 percent of Korean immigrants do not speak English very well. While English is taught in schools back in their homeland, it is no more than textbook learning. Unlike in the Philippines where English is one of the official languages, the Korean language is the only spoken language in Korea. Min (1995) reports that even after immigration to the United States, most Korean immigrants speak only the Korean language, eat mainly Korean food, practice Korean customs most of the time, and are affiliated with at least one ethnic organization most often the Korean church. Korean immigrants in the United States maintain a high level of ethnic attachment, higher than any Asian ethnic group (Min, 1995). For example, Hurh and Kim (1988) found that 90 percent of Korean immigrants in Chicago speak mainly the Korean language at home and that 82 percent are affiliated with one or more ethnic organizations.

The most notable commonality between the two ethnic groups is that both Filipino and Korean immigrants are highly educated. The 2000 Census shows that 53.2 percent of foreign-born Filipinos have a college degree or higher. Only Indian and Japanese immigrants had a higher educational level than Filipino immigrants. The high socioeconomic background of Filipino immigrants can be explained by the fact that most of them were professionals, particularly medical professionals such as nurses, physicians, surgeons, and pharmacists (Agbayani-Siewart and Revilla, 1995). Since the 1960s, the Philippines has been the source of largest number of educated professional immigrants to the United States, particularly in the medical field. Filipino medical practitioners immigrated to fill the need of doctors and nurses in the inner cities and rural areas. Filipino women are especially noticeable as nurses in U.S. hospitals. Between 1966 and 1985, more than twenty-five thousand Filipino nurses arrived in the United States. Filipino nurses can apply as the principal immigrants under the 1965 Immigration Act with her husband and children entering as her dependents (Espiritu, 1995). Thus, it is not surprising to find nursing programs in the Philippines oriented toward supplying the need in the U.S. labor market.

Although Korean immigration wouldn't be characterized as a brain drain like Filipino immigration, Korean immigrants are also relatively well educated. 2000 Census shows that 48.9 percent of foreign-born Koreans have received a bachelor's degree compared with only 31.1 percent of the general American population. Not only was a large proportion of Korean immigrants well educated but they were also embedded in a capitalist international economic system before they immigrated to the U. S. (Barringer,

Takeuchi, and Xenos, 1990). Most Korean immigrants are drawn from the urban middle class prior to immigration, especially among white-collar workers (Kim, 1987).

Although some Korean doctors and nurses did immigrate to the United States especially in the late 1960's and early 1970's, medical training is not as common among Korean immigrants as compared to Filipinos. Korean immigrants who came to the U.S. prior to and in the 1970's generally represented the middle-class and upper-middle class segments of the Korean population. However, changes in the immigration law in which priority is given to family unification lowered the socioeconomic background of Korean immigrants.

Table 6. Educational Attainment (% with college degree) of Foreign-born Asian National Origin Groups 25 years and older, U.S. Total, 2000

	Foreign-born
Filipino	**53.2%**
Korean	**48.9%**
Chinese	50.2%
Japanese	54.0%
Asian Indian	68.1%
Vietnamese	27.1%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000 Advanced Query Sample Data File
Census Information Center in partnership with the Center for Koran American and Korean Studies
California State University, Los Angeles

Contexts of Reception

Even when individual characteristics such as education, language proficiency, and skill level are controlled, some immigrant groups consistently do better and others do worse. The economic attainment of immigrants does not entirely depend on human

capital because its utilization is contingent on the context in which they are incorporated (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). In other words, the difference in outcome is due to the different modes in which immigrants can become incorporated into the host society. In this way, the context of reception model can overcome the limitations of exclusively individualistic explanation for immigrant achievement (Portes and Rumbaut, 1990).

Mode of incorporation in the American economic system has also been very different for Filipino and Korean immigrants. Immigrants whose academic and/or work experiences are in areas where there is a shortage of labor supply in the U.S. have high returns on their human capital investments. Thus, physicians, nurses, engineers, and certified public accountants readily found employment in their fields of specialization. Thus, what matters most with respect to education's effects on immigrant earnings is not so much the years of schooling but rather field of study. Azores-Gunter's study (1987) supports this because she found that for Filipino immigrants, field of study is more important for immigrant's socioeconomic status in the United States than merely years of study. A 1989 study by the Philippine Nurses Association found that of the 150,000 registered nurses some 93,000 or 61.2 percent of the nation's total number had gone abroad (Weinberg, 1997). In sum, Filipinos are better equipped to utilize their degree to obtain professional jobs because of their English language proficiency and skills in the medical field which is easily transferred in the United States.

On the other hand, mode of incorporation for Korean immigrants has been less favorable and very different from the Filipino pattern. Although close to half of Korean immigrants have completed four years of college prior to immigration, occupational

down-mobility is a common pattern among Korean immigrants due to a language barrier, unfamiliarity with American customs and culture, and inability to transfer educational and occupational capital. As stated above, a majority of Korean immigrants cannot speak English very well, and many of the professional qualifications outside the technical fields of medicine and engineering have not been recognized or transferred in the United States.

Entrepreneurs versus Professionals

Since their education from Korea often served no purpose in the U.S., many Korean immigrants have become owners of low status small firms in marginal communities (Light and Bonacich, 1988; Light and Roach, 1996), operating small-scale greengroceries, liquor stores, dry cleaners, and restaurants among other retail stores. In fact, Koreans have the highest rate of self-employment than any other ethnic group in the United States. They sought entrepreneurship as a dominant mode of incorporation into American society. In Los Angeles, 53 percent of male Korean workers and 36 percent of female workers are self-employed based on a 1986 survey (Min, 1995).

According to the 2000 Census, approximately 20 percent of foreign-born Koreans across the country were classified under the small business sector. Less than 4 percent Filipinos were under the small business sector. Although self-employment provides decent incomes for many Korean immigrants, there are numerous problems, including long work hours, physical danger, possible hostility by customers, and most of all low social status (Min, 1990). Lee (2000) concludes from her interviews that Korean immigrants opt to open small businesses not because self-employment is their primary

occupational choice but because their alternatives in the U.S. labor market are less lucrative.

Table 7. Employed Civilian Population in California by Sector and Race/Ethnicity, 2000

	Private Sector	Government Sector	Small Business Sector*
Total Population	76.5%	14.7%	8.9%
White	74.5%	15.2%	10.2%
Blacks	70.0%	25.3%	4.7%
All Asians	79.7%	12.6%	7.7%
Filipino	**80.3%**	**16.1%**	**3.6%**
Korean	**72.1%**	**8.2%**	**19.7%**
Chinese	80.5%	12.1%	7.4%
Japanese	73.3%	16.6%	10.1%

*The small business sector consists of those self-employed in non-incorporated companies or using unpaid family labor. Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000 Summary File 4

Although Korean entrepreneurship is not viewed as an optimal job choice, growth in the small business sector helped establish a strong business community in Koreatowns across the country and the surrounding ethnic enclaves. While some Korean businesses cater to the mainstream, others meet specific ethnic needs such as Korean grocery stores, Korean restaurants, Korean daycare centers, Korean language schools, and private educational academies or *hagwons* for Korean youth. Only 3.6 percent of Filipino Americans are entrepreneurs. Over 96 percent of Filipinos are employed in either the private or government sectors of the economy. As a consequence, we do not see a Filipinotown with thriving ethnic businesses but a sporadic presence of a grocery store or a restaurant. The lack of Filipino ethnic businesses may have implications for weakening the ethnic community.

Median Family Income

A much less favorable economic incorporation for Korean immigrants compared to Filipinos and other Asian immigrants is evident in the median family income and poverty status. Koreans in the United States have one of the lowest household incomes among Asian Americans. Although Korean immigrants do not trail behind significantly to Filipino immigrants in educational attainment, the median household income for Korean families is $13,000 less than the Filipino household income. In fact, Korean family median income is the only one which is less than that of white family median income. Koreans in the U.S. also have the highest percentage of people living below the poverty level compared to other Asian Americans. Filipinos on the other hand, have a very small percentage of poor population in the U.S, only half the figure of the general U.S population.

Table 8. Median Family Income and Poverty Rate, 2000

	Median Family Income	Percent below Poverty
All families	$50, 046	12.4%
Asian	$59,324	12.6%
Japanese	$70,849	9.7%
Asian Indian	$70,708	9.8%
Filipino	**$65,189**	**6.3%**
Chinese	$60,058	13.5%
Korean	**$47,624**	**14.8%**
Vietnamese	$47,103	16.0%

Source: U.S. Census 2000, We the People: Asians in the United States, Census 2000 Special Reports

Residential Patterns: Integrated Neighborhoods versus Ethnoburbs

The occupational patterns and consequent household incomes of Filipinos and Koreans have affected residential patterns. Asian Americans, as a whole, have been

found to be more integrated with whites than any other racial minority group and their degree of integration increases significantly among families from higher socioeconomic status levels (Massey, 1985; Denton and Massey, 1993; Massey and Fisher, 1999). The high socioeconomic status of Filipino immigrants allows them to reside in well integrated middle-class neighborhoods. Agbayani-Siewert and Revilla (1995) also observe that compared to other Asian immigrants, Filipino immigrants may not need to congregate with other co-ethnics outside of their kin group for mutual aid and support because of their English language proficiency. Finally, the professional backgrounds and needs of Filipino immigrants seem to discourage the establishment of ethnic neighborhoods. In fact, Filipinos are described by Portes and Rumbaut (2001) as "dispersed professionals." This explains the lack of Filipino ethnic enclaves even in California where Filipinos are highly concentrated.

On the other hand, Korean immigrants have engaged in the formation of ethnic enclaves. Koreatown in Los Angeles is one of the large enclaves that provide opportunities for immigrant-owned businesses and ethnic labor markets not available in mainstream society. Many new immigrants from Korea have been found to live or work in non- to limited- English-speaking environments like Koreatown. Immigrants with financial resources often avoid the dense urban conditions of such an inner-city enclave and move to the nearby suburbs of Los Angeles and Orange Counties. As a result, there has been a rise of ethnic enclaves in the suburbs called "ethnoburbs" (Li, 1999). Torrance, one of the communities in this study, is an "ethnoburb" with approximately 10,000 Korean residents (U.S. Census, 2000). Torrance has a wide range of Korean

businesses catering to Korean and non-Korean customers, Korean churches, Korean language schools, and at least ten afterschool SAT and other programs catering to Korean youth.

Interracial Dynamics

The final contextual factor is the social environment that receives them, including policies of the host government. For Filipinos and Koreans, the U.S. government has met them with neutral reception since most of the immigrants have been coming in with legal status. Filipinos encounter neutral reception largely because of their "invisibility." With an exception of Filipino nurses, Filipino stereotypes are uncommon because they are not concentrated in owning certain business. Furthermore, because Filipinos do not live in ethnic claves but rather dispersed in integrated neighborhoods they have less opportunity to be engaged in conflict with non-Filipino neighbors.

On the other hand, Korean small business owners in inner-cities do encounter interracial tension with the African American population. Given the overlap between the deterioration of economic conditions in inner-city neighborhoods and the Korean merchant's relatively quick entry into these inner city communities, there are more opportunities for conflict with African American residents. Furthermore, since most Korean owners in inner-city communities are "absentee-owners," they are seen as exploitative. Finally, the media is responsible for exaggeration of the interracial conflict, generating an impression that the majority of African American residents reject Korean merchants.

Conclusion

Filipinos and Koreans are similar in respects to educational attainment from the home countries prior to immigration. However, it seems that Filipinos have acquired the language, skills, and education that better matches the needs in the U.S. labor force than Koreans. College educated Korean immigrants in fields of humanities and social sciences have not been able to utilize their college education in the U.S. Lack of English proficiency among Koreans also has not helped their employment prospects. These differences culminate to produce a gap in income between Korean and Filipinos. Overall, Filipino immigrants seem more acculturated than Korean immigrants, in language, occupation, and family income.

Due to their inability to make use of their education, disproportionate numbers of highly educated Koreans ended up owning businesses in the United States. Although this may not be an optimal occupational situation, it has resulted in building a strong ethnic community. The businesses including the ethnic media, language schools, academic institutions, and even churches are all part of the entrepreneurial activities vibrant in the Korean community. The later chapters will show how the entrepreneurial ethnic community can become a valuable resource or social capital for the educational benefits of the second generation.

CHAPTER 4

PEER GROUP, FAMILY, AND CULTURE

In recent years, scholars have spent considerable energy debunking and problematizing the stereotypical image of Asian Americans as a "model minority." The model minority myth is erroneous because it fails to take into account the diversity among Asian Americans. The disparity in academic orientation and educational attainment between second generation Filipino and Koreans is evidence that the model minority theory is not an appropriate depiction of Asian Americans. By highlighting the dissimilarity in academic achievement patterns, I raise questions about intergenerational mobility of second generation Filipino and Korean Americans. In this chapter, I focus on the peer group, family, and culture in Filipino and Korean second generation.

Segmented Assimilation for Filipinos and Koreans

According to the assimilation theory, immigrants and their children "blend in" and become Americans. They move toward integration and absorption into American culture and away from immigrant cultures and traditions. The assimilation theory does not, however, take into account the variation in the speed of that movement. Filipino immigrant parents and their children are moving rapidly in the direction towards Americanization while Korean parents are raising their children to be more "Korean" as possible. There are certain aspects of American culture that Korean immigrant parents

choose to adopt and avoid. This is in essence the third path of the segmented assimilation model developed by Portes and Zhou (1993) which associates rapid economic advancement with deliberate preservation of the values brought from the homeland. As the chapter will show, this process of selective acculturation has been deliberately and successfully adopted by Korean immigrants while Filipino immigrants chose the path of acculturation and parallel integration into the white middle-class. The path chosen by Korean immigrants results in academic success of their children.

The second generation is a very unique generation because they are likely to experience internal and family conflicts that the process of Americanization generates. Previous studies have emphasized the difficulties of growing up as a second generation, and perhaps rightly so considering the more conservative attitudes natives may have had toward immigrants and their children. Marginality, identity crisis, and cultural clashes are often associated with the second generation, portraying the adolescent life of the second generation as ill-fitting in both ethnic and mainstream environments. The interviews with second generation Filipino and Korean youth growing up today in a racially mixed environment such as the South Bay area paint a brighter picture than what has been previously suggested by researchers.

Filipino and Korean Students at North High express overall satisfaction with their school. They do not feel there is "racism" at their school because their campus is racially diverse and also because there is no dominant race. Even the homecoming court is made up of students from various racial backgrounds. In an environment where at least half of the students are non-white and an equal number are children of immigrants, marginality

and identity crisis are not issues that students preoccupy themselves with. Nonetheless, the stories Filipino and Korean adolescents tell diverge on several points – peer group, family, and culture - which affect the overall ethnic embeddedness that adolescents experience. These inter-ethnic differences cumulate to create a significant gap in academic motivation, goals, and outcomes among Filipino and Korean students.

Peer Group and Ethnic Identity

"Ethnic identity is important because it affects the maintenance and expression of traditional culture, helps individuals enhance their self-concept and self-esteem, and enables individuals to have a sense of belonging to an ethnic group" (Revilla, 1997:96).

Filipino Adolescent Identity

With an exception of one student who checked off the self-identity box 'Filipino-American,' all the students with Filipino parents chose to identify themselves as simply 'Filipino' rather than 'Filipino-American.' They did not choose a pan-ethnicity identity 'Asian American' either because high school students associated 'Asian' or 'Asian American' with East Asians – Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans, but not Filipinos. Not surprisingly, the category 'American' was not popular because Asian Americans often equate 'American' with 'white.' Some students told me that Filipinos are a category of its own. Although students were aware that the Philippines was geographically part of Asia, some Filipino students did not consider themselves Asian because they saw very little commonality between themselves and East Asians in physical appearance and

culture, including tastes in music and dance. Culturally, they felt closer to Latino and African American classmates.

Few students stated that they don't feel like they are Asian because their complexion is darker than Chinese, Japanese, or Korean. One male student with a darker complexion said very frankly, "I don't think I fit in with Asians, but Pacific Islander, yes. Asian is Chinese, Japanese, and Korean, but not Filipino. We look different from Asians and culturally too we are different." Another Filipino male student said, "When people look at me they think I'm Latino." Others thought their culture has more in common with Latino culture than that of Chinese, Japanese, or Korean. A Filipino male student said, "Our family culture and tradition is kinda Spanish style. We are different from Asians. My closest friends at school are Hispanic. I feel more in tuned with Hispanics. You can't hang out with Blacks in school because they think you are trying to be black. You feel the same thing when you try to hang out with whites." Another Filipino student with a dark complexion stated that he likes to "hang out" with black students at school because he has recently started expressing himself through dancing. A light complexioned Filipino student comments, "Some of the Filipino guys, the ones I see, act black."

Lastly, some Filipino students don't feel Asian because Chinese, Japanese, and Korean students have told them that they are not Asian. Physical appearance, including manifestations of mixed racial or ethnic background, is another issue that affects Filipino identity. A Filipino male student with a lighter complexion said, "Asian kids singled us out for being different so we knew we were different but can't figure out how." His twin

brother added, "I am Filipino when I am around Asian people because Asian people don't think I am Asian. They've said that, especially Japanese kids, ever since I was in fifth grade." Physical markers such as skin tone have probably singled out Filipinos from other Asians in elementary school years. As they became older, Filipino students might be singled out for not sharing what kids believe is "Asian culture." A Korean student said, "Filipinos I know are all laid back, and Koreans are so into getting into a college."

An accurate assessment of Filipino students is that they can mix with diverse racial groups on campus. These students felt comfortable with Latino or "Hispanic" students because they share similar physical characteristics such as skin tone and facial features. They also identified themselves with Hispanic and African American students more closely than Asians in their tastes in music and styles of dancing. A Filipino male student astutely observed, "Koreans hang out with Koreans. Japanese hang out with Japanese, but we hang out with everyone." The majority of Filipino students were not friends with Chinese, Japanese, or Korean students at school. Only four Filipinos in the study had one close friend that was Korean, Japanese, or Vietnamese. Two of them are the Filipino twins whose best friends are Japanese and Korean. Only three Filipino students from North High stated both of their close friends are also Filipino. Most of the students at North High responded, "My friends are all mixed." They included other Filipinos, Samoans, Mexicans, "Hispanic," "Spanish," and white students. The students that are closest to Filipino students are seldom the academically oriented students. I argue that Filipino students lack positive peer influence to achieve at school and to set goals for a four year college.

The friendship circle of Filipino students crosses ethnic and racial lines. The majority of Filipino students are not "best friends" with East Asian Americans – Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans, the group our society stereotypes as model minorities. Because Filipino students do not group themselves and associate with East Asian Americans, they may not be perceived as model minorities at school. In other words, Filipino students may not be expected by their teachers, counselors, and classmates to be the high achieving students at school. The absence of high expectations could be one of the reasons why Filipino students have lower academic achievement levels than other second generation Asian American students.

There is an interesting exception to the Filipino students having non-Filipino friends. The Filipino students that I met at the Filipino Protestant Church indicated their close friends are co-ethnic. In fact, five out of six wrote on the questionnaire that at least one of their close friends is not only Filipino but also from their church. Although most of them attended a different high school, they are able to maintain a close relationship because they meet on weekends for Bible Study and church and also for social activities outside of church. Their friendship is strengthened through church retreats and summer camps. The student leader from the Filipino church remarked during the interview, "We have [a positive] influence on each other, not only in Bible study but other things too." They were helping one another spiritually through the difficult teenage years and encouraging each other to be good students. It was clear that the social organization of the Protestant church were binding these students together and helping them stay in a "straight path."

Korean Adolescent Identity

Korean junior and senior high school students both at North High School and Torrance First Presbyterian Church were unevenly split on their responses to the identity question. Of the fifty students who answered the identity question on the survey, thirty-eight students (76 percent) checked the category "Korean-American." Only nine students (18 percent) checked Korean. There was one student in each of the "Asian," "Asian-American," and "American" category. Compared to the Filipino students who did not like the term "Filipino-American," Korean students embraced the term "Korean-American." Although this might seem like a sign of Americanization, my observations and interviews prove this is not the case. Relative to their Filipino counterparts, Korean students live in an ethnic sub-culture.

My observations show that Korean students are very much immersed in Korean culture and ethnic institutions in their everyday lives. Korean adolescents voluntarily and involuntarily surround themselves with co-ethnic friends, classmates, and teachers on a day to day basis. At all four Torrance high schools, students have the option of taking Korean language classes and joining a Korean club. After school, a good number of Korean students are picked up by hagwon minivans and taken to a hagwon for a few hours of lessons. In addition to hagwon, there is a good chance that they are taking piano lessons, art classes, or martial arts from a Korean teacher. On weekends, many of them attend Korean-language school on Saturdays and Bible study on Sundays. Because of the Korean programs at their own high schools and the extracurricular activities within ethnic institutions, Korean students are constantly surrounded by other Koreans.

"They [Korean students] are sort of different from others because they stick together. They take Korean language classes together and they eat together," this is a statement made by a Korean student at North High who thought Koreans stood out from others. This observation is not far from the truth. Of the forty-seven Korean juniors and seniors who answered the friendship question on the questionnaire, thirty-six students (77 percent) indicated that at least one of their two closest friends was Korean. Sixteen students (34 percent) indicated both of their close friends were Korean. Ten students indicated one of their closest friends was Chinese; six students had close Japanese friends; six had white friends; four had Filipino friends; three had Vietnamese friends; two indicated "other Asian" friends; and only one student wrote "Latino" as a close friend. The friendship circle was overwhelming Korean or Pan-Asian. Only six students out of forty-seven had a close friend that was not Asian.

Korean students who attended a Korean church had a high probability of having a best friend from church. Out of forty-six students who answered the friendship question seventeen students (37 percent) indicated that at least one of their closest friends is also their church friend. Church friends usually do not overlap with school friends because students from church represent fifteen different high schools. However, because the majority of students have been attending the same church since early childhood, they have been able to maintain strong friendships.

A female student from church who attends Redondo Union High School, a white majority school, states, "Half of my friends are white and the other half is Asian. My church friends think it's weird that I have white friends. But I am more close to my

church friends because school friends have different morals... like cheating, my school friends think it's no big deal. I don't hang out with school friends outside of school because I think I'll be influenced to do things that are not good for me. I am a cheerleader. I hear stories about what some of them do on weekends...so I stay away from them." I asked the student, "So who do you hang out with on weekends?" She answered, "Outside of school I meet my church friends from Torrance. We go to Barnes and Nobles to study, see movies, go shopping, and visit each other's homes." This particular student's case is interesting because she was deliberately separating her social circle into two groups, the cheerleading circle from school that keeps her in the "in crowd," but for true friendship, she turns to her church friends who share her morals and values on education. Towards the end of the interview when the subject was on school grades, the student said almost apologetically, "My grades are not quite the Asian or Korean standard." "And what do you consider is the Asian or Korean standard?" I asked. She replied, "3.5 or above. My grade point average is slightly above 3.0." 3.0 GPA is certainly not something to feel bad about, but relative to her Korean church friends, her GPA was lower and she felt guilty about it.

The majority of Korean students in the study indicated their best friend is from their high school because they went to a high school with a lot of Asian students, at least 30 percent. The existence of Korean clubs and Korean language courses at all four high schools in Torrance facilitates co-ethnic friendships among Korean students. Having Korean or other Asian American friends can motivate Korean students to study hard to keep up with the 'model minority' image. Associating with academically motivated

students can have a positive influence because peer pressure plays a significant role during adolescence. The cheerleader mentioned above felt she needed to do better than a 3.0 GPA to uphold the "Asian or Korean standard." Compared to her cheerleader friends, her GPA was relatively high, but she compared her GPA with her church friends. Because she had a same goal with her church friends, going to a four year college, she was motivated to study harder to realize that goal.

Family Influence

Filipino Culture in Question

One might assume that these American-born or raised Filipino students unanimously identified themselves with a national origin identity 'Filipino' because they were embedded in Filipino traditions and cultures. However, this was not the case. Filipino students had a difficult time explaining Filipino culture because there was not much of it in their families. A female student said, "I don't feel Filipino in any way, but I am proud of my Filipino heritage, so I call myself Filipina.... My parents hardly ever talk about Filipino heritage." A Filipino twin said, "When we hang out with Filipinos, family friends, I don't feel Filipino enough. I feel more American... At Filipino concerts or festivals I find myself ridiculing it, and my dad will snap at me so I have to be careful. I don't feel Filipino enough... At home, satellite TV and Filipino programs are on all the time, and I make fun of it all the time. My dad reminds me that I'm Filipino too." The other twin jumps in, "I'll dog on the culture too, but I like hanging with relatives and other Filipinos. When asked if they ever visited the Philippines, the first

twin said, "I've been to the Philippines twice and I don't recommend it to anyone. I tell them to go to Thailand – it's a cleaner version of the Philippines." The second twin added, "After being in the Philippines, I feel lucky to be a Filipino in America."

I argue that in comparison with other Asian ethnic groups, Filipino families have "blended in" socially and culturally with mainstream society in relatively short time. In other words, first generation Filipinos and their families have become more "Americanized" compared to other Asian ethnic groups. When asked various questions about family and culture, one Filipino male student said, "We don't have much culturally except family always comes first." Another Filipino female student said, "I think Filipinos are more Americanized. I think Koreans preserve their culture more than Filipinos. We take off our shoes in the house and bless our grandparents or elders by putting the back of our hand on their forehead, but besides that, we're pretty Americanized."

Tagalog, a Forgotten Language

Why is there such a lack of Filipino culture among the 1.5 and second generation Filipino youth? The use of ethnic language is a mark of culture in immigrant families. It is important to note that in the Philippines, English is one of the official languages. Because Filipinos who are allowed entry into the United States are comparatively well-educated and English proficient, they are comfortable speaking English at home, especially with their American born or –raised children. A Filipino mother I interviewed said that she started learning English in the third grade in the Philippines, but these days

in the Philippines, the children are taught English as early as preschool. A Filipino youth leader from the Protestant church said that at her private high school in the Philippines all the teachers spoke English and the text books were also in English. Thus, when she moved to the United States as a teenager the transition was smooth with no linguistic barriers. Thus, it was not surprising that all the Filipino adults I interviewed spoke English well. The students in my study indicated that their parents speak mostly English to them at home. Thus, it is not surprising that second generation Filipino adolescents' ability to speak Tagalog is very limited. One male student said, "My parents sometimes speak Tagalog to each other, but never tried to teach the kids. My two older sisters' Tagalog isn't any better than mine, and I can only understand it a little."

Nonetheless, I was curious to know why the native language is not passed down from the immigrant generation to the children in Filipino families. "Unfortunately, parents are not consciously teaching their children Filipino languages and culture... although Chinese American and Japanese American communities have historically set up language and culture schools for their youth, Filipino American communities have not" (Revilla, 1997). Furthermore, as discussed in the last chapter, Tagalog language school does not exist in the Filipino community. Although Japanese and Korean language classes are offered in Torrance high schools, Tagalog is not. In order to understand the lack of effort in maintaining the ethnic language in the Filipino community, one needs to understand the Filipino history. The Philippines, as a colonized nation, have had decades of internalized racism to overcome. Thus, Filipino parents have made more conscious efforts to speak English to their children rather than to pass onto their children the native

Filipino language, Tagalog (Adefuin, 2001). Filipinos who reside in the United States and the Philippines have come to believe that knowing the language of the colonizer is to gain power and access to economic resources (Adefuin, 2001). Thus, it seems Filipino parents do not place effort in teaching Tagalog to their American-born or -raised children because they do not believe there is much benefit in passing down the language.

"Cool" Filipino Parents

When Filipino teenagers talk about their parents, their attitude is surprisingly positive. "My parents are pretty Americanized," "My parents are cool," and "We are really tight," are themes repeated during the interviews with Filipino adolescents. Compare to Korean students, Filipino adolescents did not express bicultural conflicts with their parents. The Filipino twins also praise their parents, biological father and step-mother. "We have a really tight relationship with our parents. We're really tight. Our friends are welcome at our house. Our parents make them comfortable. We don't really feel welcomed and comfortable when we visit our friends' houses." The friends' houses they are referring to is their Korean and Japanese friends' houses.

At the Korean church, there was a female student in her junior year with a Filipino father and a Korean mother. When she heard about my research, she was anxious to be interviewed and share her experiences of growing up in a bicultural family. She began her story by saying, "Filipinos are more giving and family oriented, I mean extended family too. Koreans only care about their nuclear family. When I look at my Filipino side of the family, the parents are definitely more understanding than Korean

parents ... The parents of my Filipino friends are really nice. They tell me to come over for dinner, but not Korean parents." Compared to Filipino parents who are willing to accommodate their children's needs and create a friendly environment for their children's friends, Korean parents are more authoritarian with a single-minded agenda of getting into a good school. The half Filipino and half Korean girl said, "Korean parents I see just push and push until they [the children] can't handle it anymore. I know they love their children, but I don't think they do it for their children."

I had a rare opportunity to be invited to a home of a Filipino family to interview the mother and the son who was a junior at Torrance High School. The son describes his mother as very American, "My mom cooks all kinds of foods, and she only makes Filipino food only once in awhile." The student's mother, a fluent English speaker, is a social worker in a large hospital. Her husband is a mail carrier in Central Los Angeles. She does not have any Filipino friends living close-by and only keeps in contact with few of her Filipino relatives. On weekends, she likes to spend time relaxing at her second house in Palm Springs with her husband. She leaves her three children behind because she says they are old enough. There is a great sense of pride when she talks about owning three houses. She says each child will inherit a house with the most expensive one going to her son.

Although the mother hopes her son will become a dentist, he has no interest in dentistry. Describing himself as a 'B' student, the son wants to pursue a career in music production or auto mechanics. The interview was in the middle of the week, but the son has plans of going shopping at the mall with his friends and that was acceptable for his

mom who says, "You cannot force them to study and study all the time." The mother complains that her children lack the motivation to become well educated, but at the same time she refrains from pressuring her children to excel in school. "Getting an education is an asset, but even if you don't get straight A's at school, it's not the end of the world," she says, "It's not nice to be so strict." Then she tells me that a medical student committed suicide at the hospital she works at. "Your life comes first," she says, "Before I told him a 'B' is not good enough, but now I don't do that." She is more concerned about the son misbehaving than studying, "I tell him, 'Don't do anything bad. Even if you don't get straight A's at school it's not the end of the world.'" The mother describes her son as a model child who never gave her any trouble. "I give him an allowance everyday to buy whatever he needs and he'll show me a receipt.... I could have ten more sons like him," she says. The son also has a positive attitude towards his parents; "They're cool" he says.

My preconception of Asian immigrant parents' parenting style is that they are strict, command obedience, and pressure their children to excel in school. These are the qualities described in the highly publicized new book written by two second generation Korean Americans, a surgeon and a lawyer (Abbud and Kim, 2005). The title of the book is *Top of the Class: How Asian Parents Raise High Achievers – and How You Can Too*. Although I had spent over two hours in this Filipino home interviewing the son and the mother, I did not find anything in our conversation that matched the secrets of "Asian parenting" as described by the above authors. A Korean student at North High makes an observation of Filipino parents, "I have a Filipino friend in Gardena. She doesn't even

have a curfew. All the Koreans I know have a curfew. I think Filipino parents are more relaxed than Korean parents." Just as the students had reported, Filipino parents were relaxed, friendly, and Americanized. More relaxed and less strict also applies to Filipino parents' attitude towards school grades and college. Although Filipino parents expressed they want their children to obtain a college degree, they didn't have specific college goals like Ivy League or University of California. College choice was left to the children. The Filipino mother I interviewed was not overly ambitious about her children's academics and seemed to be comfortable with her older daughter attending El Camino College and her son's B average grades. She seemed quite content with her son although he was not interested in meeting her expectations of becoming a dentist. The overall parenting approach that Filipino parents displayed was not very demanding but lenient, in school matters and in religious participation. Rather, they gave their children the freedom to decide their future.

Preservation of Culture in Korean Families

Korean immigrant parents instill Korean culture at home in multiple ways, by speaking Korean language, serving Korean food, watching Korean television, and renting videotapes of Korean dramas. An American-born Korean student says, "I try to speak Korean with my parents. It just comes out when I'm talking to them." For others, speaking Korean may not be natural but forced. A Korean male student said, "My mom *makes me* speak both Korean and English. My mom speaks mostly Korean. And my dad, we don't live together because my parents are divorced... On the phone, he [dad] speaks

Korean and I can understand everything." A Korean female student said, "They [her parents] accept that I'm American, but they like it when I do Korean stuff like watching Korean soaps and movies with my mom." With the rising popularity of Korean soap operas among the second generation, they might be watching the Korean dramas with their parents. A male student confesses watching Korean soap operas, "I watch Korean soaps with my mom and I understand most of it. Sometimes I listen to Korean music." When they meet their Korean friends at school or church, they might greet each other by asking, "Did you see the latest episode of the so and so drama?" If they aren't familiar with Korean dramas, they might feel clueless and alienated. In addition to watching Korean dramas, Korean teenagers may be listening to Korean rap music on their IPODs, going to a Korean karaoke center on weekends and looking forward to attending a Korean pop concert in Los Angeles.

Not all Korean youth enjoy Korean soap operas because their proficiency in Korean language might not allow them to enjoy it. However, a male student confides that he watches them because he is forced to by his parents. "I watch Korean soaps with my mom because she *makes me*. They're okay, but I don't get it sometimes." From all these accounts, we see Korean parents trying to instill Korean language in their children, not only by speaking the language at home but also trying to engage their children in Korean culture through Korean dramas. According to Korean parents, it is an accomplishment if an American born –or raised Korean children can understand and enjoy Korean dramas. It is not only a sign of language proficiency but also biculturalism.

Ethnic cuisine is another way that Korean families pass down culture to their children. Korean immigrant moms cook Korean food on a day to day basis, mostly because they prefer it but also partly because they don't know how to cook other cuisines. American-born or -raised Korean children grow up eating Korean food almost every day. Most Korean adolescents I interviewed enjoyed eating Korean food especially Korean Barbeque. However, some children never did acquire the taste for spicy Korean dishes. One male student states, "When my mom makes spicy food, I go to McDonald's afterwards." Even outside the home Korean food is abundantly available. In addition to Korean restaurants in the South Bay area, students can eat Korean food at church on Sundays and at some Saturday Korean language schools.

Students' Perception of Korean Culture

Unlike the Filipino adolescents who had difficulty coming up with what Filipino culture was, Korean youth had plenty to talk about. I had a chance to interview the "star student" at North High School, a female Korean student who was accepted to Harvard with a full scholarship. When asked what she thought was Korean culture, she astutely replied that it is respect for elders including teachers. "I really admire the discipline and respect for older people. I don't see Korean students talking back to teachers." Most Korean students she knows always turn in their assignments on time because the Korean culture is to follow what the teacher tells them to do. Although Korean immigrant parents may not be taking part in school affairs such as volunteering in the classrooms or participating in the PTA, they fully support the teachers by teaching their children to

listen attentively and obey their teachers. The respect for teachers among Koreans is also noticed by my sister, a North High teacher. When North High held a "Back to School Night," I went to visit the school. I saw some Korean parents humbly bowing their heads to my sister who was much younger in age. They expressed their gratitude to my sister for being their child's teacher.

The Harvard bound student also thought that Korean culture is being overly proud and excessively enthusiastic about their children's accomplishments, "There is so much bragging among Korean parents. My mom brags so much with her sister. My Korean friends too. They all know that their parents brag too. But she works so hard so I guess you can't blame her. Even at family gatherings. My mom would tell me and my brother to play the piano, and my aunt would tell her kids to play the piano." "Bragging" about children is undoubtedly not a characteristic unique to Korean culture. However, Korean adolescents feel that their parents compete with friends and relatives over children's academic and musical achievements. Perhaps there is some truth to this perception. Korean immigrant parents uproot themselves from Korea to better their lives and for their children's educational opportunities. Since children's education is one of the main reasons for immigrating to the United States, that much emphasis is placed on getting into a prestigious college. Thus, when children succeed academically, parents consider it as having achieved their own goals.

A Korean male student who was accepted to University of California at Irvine and University of Michigan said his parents had put a lot of pressure on him to keep up his academics, "I think Korean culture is to put pressure on the children. Korean parents

stress it more. My parents always tell me to study." A student at church who comes from a divorced family speaks of his mom, "I get mad at my mom when she tells me to study. So she backed off. I let my grades do the talking. I bring in high grades so she trusts me." Couple months after the interview, he told me he was accepted to Brown University. A student from North High told me that he decided to study hard in his middle school year because of the encounters at his church, "At my old church I saw these Korean guys who lamented, wishing they had studied harder. They blamed their parents for not having being more strict on them. My mom said 'If you don't study hard and fail in life, don't come crying to me,' So, I made up my mind then that I would study hard." It is interesting that this student as well as other Koreans correlate success in school with success in life. Although I would not deny that a diploma from a reputable university will enhance a person's chances of "success," Korean parents and their children have embraced the idea whole-heartedly.

Community – Cultural Influence

Filipino Community – Does It Exist?

Studies on second generation of the past such as the Poles, Italians, and Jews have shown that second generation are enmeshed in the immigrant community while at the same time absorbing the American culture. But what happens when there isn't a visible immigrant community? I argue that one of the reasons why students had difficulty defining Filipino culture is due to the lack of visible Filipino "community" and tight solidarity. Several students discussed the commonality they felt when socializing with

other Filipino family members, but they weren't sure if that constituted a Filipino "community." One Catholic Church member said, "There are a lot of Filipinos living in Carson and coming to this church, but you don't see a Filipino town like Chinatown. There is one Filipino restaurant not too far from the church but that's about it around here." People usually associate an ethnic community by not only the residents but ethnic restaurants, grocery stores, and other retail shops that cater to that ethnic group.

Unlike other Asian immigrant groups, Filipinos do not have an officially recognized enclave in Los Angeles. One reason for the lack of ethnic enclave is because Filipino immigrants are not entrepreneurs. Only 1.6 percent of Filipino immigrant workers are self-employed (Min, 1987). In comparison to other Asian immigrant groups who are not fluent in English, a large proportion of Filipino immigrants have been fortunate to find levels of occupations commensurate with their education and ability. This is especially true for the great number of Filipino immigrants in the medical field. Unlike Koreans, Filipino immigrants are not confined to "segmented job sectors." They don't need to find a job in the ethnic enclave or open up a small business.

Ethnic Community – the World of Hagwon

Although Korean immigrant parents pressure their children to study hard, their unfamiliarity with American education and lack of English skills prevent them from assisting with their children's schoolwork. Instead, they focus on helping their children score high on the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) which they believe is equivalent to the college entrance examination they took in Korea. Even though many parents have

college degrees from Korea, they are not equipped to help their children with SAT at home. Therefore, they depend on hagwon to help their children.

A Korean male student said, "Hagwon was a really big part of my junior year, SAT prep and college prep... My mom read about a SAT hagwon called SAT Bank from a Korean advertisement. The hagwons know that Korean parents will pay for it even if it's really expensive." A student from church complains, "My mom started pressuring me more ever since she talked with her friends from work because they also have high school kids. Their kids come home from hagwon at 10 p.m. My mom wants me to do the same. Study 13 hours a day. She has such a Korean mentality." Another student talks about her parents who own a small Korean restaurant in Gardena, "My parents didn't pressure me about school because they didn't know anything about school. They were never involved in PTA or anything. They were more into SAT. My mom forced me to go to SAT hagwon for two years during my sophomore and junior years." Although she seemed to be complaining about her mother, she also showed appreciation for her parents' hard work and financial sacrifices for her education, "My parents never say they are wasting money on our SAT classes. They never tell us they don't have money even when they have financial problems. They never say anything to us, but I overhear them talking sometimes."

Perhaps Korean students realize deep in their hearts that their parents are making financial sacrifices to help them with the SAT. Regardless, complaining about parental pressure was fairly consistent and normal among Korean students. A Korean male student from North High said of his mother, "Right now, she's all stressed out about my

SAT and me going to a good college, and that irritates me. She wants me to read the SAT book on my spare time, but I want to relax and rest." Although this student expresses negative attitude towards his mom, the SAT, and college, he does exactly what his mom prescribes. He has maintained a 4.0 grade point average at school, and although he is only a high school junior he has been attending a SAT hagwon for the past six months preparing to take the SAT in June. "There are a couple people from school that go there and I go with them. I give them a ride. We are all Koreans, one of them is my cousin and the other is my friend." His disgruntle about studying for the SAT and attending a hagwon is ameliorated by the fact that hagwon is a shared experienced with his cousin and another Korean friend.

A Korean female student from North High who is bound for University of California at San Diego volunteered to go to hagwon in order to be with her friends. "My mom also talked about hagwon, and I went to hagwon for few months during my junior year. It's something every Korean student does. Actually it was me that asked my mom if I could go because my friends from school were doing it." It was clear that this student was attracted to hagwon because she didn't want to feel left out among her Korean friends at school. "Hagwon is something every Korean student does," she says.

A Korean male student from North High who has been accepted to Otis College of Art and Design describes hagwon attendance as an inescapable experience for him and his older brother. "My mom found out about hagwon through church members. It was a *forced thing* for us. My older brother also went through hagwon when he was in high school. By the way, he is a junior at UCSD studying bio-engineering." Even though

these adolescents expressed discontent with their parents for pressuring them to do well on the SATs and sending them to hagwon against their will, it is important to note that they did not disobey their parents. Most Korean students continued with their hagwon education and took the SAT.

High School GPA and SAT

The inter-ethnic differences in peer group, family, community, and culture influence the academic goals adolescents set for themselves. This in turn affects the how much time and effort the student invests in his or her school work. While the goal of this research is to explain the educational attainment gap in the aggregate data, University of California enrollment and the 2000 U.S. census data on educational attainment, I did ask during the interviews and on the questionnaire about their academic records. I inquired about their grades, AP classes, SAT scores, number of times SAT was taken or planned to take, college goal, schools admitted to, and career goal. As expected, some students did not fill out the academic section on the questionnaire, and some only gave ball park figures of their GPA during the interview. Few students even said, "I am not sure what my GPA is," and I would ask them for a rough estimate or a range. Since I did not have access to their official school records, I can only go by what the students have reported. Thus, I cannot claim that what I gathered from the students is completely accurate. However, for the purpose of this study I believe that it is a good indication of how students are doing at school and how hard they are working towards getting into a college of choice.

Of the eleven Korean students from North High School, nine reported their GPA. Two students had a 4.0 GPA, and two other students had above 3.5 GPA. Three students had a GPA between 3.0 and 3.5, and the remaining two had lower than a 3.0 GPA. The students at the Korean church had even higher GPAs. 10 students had 4.0 or above, 13 students between 3.5 and 3.9, eleven students between 3.0 and 3.4, and only one student under 3.0.

Of the ten Filipino students from North High School, four students had a grade point average higher than 3.5. Two of the high GPA students are the Filipino twins mentioned throughout this chapter. The rest of the Filipino students from North High that I interviewed were not academically oriented students, meaning they didn't seem to have high academic ambitions and did not take honors or AP classes. The reported GPA of the six juniors and seniors from the Filipino Protestant church was higher than the collective GPA of Filipino students from North High. Four students out of six had a GPA between 3.5 and 4.0, and only one student had a GPA below 3.0.

The average SAT score of the Filipino students at North High is 1046 out of 1600. These scores are much lower than the North High Korean students' average score of 1180. The Korean students who attend the Torrance First Presbyterian Church had even higher SAT scores than the Koreans at North High. The average SAT score of juniors and seniors at the Korean church is 1241. Out of twenty-six juniors at the Korean church, twenty students had taken the SAT at least once. The scores were amazingly high considering they were still in their junior year. One student scored over 1500, three students scored over 1400, and another three scored over 1300. The Filipino students

from the Protestant church did not outshine the scores of North High Filipinos with their average SAT score of 1005.

Table 9. Average SAT scores, 2003 (Out of a total score of 1600)

National Average (2003)*	1026
Filipino Students at North High School	1046
Filipino Students at Filipino Protestant Church	1005
Korean Students at North High School	1180
Korean Students at Korean Protestant Church	1241

*Source: CollegeBoard.com website

Of the 1.4 million students who took the SAT in 2003, the average math score was 519, the average verbal score was 507, and the total average score was 1026 out of 1600 (College Board website, www.collegeboard.com). The Filipino students' average, while is seems low compared to the Korean students, is close to the national average. The big surprise is the average score of Korean students' which significantly higher than the national average.

From the interviews, it was evident that majority of Filipino students do not invest a lot of time studying for the SAT. None of the Filipino students in the study have enrolled in SAT prep centers such as Kaplan or Princeton Review. Even though SAT scores play an important role in the college admissions process, it was surprising to find careless attitudes towards the big test among some Filipino students. A Filipino in his junior year said, "I am supposed to take the SAT tomorrow, but I'm not sure if I want to go. It's far. It's in L.A. because I signed up late. I have no transportation to get there." I

asked the student, "Can't one of your parents drive you?" He replied, "My mom is too busy and too tired to give me a ride, so I don't want to ask her."

A Filipino student in her junior year tells me that she was too busy babysitting her siblings to think about college, "I don't have time to think about college yet. Right now, I'm too busy." She continued, "I haven't taken the SAT. I've been too busy. My parents are heads of the [Catholic] church, so they are out a lot, and I spend a lot of time babysitting my brother and sister." She continued, "I plan to take the SAT in the fall. I think I might take a SAT prep course, but it all depends on how much time I have because there is a big church conference coming up and my parents and I both have a lot of work to do on that." Another Filipino student in her junior year said, "I didn't take the SAT yet. I didn't study for it at all, and I have no plans of doing it. I talked to a half Korean friend who is taking the SAT prep course. She already took the test and she said it's a good idea, but I am hesitant because you need to pay a fee." The same student talks about her grades, "My GPA is 3.2. It dropped because I've been slacking lately. I have a habit of slacking. Lately I've just been saying 'I'll do it later.' I've been procrastinating."

Compared to the Filipino students, Korean students were much more concerned about the SAT. Two Korean girls in their junior year stopped me at church to ask for my advice on whether they should take the SAT one more time. I was shocked when they told me that both of them scored exactly 1400. "Are you aiming for an Ivy League?" I asked. "No, we want to go to USC or a UC," one of the girls replied. "Then why are you worried?" I was puzzled. "Because we heard it's getting really hard to get into college

now," the girls were genuinely concerned. Taking the SAT multiple times is very common among Koreans. Most students took the test at least twice, with some Koreans taking the test up to four times. One girl at church comments, "Most people don't get it [SAT] out of the way. They keep taking it until they get better." One student at church asked me if it looks bad on the college application if you take the test too many times. My interviews and conversations with Korean students and parents show that Koreans take the SAT very seriously.

College Choices and Career Goals for Koreans

Six Korean seniors in the study from North High were headed for Harvard, UC San Diego, UC Irvine, University of Pacific, Otis, and El Camino College. Twelve Koreans from the Korean church wrote on the questionnaire where they planned to enroll in the fall: two at UC Berkeley, two at UC Irvine, and one each at UCLA, UC San Diego, Brown University, New York University, Otis College of Art and Design, El Camino College, and Santa Monica College. Korean parents in the study unanimously hoped that their children will attend one of University of California campuses, preferably UCLA or UC Berkeley.

The majority of Korean students reported that their parents did not want them to attend an out-of-state school. A mother talks about the eldest daughter, "I don't want her to go far. I'll worry. She doesn't know how to take care of herself. I would be happy if she can go to U.C. Irvine." During the application season at Sunday school, seniors started talking about applications and what the parents were hoping versus where they

were hoping to attend. One girl states, "I don't want to go to a UC but my dad wants me to go to UCLA so I'm close to home." Another girl comments, "My mom doesn't want me to go out-of-state. If I go, I need to pay with my money." Even some male students told me that they are giving up more competitive schools because of their parents. "I also got into University of Michigan but my mom wants me to stay here so I'll be going to UC Irvine." A handful of students indicated their parents were pushing for an Ivy League school, but this only occurred when the students were exceptional students. A good majority of Korean students at North High and the Korean church were competitive applicants for UC campuses; it was only a matter of which one.

I predict that channeling their children toward in-state school is also because of financial reasons. Most of the students in my study were from middle-class or working-class families. It would be a financial strain for middle-class families to send their son or daughter to a private college. Since middle-class families usually do not qualify for financial aid for their children's college expenses most parents help finance college for their children. Thus, "stay close to home" has a double meaning, stay close to the family and also attend a California public university which is much more affordable than private or out-of-state public schools.

As for career choices, not all Korean immigrant parents push their children to become doctors and lawyers. Only about one-third of the students reported that their parents wanted them to become a doctor, pharmacist or a lawyer. Not surprisingly, many of them agreed with their parents and planned to continue their education in medical school or law school. A female student at church states, "I got into UCSD and I really

wanted to go there, but I'll attend University of Pacific. My parents thought it would be more financially secure because there is a six year pharmacy program... I got my career path set with UOP." However, some students refuse to follow their with their parents' wishes. A male student talks about his career, "I want to join the army or become a cop, but my mom won't accept it. My mom wants me to do the typical stuff like lawyer or doctor. I was thinking about being a vet because it's still a doctor and my mom will be happy. But I lost my interest in that so I don't know what to do."

A lot of the students were interested in pursuing a career entirely different from their parents' wishes of medicine or law. Their interests were diverse: politician, military officer, journalist, computer scientist, international businessman, counselor, teacher, fashion designer, toy designer, animator, movie director, professional baseball player, etc... It undermines the model minority theory that Asian Americans excel only in math and sciences. Rather, second generation Koreans are displaying their talents in a variety of fields, including professions that are traditionally underrepresented by Asian Americans such as politics, journalism, military, arts, and sports.

College Choices and Career Goals for Filipinos

By far, the top Filipino students at North High were the two twin brothers. One was accepted to UCLA and the other to Otis College of Art and Design. I made a follow-up phone call a year later to find out where the two juniors with above 3.5 GPA were accepted to. I found out they were planning to enroll in California State, Long Beach and Biola University. Five juniors planned to attend El Camino College during the time of

the interview. One student said, "A lot of my friends are going to ELCO [El Camino College] to transfer out because they want to work at the same time. If I don't get in anywhere, I'll also go to ELCO." Two students had unrealistic goals. A female student with two F's on her transcript aspired to get into UCLA, and a male student with a GPA lower than 3.0 hoped to attend Cal State Long Beach. The college plans for the Filipino church students overlapped with the North High Filipino students. Three seniors from church were planning to attend UCLA, Cal State Long Beach, and community college. Among the three juniors, the plans were Cal State Long Beach for one student and community college for two students.

The most popular career choice among Filipino students was nursing. Over forty percent of all the Filipino students in the study indicated they planned on becoming a nurse. Nursing was strongly recommended by their parents, and the students also had positive attitudes towards the profession. Because there is a large presence of nurses among Filipino immigrants, all of the students in the study had a mother, relative, or a family friend who was a nurse. One female student said, "My parents want me to study nursing because they make a lot of money." Another female student said, "My relatives say I should become a nurse because we are in shortage of nurses." A male student said nursing is a tradition in his family, "Most of my cousins went into nursing. Filipino parents want you to become successful. When one cousin went into being an artist she was looked down upon. So that cousin is now studying to become a nurse... Not only female cousins but male cousins are going into it as well. My parents and everybody are trying to convince me to go into nursing. Once I make some money, then they said I can

do whatever I want. I kinda want to work with fancy cars, but my parents want me to wait." Another male student said his grandparents recommend nursing as a career, "They said its pretty easy schooling. You can just go to ELCO [El Camino Community College]." He was told that nurses get paid well, $30/hour. However, when he heard from a friend that nurses have to change bedding, he was having second thoughts.

Besides nursing, Filipino parents didn't seem to push their children toward any particular career. A female student says her mom tells her to "Do good in school. Go to college. Get a job. And make a lot of money." She is thinking about becoming a forensic nurse but doesn't know where she wants to go to school. Her ex-boyfriend and current boyfriend are students at El Camino so she was open minded about the community college route herself. The students not interested in nursing were planning on majoring in engineering, computer science, web design, and graphic design – all technical careers. The top two Filipino students in the study in terms of GPA and SAT score are the twin brother and the student church leader. Coincidentally, both are accepted to UCLA and both are aspiring engineers.

Conclusion

The average GPAs and SAT scores of Korean adolescents in the sample are significantly higher than those of Filipino students based on what was reported on the questionnaire and during the interviews. This chapter highlights the affect of several important variables on academic outcomes. First is social network. Only a few Filipino students had friendship circles comprised of Asian students. In fact, only the Filipino

twin brothers had high achieving Korean and Japanese friends. Most of the Filipino students had friends who are of various backgrounds. Some Filipino students stated that their friendship circle is mostly Latino and African American because of common interests, especially music and dance. They stated that they "identified culturally" with Latinos and African Americans rather than Asian American students. On the other hand, Korean students "stuck with one another." Their friendship circle did not extend beyond other Asians and whites. The students who attend a Korean church had tight friendships with fellow church members even when they did not attend the same high schools. Surrounding oneself with an academically oriented peer network is an advantage that Korean students had over Filipino students.

Second, I argue that family dynamics affect educational outcomes. The interviews show two different trends of parental control in Filipino and Korean families. Filipino students expressed that their parents are not very strict when it comes to academics. Of course, Filipino parents wanted their children to do well in school, but students did not feel pressured from their parents to strive for straight A's. Surprisingly, many Filipino teenagers used the expression "cool" to describe their parents. Filipino immigrant parents are different from other Asian immigrant parents because they speak English and acculturated to American culture even before leaving the Philippines. Thus, it should not be surprising that Filipino parents do not have a typical "Asian immigrant parenting style," dictating how children should spend time after school and placing authority on what college they should attend, what they should study, or what career they should pursue. Rather, Filipino immigrant parents' parenting styles were not

distinguishable with what we think of as American parenting styles, respecting children's individualism and giving children the freedom to decide on their future.

Korean parents were far from being "cool" in the eyes of their teenage children. "They are too Korean," meaning they are too academically demanding is how Korean parents are described by their children. The majority of Korean parents showed genuine interest in their children's academic performance. Through ethnic media and social networks, parents were well informed about the availability of educational resources in the mainstream and ethnic communities.

Finally, I argue that Korean adolescents are more likely to have retained the culture that parents want to instill in the children because of the ethnic surroundings. The essence of Korean culture, respecting elders and obeying parents, is reinforced at Korean churches and Korean language schools. Korean students are more likely than other teenagers to follow their parents' suggestions, advice, or coercion. Students complain about their forced attendance to various ethnic institutions, but most of them obey their parents. Furthermore, participation in ethnic institutions has become so common among Korean adolescents that many have accepted it as part of the Korean American experience. They would say, "It's a Korean thing."

CHAPTER 5

RELIGIOUS PARTICIPATION AMONG KOREAN AND FILIPINO SECOND GENERATION

The effect of religion on educational success is a topic not discussed often among sociologists. In this study, I ask a sensitive question of whether variations in the religious organizations and environments in which immigrant children grow up can account for intergroup differences in educational outcomes. This chapter examines three churches; a Korean Protestant Church, a Filipino Protestant Church, and a Catholic Church with a dominant Filipino membership. The purpose of comparing the churches is not to compare the religious teachings between Protestantism and Catholicism but to compare the social organizations. As Lopez states in his study of the Catholic Church in the Mexican American community, "If religion bears any importance to ethnic success in America, it is not due to the specific content of beliefs, but rather to the social organization of religious organizations and the social practices carried out within these organizations" (Lopez, 2002).

Korean Immigrant Church

Since the arrival of the first wave of Korean laborers to Hawaii in 1903, Korean immigrant churches played an important part in the lives of Korean immigrants. Due to the influence of Western missionaries in Korea since the late 1800s, many Korean immigrants who sailed to Hawaii were already Christians (Choy, 1979). To the Korean

plantation workers in Hawaii, Korean churches played an important role serving as the social, educational, cultural, and political institution.

With the passage of the 1965 Hart-Celler Act and the dramatic increase in Korean American population, there has subsequently been proliferation of Korean immigrant churches in the United States. The number of Korean immigrant churches in the United States is estimated to have grown to 2,763 in 2000 (*Christian Today*, November 11, 2000). In the Greater Los Angeles Area alone, 668 Korean Protestant churches and 14 Korean Catholic churches are listed in the *2005-6 Korean Business Directory* published by the *Korea Central Daily*. The number of Korean churches listed in the business directory increases annually.

Less than half of contemporary Korean immigrants are Christians pre-emigration, but after immigration, between 70 to 75 percent of Koreans reported as being Christians (Kim and Kim, 2001). Others have estimated that as much as 80 percent of Korean Americans in New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles attended weekly services (Kim 1992, Min, 1998). Given the high percentage of Korean church members, it would not be an exaggeration to state that the Korean church is the single most important ethnic institution anchoring this ethnic community. It serves multiple functions including meeting religious and spiritual needs, offering socio-psychological support, economic assistance, and educational resources for immigrants and their families (Min and Kim, 2002). This chapter examines church participation among 1.5 and second generation Korean American high school students. In particular, the focus is the effect of church involvement in their education.

First Torrance Presbyterian Church

Torrance First Presbyterian Church (TFPC) is one of the dozen Korean "mega-churches" in the Greater Los Angeles Area. TFPC was founded in 1979 and has grown to be a church with seven full time pastors and a congregation of over 2500. There are three main Sunday services led by the head pastor, two English ministry services, and one afternoon service for Korean speaking college students and young adults. The tithing from all the services amount to approximately $100,000 each week. After each service, with an exception of early morning service, Korean lunch is prepared and sold for two dollars in the fellowship hall. There is always rice, kimchi, and one main dish. On the opposite side of the fellowship hall, free coffee is served all day. Hundreds of people eat lunch at TFPC. Eating Korean food after the service is a tradition in many Korean immigrant churches.

TFPC like other Korean immigrant churches is much more than a place of worship. Korean church is a place where Korean culture is reproduced and maintained, especially for the younger generation. Besides the services mentioned above for adults, there are separate services for elementary, junior high, and senior high school students. Junior and senior high school students are separated by language. In other words, there is a Korean language junior high school service and English language junior high service, each in separate spaces with its own pastors. The same goes for high school ministry. Since the focus of my research is on the second generation high school students, I spent most of my time observing the English language senior high ministry. For the purpose of comparison, I observed the Korean language service for junior and high school students.

English ministry service for high school students starts promptly at 11:00 a.m. Little over two hundred 9th to 12th graders attend the service. I was surprised to see two hundred teenagers at a church on Sunday. According to the senior class teacher, "Church attendance is not an option for these kids because parents make them come." Most of the students have been coming to church ever since they were infants because it was part of their family life. One female student in her junior year said, "I have been coming to church ever since I can remember. I rebelled against it, but my parents want me to be here. My father is the choir director and my mother sings in the choir. My mom would be in tears if I said I don't want to go. So I guess its obedience." The pastor said once in his sermon, "Our culture, Korean-Americanness, is that we grow up in church." Later he prayed, "We want worshiping to be more than family commitment, more than just from habit." However, from the interviews, it was evident that for many students, church attendance was out of habit, a family commitment that they couldn't break away from.

After the service, students are divided by grade levels and an hour long Sunday school follows. There is also Friday evening Bible Study and Wednesday evening Prayer meeting for high school students. The vast majority of the students come from high schools around the South Bay area including Torrance, Palos Verdes, and Gardena. Almost all the students attend their neighborhood public high schools except for the handful students who were accepted to highly selective California Math and Science Academy (CAMS) in Carson. The students in the English ministry are either born in the United States or immigrated at a very young age. Everyone speaks unaccented English

with one another, including the pastor and the Sunday school teachers who are also 1.5 or 2nd generation Korean Americans in their professional careers or in graduate school.

High school Sunday service always starts with praise. All the lights are turned off and two hundred students stand up to sing praise. The lyrics are screened on the wall using a computer. The electric praise band produces live music with their drums, guitars and keyboard. The band members are comprised of high school students and Sunday school teachers. Two lead singers project their voice loudly on the microphones which is connected to fancy sound system equipment. In all aspects, except for the lyrics, the atmosphere of praise worship resembles that of a concert. Some students sing with their eyes closed and others have their arms raised up. After 25 minutes, the lead singer and guitarist of the praise band leads an opening prayer and everybody sits down.

Finally, it is time for the sermon. Because the previous pastor had left the high school ministry the church was in the process of recruiting a new pastor. Today's sermon is given by Kwon Park, a recent UCLA graduate who is currently attending a seminary school. The title of Park's sermon was "Spiritually Tiring." The following is an excerpt from his sermon.

> High school is a difficult time... school, parents, expectations for grades. And parents expect you to be this and that because you are their first son. Sometimes I wanted to be someone else. I know there is a lot of pressure at school. You are told to get good grades. God understands all that. He offers you his yoke so that you can unleash the worldly burdens (Nov 9, 2003).

At the end of the sermon the lead singer of the praise band says out loud, "Give Kwon a hand." Everyone in the congregation claps enthusiastically. The advantage of having a separate high school ministry from adult ministry is that the sermons are age

appropriate. Park is able to zero in on the needs of the high school students. He acknowledged how difficult it is to live a life of a second generation Korean American because immigrant parents expect so much from their children. Because Park himself is a son of immigrants, he is able to relate to the audience.

On Friday evenings from 7 to 9 p.m. students gather at church for Bible study. On a typical Friday, approximately fifty students come to church. Once again, the lights are turned off, praise band is loud, and students sing for thirty minutes. One student goes up to the podium and prays, "Thank you God for the education we get and giving us the motivation to study. Thank you God for our family, having people to love and care for us, and our parents who break their backs for us. Thank you God for our friends. We pray for a new high school pastor and the Bible study teachers..." The closing prayer by another student is similar from the opening prayer, "God, when sometimes our studies are too hard or when we disagree with our parents, please help us." Here is another prayer request from a high school junior during Sunday school, "Thank you for our parents. Please help us to be respectful especially when they are annoying." It is very clear that students are concerned with doing well in school, and they come to church and try to find comfort from all the pressures they feel to be high achievers. It is also evident from listening to the prayers that students confront conflicts at home with their immigrant parents. Because these students have to deal with not only generational gaps but also cultural gaps with their parents, it may be more straining at home than other teenagers.

I interviewed a Friday night Bible study teacher who also teaches a 9th grade Sunday school class. A woman in her early twenties, she is a daughter of immigrants

who owned dry cleaners. She attended Chadwick private high school in Palos Verdes and went on to attend U.C. Berkeley. Currently, she was a graduate student at UCLA studying towards a masters degree in education. During the interview, I learned that students e-mail prayer requests to teachers and Sunday school classmates. Most often the prayer requests are about upcoming exams. "Please pray for my math exam next week," is a typical request she said. Sometimes when they do poorly on an exam they ask for a prayer as well. She said that the positive atmosphere of the church environment can alleviate stress they feel from school and home, but sometimes the church can add more pressure. "Although coming to church helps release the pressure, they are even more pressured to do well because church teaches them to be good models. Also they are surrounded by many who are good students. It is natural for them to compare themselves to others." However, the teacher seemed to think this is healthy peer group pressure which can have a positive academic effect.

Sunday school teachers play an important role in motivating students to study hard at school. In fact, the male Sunday school teacher who is the lead singer of praise band is also a private SAT tutor for few of the church students. One Sunday school teacher said to her class of seniors, "If you don't have plans for college, you'll become losers. You'll become losers for a long time." Then she talked about her brother who dropped out of college and how he regrets his decision. A mother of two high school girls relied on the Bible study teachers to help her raise her daughters and keep them on a straight path, "Sunday school teachers are good role models for my daughters because they tell the students to study and not date anyone seriously until college. When I tell

them to study or give advice my daughters think it's nagging, but when the Sunday school teacher says the same thing they listen and accept it."

After interviewing the students and many of their parents, it became obvious that the number one concern for many of these students and their parents is not religious life but academic life. According to the 9th grade Bible study teacher, many students leave the church after their sophomore year because of school demands and hagwon schedule. This is why the freshmen and sophomore population at church is much bigger than the junior and senior population. A female high school junior told me that she had to compromise with her mother about time spent at church. Because of all the church activities including Bible study and social events, she was coming to church three to four evenings a week. Her mother wanted her daughter to attend a SAT hagwon three times a week instead. They reached a compromise so the daughter comes to church only on Friday evenings and Sunday mornings, and instead of a enrolling in a SAT hagwon they hired a private SAT tutor once a week. Luckily they were able to hire a private tutor at a reasonable cost because the tutor was a church member who taught as a favor to students and not for a profit. Other parents did not have a problem with their son or daughter spending a lot of time at church. One mother said, "If they are gonna be out, it is better to be at church."

Although most of the students I met at TFPC seemed sincere about church and school, there were exceptions. One female student in her junior year states, "Not everyone at church is doing well in school or walking the narrow path. This church is so big that some high school students use the empty rooms on the second floor to smoke.

There are many cliques here, and if you don't belong to any of them, you feel really left out." For some students, church is a place to hang out with friends. A senior Bible study teacher states, "Some students come to church meet their friends who are not necessarily their school friends. These are often friends they grew up with. It's a social outlet." Dating fellow church friends, however, was surprisingly uncommon. The previous pastor did not allow cabinet members or student leaders to date within the church. Although I asked all the students I interviewed if they knew of anyone dating within the church, their answer was "no." One girl in her junior year said, "There was one couple last year but that was about it. But just because we are not going out with anyone at church, it doesn't mean we don't have a secret crush on a guy." Another girl in her junior year commented, "I go out with guys at school, not church guys. I am more attracted to white guys than Asian guys I guess."

A few weeks later, senior high ministry welcomed Daniel Song as their new pastor. When Pastor Song was first introduced to the students, he jokingly said it must have been his Ivy League background that got him this job. Indeed, he was a graduate of University of Pennsylvania and Princeton Seminary School. What made him more perfect was that he was born in Korea but immigrated early enough to speak unaccented English. The following is an excerpt from Pastor Song's sermon.

> We worship for something other than God, for a dream, career, or reputation. If you spend all your time studying, going to SAT classes... If you made an idol of studying then you are missing the mark. There are more to life than just achieving. This is not everything.... You guys are smart. You guys are talented. You will be successful. But there is more. God is patiently waiting. (April 25, 2004)

The purpose of Pastor Song's messages is not to pull students away from studying and achieving, but he wanted the students to have a better perspective, with God in the center. Pastor Song realized that students were coming to church to unleash their stress and pressures from academic life and for some students this was consuming their lives. In another sermon few months later, Pastor Song said to the students, "Something deep within us cried for more... more than just getting good grades... It is easy to praise when things are going well. When you get 1500 on your SATs, it's easy to praise God. But how about when thing aren't going well?" The new pastor was hoping that students grow spiritually and have a relationship with God, above and beyond their academic life.

Filipino Church

Catholicism has dominated the Filipino population since the colonization period. The Spaniards' major accomplishment during their three centuries in the Philippines was the conversion of the vast majority of the population to Roman Catholicism. In some instances, this meant a conversion away from Islam, but in most, Catholicism replaced and blended with folk religious traditions (Posadas, 1999). Five out of six Filipinos are reported as belong to the Roman Catholic Church according to the recent census in the Philippines (Posadas, 1999). Thus, it would be safe to assume that most Filipino immigrants have a strong Catholic background and continue that spiritual life in their new country. The CILS data of San Diego which had a significant sampling of second generation Filipinos indicate that 80 percent are Catholic (Min and Xiang, 2005). What is not clear is the percentage of Filipino immigrants who attend mass regularly. From the

interviews and surveys with Filipino students and parents, I gathered that most were Catholics but that didn't necessarily mean they regularly attend church on Sundays. Many stated that they attend mass during special occasions and holidays.

St. Philomena Catholic Church

St. Philomena is a Catholic church in Carson. It is an impressive architectural building constructed in 2000. The members of this church are from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds, Filipino, Samoan, and African-American with the majority being Filipino. According to the church's secretary, Filipinos make up more than 80 percent which explains why St. Philomena is sometimes called "St. Filipino." However, it is not a Filipino church per se. In fact, the office manager informs me that Catholic churches cannot be divided by ethnic lines. The only exception, she said was Korean Catholic churches because they use Korean language and that automatically excludes all the non-Koreans. Until recently, Koreans used to gather in the multi-purpose room at St. Philomena and hold a separate mass lead by a Korean priest. However, they moved out in 2004 after building a church of their own.

St. Philomena has four priests, two Filipino priests, one Caucasian priest, and one Vietnamese priest. The head priest is Filipino. There are eight masses on Sundays, the first one at 6 a.m. and the last one at 6 p.m. The church has over 4000 registered families. As for weekly mass attendance head count is not made, but it is estimated that approximately 800 to 1000 people fill up the church during each mass. The Director of Youth Ministry estimates 8000 to 10,000 people attend mass each week. Although the

size of the congregation far exceeds that of the Korean church, there is no separate mass for youngsters. The Director of Youth Ministry, a Latino woman is her thirties, explained that at her previous church there was a separate youth/young adult mass. However, at St. Philomena, the families prefer to come to mass together. All the children young and old attend mass with adults in the main sanctuary.

St. Philomena also operates a private Catholic school for kindergarteners to eighth graders. The total enrollment for the school is 230 students. For a church that has a congregation of 8000 to 10,000, its school enrollment seemed very small. There are approximately 26-32 students in each grade level; one classroom for each grade. Out of the 230 students, approximately 85 percent is Filipino according to the school secretary. The remaining 10 percent is "Hispanic," and the rest are white and black students. The tuition is $3000 annually and there is a $450 yearly fee in addition to the tuition. The Catholic school is not subsidized by the church; it is completely self-sufficient. Upon graduation, the vast majority of eighth graders continue their Catholic education by enrolling in one of several Catholic high schools in the South Bay.

Somewhat similar to the Protestant church's Sunday school or the Bible study classes is St. Philomena's confirmation classes. Confirmation requires a two year course that students start in their freshmen year of high school. 252 freshmen were enrolled in the first year of confirmation class, and 169 sophomores were enrolled in the second year confirmation class. According to one of the teachers or catechists as they are called, "At first the students are forced to come because their parents pay the tuition and enroll their children. Later on, a lot of them come to the meetings out of their own will." The vast

majority of the students are Filipino. The fast growing minority is "Hispanic," and few are white. Almost all the students come from Carson and neighboring cities. The first year confirmation class meets every Tuesday evenings from 7:00 to 8:30 p.m., and second year students meet on Thursdays during the same time. There is no third or fourth year, meaning high school juniors and seniors do not have religious classes. If students wish to continue participating, they can come to the confirmation classes as volunteers to help the catechists. However, the leaders informed me that said that high school juniors and seniors are busy so most of them don't come back.

There are six second year confirmation classes, approximately thirty students in each class. One of them is a bilingual class for the growing "Hispanic" members of the church. I was given permission by the Director of Youth Ministries and Confirmation to attend one of the second year confirmation classes. The class I observed was led my two Filipino male catechists in their twenties. The class started promptly at 7:10 p.m. in a Catholic school classroom. Despite the fact that it was final examination week at most high schools, all but two students came to the meeting. The second year students had returned from the annual confirmation retreat which took place over the weekend. The catechists were not aware that the retreat was scheduled during the final examination weekend.

The 90-minute confirmation class started with everyone introducing themselves again. Each student said what their favorite color was and how they were feeling at the moment. Then they played an ice breaker game for 20 minutes. The fun game was followed by a verse reading and a brief discussion of the verse. After the discussion,

there was another group activity where students stood against the wall and stepped forward if they identified with the statements called out by the catechists. More than twenty questions were asked, ranging from family life, religious practice, family, music preference, etc... However, not one question was asked about school. When the activity was over, the catechists told a story about a little girl who witnessed Jesus. Afterwards, they played another game where they put their heads down and the catechists secretly passed the jellybeans. Later, the students were told that jellybeans represented God's spirit. Then it was time for announcements. The catechist asked if they have been working on the "blue book" which was a Bible study guide. Only two students raised their hand. The students were asked to bring the book next week so they can work on it together. Also, they promised to play jeopardy based on facts from the blue book. They also planned to do a skit at the next meeting. Finally, one of the students led a closing prayer and the class was over.

When the students left the room, I had a chance to interview the catechists. Since both of them were graduates of St. Philomena's confirmation classes, I asked if their religious beliefs and participation helped them to focus on their academics when they were high school students. The first catechist who graduated from California State University at Long Beach said, "No, I studied because I didn't want to let my family down. I don't see a relationship between religious participation and doing well at school." The second catechist who was working and going to college part-time said, "The students here are more concerned about family and friendship than school. Some kids completely change when they come here. You can't tell how bad they are when you

look at them. I didn't know either, but they open up after they start trusting you. When they start talking about their faults, you'll be shocked." The catechists did not believe there was a relationship between religious participation and academics. It was not their responsibility or mission to lead the students to do well in school. The goal was narrow, to help students confirm their faith and meet some of the spiritual needs. However, it was clear that there was no spillover effect on education or school performance.

In addition to the confirmation classes, a small group of high school and college students formed a youth ministry group. They meet on Sunday afternoons at 2 p.m. in one of the church classrooms. Although I have been told by the leader that students meet every Sunday, the meetings did not seem to be regular. If there is a social occasion like a birthday party of a member or a BBQ at a Korean Catholic Church, students canceled the meeting.

When they did meet, punctuality did not seem important. It often took thirty minutes for about a dozen students to come together. While they were waiting for the meeting to start, they listened to loud music coming from the boom box. One male student practiced his steps to rap music. One female student played the piano. The rest of the students socialized. Finally at 2:30 p.m. the leader of the group said, "Okay, I guess we should start now." The opening prayer was by one male student who later I found out is a college student from California State University, Long Beach. The students decided to start the meeting with a trivia game. All the students stood up inside a circle of chairs. They each wrote a name of a famous person on a piece of paper and stuck it on their back. The object of the game is to guess the name of the person on his or

her back. For a group of high school students, the guessing game seems very easy. For example, a sophomore female student was asked who the first American president was. She replied, "I am really bad in history." The students tried to restrain themselves from laughing. One of the students blurted out, "Who is on the dollar bill?" Still, the girl couldn't answer but kept saying, "I told you I suck in history." Another student said, "There is a state that matches his name." After awhile, the students gave up and blurted out the answer.

After the game, the group sat in a circle and took turns talking about their week. Not one of them talked about school related topics. Most of them talked about their family and friends. Then the leader of the group asked, "Who do you look up to and why?" The answers from the students were: "a quarterback because he is a good leader," "Britney Spears because she is pretty and a good singer," "older sister because she has had a hard life," and "a firefighter." Towards the end of the meeting they made plans for the rest of the year, a trip to the Museum of Tolerance and an upcoming birthday party for the president of the youth ministry group who was turning eighteen. She was a freshman at California State University at Long Beach, and her parents were throwing a traditional Filipino birthday party for her. The meeting lasted about ninety minutes. There was no reading from the Bible or praise singing during the entire time. When I asked the Director of Youth Ministry and Confirmation if she saw a relationship between religious participation and school performance she smiled and said, "No, not here, definitely not here. Some of these kids are involved in gangs, but they are still here, and some of them come to mass on Sundays too."

The title of the meeting, "youth ministry" did not accurately describe the function of the group. There was very little religious component to the meetings. The students did not bring up school problems. There was no encouragement from the leaders to have the students do well in school. I found very little if any activities in their meetings that would facilitate good study behavior or academic achievement. The same goes for the confirmation classes. The fact that catechists did not even acknowledge that it was final examination week at the high schools was a contrast from what I observed at the Korean church. The catechists and the students did not pray to help them do well on the upcoming tests. In fact, one of the catechists said, "We don't get prayer requests about school stuff. In this community, it seems like friendship and social things are more important. A lot of problems we hear about are friends and family."

Word for the World South Bay – A Filipino Protestant Church

Although my original research plan was to compare two churches, the Korean Presbyterian Church and the Catholic Church with majority Filipino membership, I added one more church to my study, a Filipino Presbyterian church called Word for the World South Bay. My curiosity about this church was aroused during several interviews with Filipino students at North High School. They told me that they are Protestants although most of the Filipinos at school are Catholics. A male student in his junior year said, "Most of my friends are not Christians. They're Catholic, but they don't go to church. They do the drinking, partying, smoking. I am probably the best student out of my friends. I think their grades are lower than mine... It seems like my church friends are

more school oriented than the Filipino friends at school... Perhaps there is a connection between grades and religion." This student's father was a pastor of Word for the World South Bay, and the high school youth group meeting was held at his house on Saturday evenings. I was invited to join the Saturday meeting and also his church. I accepted his invitation.

At 7:35 p.m. on a Saturday evening I arrived at the doorstep of the student's house for the youth fellowship meeting. It was a very small house in a working class neighborhood of Torrance. All nine students were already present and they filled up the cozy little family room. A male student, headed for UCLA in the fall, played a guitar and the rest of the group sang praise standing up and clapping to the rhythm. Their loud singing voices filled the small room. The next song was a softer tone. They closed their eyes, and one girl raised her arms as she sang. After the second song was over, a girl prayed out aloud for everyone. The style of worship was similar in content and style with Korean Bible study meetings on Friday evenings.

At 8:00 p.m. the leader of the group arrived. She was a graduate student at USC and she brought a first generation African immigrant friend who worked as a financial aid officer at Pomona College. He was brought as a guest so that students can ask questions concerning financial aid. However, before the financial aid information session, all eyes are on me to start a presentation on college admissions process. To prepare myself for this presentation, I attended two information sessions. The first one I attended was given by Angela Um at Faith Church, a Korean mega-church in Orange County. A graduate from U.C. Berkeley and Harvard, Um was a former admissions officer for Harvard and

MIT. Um's presentation was attended by over one thousand Koreans. The second one I attended was presented by Freeman Chang, a UCLA admissions officer. Sponsored by the UCLA Korean alumni association, Chang's two hour presentation was held at the Oriental Mission Church in Koreatown in the fall of 2004. With notes from these two sessions, I gave a brief presentation of my own explaining the differences between public and private schools in terms of their admissions process and what kind of applicants the schools are looking for.

After my presentation was over, the financial aid officer from Pomona College talked about the general application process including required documents and deadlines. Students listened attentively and asked questions afterwards. The students decided to skip reading the scripture during this evening's meeting because of the presentations. Afterwards, there was food prepared by the pastor's wife, chicken cooked in Filipino style. Everyone gathered in the kitchen and helped themselves a bowl of chicken stew from the pot and scooped some rice on their plate. We all ate standing up in the kitchen and the family room. Everyone seemed like a one big family.

I took this opportunity to interview the student's father, the pastor. He was very proud of his son who was doing well in school despite the fact that he immigrated to the U.S. only four years ago. According to the pastor, the majority of the students in his church are getting A's and B's, "They have fear in the Lord so they have more commitment to do better in school... Even the parents tell me that their kids are doing better in school since they've gone to this church." A student who was standing next to us jumped in and said, "That's because we have an influence on each other not only

through Bible study meetings but there is also a summer camp." The pastor then said, "You know, 85 percent of Filipinos are Catholic. It's a national religion and it is universal. And the majority of Catholic Filipinos have done things they aren't supposed to like drinking. For them it's okay as long as they are not hurting anyone else. That is the big difference with us." The pastor distinguished the behavior of Catholic Filipinos from Protestant Filipinos saying that his congregation is made up of religious converts. The Filipinos at his church had converted from Catholicism to Protestantism. The congregation he described sounded similar to the "born-again" Christians found at Korean immigrant churches. In both cases, the members had a religious fervor and an active religious involvement.

The very next morning, I visited The Word of the World South Bay which was located in the less desirable part of Torrance. Because the building was so small, I drove pass the building several times thinking it was a small warehouse. The church had a small front gated door that looked like an interior bedroom door, certainly not a typical entrance for a church. The interior of the church also resembled a warehouse. Prior to the 10 o'clock service, the students, elementary through high school, gathered for an hour for Sunday school. Then they joined their parents in the main room which was filled with approximately two hundred people. From reading of the scriptures, to singing the hymn, this service was similar to the Korean church except for the absence of a choir. The worship service was over at 11:30, and there was no fellowship afterwards, no coffee and donuts, and certainly no lunch. To my surprise, everyone socialized for awhile and went home.

Common Goals of Korean and Filipino Protestant Churches

There were some important commonalities between the Filipino Protestant Church and the Korean Protestant Church. It is not so much the teachings of the Bible but teachings of immigrant cultures. Korean pastors advocate a mono-ethnic congregation because they believe that church is the main institution responsible for maintaining the Korean culture and passing it down to the children (Min and Kim, 2002). The most important is the reinforcement of traditional values. The Sunday school teachers at the Korean church and the pastor at the Filipino church emphasize "respect for elders – especially parents" as one of the most important cultural values. One of the Sunday school teachers at the Korean church said during the interview, "Values are reinforced here [at church]. It's a subculture. This is the only Korean culture that kids know... like family obligation. And the English speaking 1.5 and second generation teachers like myself play a mediating role bridging the gap between the teenagers and their parents." The Filipino pastor also believes the church is more than just a place of worship. He commented on the role of his church in reinforcing the Filipino values to second generation Filipino youth,

> Second generation kids lack respect. There is stronger respect among Filipinos who came [to the U.S.] later. Second generation Filipinos sometimes call parents by first name. In the Philippines parents can discipline. It's not easy to discipline here. Our church helps Filipinos, even second generation Filipinos, keep their ethnic Filipino culture. We try to reinforce respect. Sometimes we openly criticize American culture. We tell the kids to obey parents and listen to teachers.... I would say that Protestant church definitely reinforces the Filipino family values.

The reinforcement of values, especially obeying the parents and respecting teachers, can very well bring about positive academic results. The Protestant churches are taking on a mediating role that helps immigrant parents raise their children. In other words, churches are preventing a complete loss of the second generation to "American" cultures.

Conclusion

If American-born or –raised Filipino and Korean teenagers can be more culturally Filipino or more culturally Korean, they are more likely to respect and obey their parents and teachers. The link seems to be student's participation at a church, but only if the church takes on the responsibility of reinforcing the immigrant values and promoting academic success. The Catholic Church I observed had a narrow religious focus; it did not concern itself with school achievement. Furthermore, it would not be feasible to reinforce cultural values at a Catholic Church since the members are multi-ethnic.

I argue that there is a direct link between preservation of traditional values fostered by the Protestant ethnic churches with educational achievement. By emphasizing the importance of culture, hard work, education, and respect for adults, Protestant churches play an important role in keeping students on a "straight path" and more focused on academic life during the difficult teenage years. Involvement in church services and activities constitute a form of social integration that has the consequence of reinforcing the values conductive to educational achievement and goal-setting. Thus, I conclude that commitment to church and peer support groups within the church can positively influence teenagers with their academics.

CHAPTER 6

ETHNIC MEDIA, HAGWON, AND LANGUAGE SCHOOLS

Although Korean immigrants came from diverse socioeconomic backgrounds, it is the migration of largely urban, well-educated immigrants that make up the foundation of contemporary Korean immigration. I open this chapter with a description of what Koreans call their "education fever" (*kyoyuk yolgi*) because it is important to understand the cultural context of the society Korean immigrants left behind. Concern or obsession with educational attainment is not confined to the urban middle class of Seoul, but it's an all-pervasive feature of Korea. The culture of "education fever" is brought to the United States by the immigrants. However, it is not always an easy task to transmit this "education fever" to U.S. born or raised second generation adolescents. I argue that Korean immigrants have been successful in their efforts to pass on the culture that idolizes education because of the strong ethnic community made up of Korean institutions and businesses that cater to the hunger for education.

Korean immigrants are highly concentrated in just a few large metropolitan areas with Los Angeles being the city with largest number of Koreans outside of Korea. In the areas of high concentration of Korean immigrants, there has nonetheless been a tremendous growth of ethnic institutions: Korean businesses, churches, and ethnic media, including television, radio, and newspapers. Growing up in a metropolitan area with a large Korean immigrant population, Korean youth are exposed to and affected by ethnic

institutions. Variations in the immediate social environments in which immigrant children grow up may account for intergroup differences in educational outcomes.

In this chapter I examine three ethnic institutions; ethnic media, language schools, and hagwons which are private academic supplementary institutions. By studying the ethnic media, academic institutions, and the language schools, this chapter attempts to answer the question of whether it is culture from parents' homeland or structure from ethnic institutions that promotes the educational achievement among the children of Korean immigrants.[1]

Education Fever

The day of the national university entrance examinations in Korea is an annual event that many citizens observe with anxiety and hope.

> Thousands of special duty police were on hand in many cities; thirteen thousand police had been mobilized in Seoul alone. Flights at the nation's airports had been restricted, and special efforts had been made to halt construction to avoid creating noise or commotion of any kind. (*Korea Herald*, Nov. 18, 1999)

For weeks, Buddhist temples and churches had been filled with hopeful parents and students. It is a day for which high school seniors have prepared since the first grade, and for which parents have sacrificed a large portion of their family income on tuition, private academies, and tutors (Seth, 2002). According to Seth (2002), education is a national obsession in Korea. There are private academies (hagwon) everywhere for elementary, middle, and high school students, even young adults. Korean families invest heavily in

[1] This chapter draws heavily on my collaborative work with Min Zhou on the ethnic system of supplementary education (Zhou and Kim, 2006).

the education of their children. Students, even at a young age, spend a huge portion of their time studying for examinations. "Although education is important in every nation, even casual visitors become aware of the intense preoccupation of South Koreans with schooling," (Seth, 2002: 2).

How can we explain the zeal for education? In a study of Korean society in the 1990s, Lett (1998) explained it by what she termed the "yangbanization" (nobility) of Korean society. The country's growing middle class had acquired the traditional concepts of elite status once held by the *yangban* (Korean upper-class aristocrats). However, with the decline of the hereditary privilege, ancestry was no longer important. Instead, markers of status had become material goods, high-class marriages, and above all, educational degrees from prestigious universities. Thus, education has become a means to firmly establish one's position in society.

Table 9. Comparative Enrollment Ratios, 1990

Country	Secondary Education	Higher Education
South Korea	88%	38.7%
United States	80%	69.5%
Japan	98%	31.3%
France	88%	39.6%
Netherlands	76%	37.6%
Mexico	46%	15.2%
Philippines	54%	26.4%

UNESCO Statistical Yearbook 1993 (Paris: *UNESCO*, 1993)

Despite the very strong demand for education, opportunities for higher education are limited. Secondary education has been virtually universal since the early 1970s with

97 percent of middle school students entering high schools by 1996 (Kim, 2000). In recent years, about 75 percent of high school graduates have taken the national entrance examinations for college and university admission, but only about half of all applicants could be accepted into four-year colleges and universities (Kim, 2000). Table 9 shows the comparative enrollment ratio of secondary and higher education in selected countries. The higher education enrollment in Korea is only surpassed by the U.S. and France. Table 9 also shows that Philippines' school enrollment is lower than the more developed countries, particularly at the secondary level. Among the listed countries, Philippines trail behind all the countries except Mexico.

Although Philippines' efforts to increase student enrollment in the education sector are among the most impressive in the region, basic education is not universally available to all Filipino youths. From 1981 to 1998, enrollment rates in primary schools increased from 84.6 to 95.1 percent, but the secondary enrollment rate only increased from 54.7 to 64.0 percent (Behrman et al, 2002). Furthermore, the cohort survival rate is low. It is estimated that over 30 percent of students who start Grade 1 never reach Grade 6, and slightly less than 30 percent who start first year secondary school do not make it to the fourth year (Behrman et al, 2002). In other words, more than half of those who start first grade do not reach the final year of secondary school or tenth grade. In light of these figures, I do not believe Filipino citizens share the "education fever" which is so prevalent in Korean society. At the same time, I do not contest the authors who have claimed that Filipinos place a strong cultural value on education. However, holding a high regard for education is somewhat different from upholding the view that acquiring a

degree from a top university is becoming a *yangban*, a member of the elite or nobility. When Korean immigrants packed their bags for the U.S., they brought over the cultural zeal for education. The following pages describe the ways that "education fever" is carried over and recreated in the Korean American communities.

Ethnic Media

Ethnic media is one of the ways immigrant culture is reproduced in Korean American communities. The Korean community in Los Angeles have various forms of ethnic media; newspapers, radio stations, television programs, and directories. Two major Korean newspapers are circulated widely in the United States, *The Korea Times* and *The Korea Daily*. These two papers are similar in many respects. Both papers originated from Korea but boast a thirty year history in Los Angeles. Both companies have a staff of over 250, not including those employed in circulation which they subcontract out. The papers have two parts, Korean news section and local news section. From an interview with the formal president of *The Korea Daily*, I gathered that roughly 40,000 prints of *Korea Daily* and possibly 50,000 prints of *The Korea Times* are circulated daily in the greater Los Angeles with the majority being delivered to the reader's doorsteps. There isn't a Sunday edition of Korean newspaper. Instead, *Los Angeles Times* is delivered to all the subscribers free of charge.

On Mondays, *The Korea Times* and *The Korea Daily* print a section devoted to education ten to twelve pages in length. As of a few years ago, both papers can also be viewed online, and the website has a heading for education. With such a large circulation,

the Korean newspaper is one of the primary ways Korean immigrant parents learn about the American education system. The education section has articles on average SAT scores of local high schools, rankings of top American colleges, college admission requirements and strategies, how to finance children's college education, and parenting strategies in general. These are usually written by Korean American educators, parents, counselors, hagwon teachers, social workers, and financial planners. In addition, education-related articles published in mainstream newspapers or weekly periodicals such as *Time* or *Newsweek* are translated and published in the Korean newspaper. Immigrant parents find out about various hagwons and academic programs through the ethnic media. Full-page and half-page education related advertisements are abundant in Korean newspaper especially during the beginning of the school year, during SAT season, and prior to the start of summer when parents are searching for children's summer programs.

In addition to the two main newspapers, there are many other "specialty" weekly papers that are freely available at newsstands outside Korean markets and restaurants. One of them is *USAeduNews* published since year 2002 in Los Angeles. As of 2004 this paper can also be viewed online. The following is a mission statement translated into English, "This paper was born to quench the thirst for information that immigrant parents have about American education." As the name suggests, this is a forty page Korean paper devoted to education. Over half of the paper is filled with advertisements; hagwons, art school, music school, computer stores, Tae Kwon Do, and educational bookstores. The articles in *USAeduNews* are similar in content with the ones in the

education section of the *Korea Times* and *Korea Daily*, except that there are a lot more of it. The online *USAeduNews* is a good resource for parents. It has insightful information on American school system, best schools and school districts, school life, foreign students, gifted programs, and *USAeduNews*' own junior debate team. The presence of a newspaper devoted to education is an indication that the immigrant community is very aware of what is required to succeed in American schools. The ethnic media is helping the immigrants "acculturate" into the American educational system so they can successfully lead their children through the academic pipeline.

In addition to the newspapers, there are two Korean secular radio stations in Los Angeles. In the morning hours both radio stations have news programs; world news, Korean news, U.S. news, and local news. On one of the stations, important articles from the Los Angeles Times are translated into Korean every morning. Any article that has to do with education is of high interest to Korean listeners. For example, when Los Angeles Times reported API scores of local schools, the reporter talked in depth about the test itself and read out the scores of all the schools that have significant Korean student enrollment. One of the radio programs in the afternoon deals with parenting issues. Professionals in educational and counseling fields are brought in as guests to talk about various topics such as parenting skills, academic problems, teenage self-esteem, drug prevention, etc... In addition to the secular radio programs, there are two Christian radio stations. The programs are Christian music and sermons by various Korean pastors in Los Angeles and Orange Counties.

The most popular form of ethnic media is Korean television. In addition to the paid satellite TV which offers 24 hour Korean programming, there are two UHF channels in Los Angeles that broadcast Korean television programs three to four hours every evening. In addition, there is Christian broadcasting every morning and on weekends. With the exception of Christian programs, local news and home-shopping program, all the programs including dramas, comedy shows, and variety shows are imported from television stations in Korea. I have not seen any educational television programs for parents or children, but there are many education related commercials; hagwons, English language schools, college information booklet written in Korean by a Korean American professor, and Ivy-league campus tours by Korean tour agencies. Recently, I saw an advertisement for an on-line SAT prep course offered by a hagwon called SAT Bank. The fee for the on-line course is $365. It advertises, "For only a dollar a day your child can have a personal SAT tutorial taught by the best qualified teacher, a Harvard graduate, in the comfort of your home" [English translation provided by the author].

Finally, the Korean business directory is another important form of ethnic media. Unlike the Spanish Yellow Pages, Korean business directory is not a Korean language translation of the mainstream Yellow Pages. It is a directory of businesses that are owned by Koreans or caters to Koreans. Traditionally, it has been the two competing newspaper companies, *Korea Times* and *Korea Daily* that published and distributed to their subscribers. More recently, I have seen additional Korean directories; *Korean Yellow Page*, *Korean Internet Directory*, and regional directories such as *South Bay Directory* and *Orange County Directory*. Again, education related businesses advertise heavily in

the directories. In 2005, the *Korean Business Directory* of greater Los Angeles listed 220 hagwons or academic tutoring establishments. Thirty-six of them offer just SAT-intensive preparatory courses for high school students, while the rest offer basic subjects such as math and English for younger students plus the SAT, PSAT, SSAT, and AP for the older students. In addition to hagwons, the directory lists a large number of private afterschool establishments, including 116 art and music schools operated by Koreans and 145 Tae Kwon Do studios.

Top prioritization of education among immigrant parents is a well known fact in the Korean community. Thus, advertisements for hagwons and other education related business take full advantage of this fact. All of them promise to boost children's academics. A full page advertisement for Elite Educational Institute in the Korean business directory is translated below.

> We left our homeland to fulfill a dream of sending our children to the most prestigious universities like Ivy League, Stanford and Berkeley. In order to achieve this goal, our parents are willing to sacrifice any hardship. During the past 18 years, Elite Institute has done the very best to assist the parents who love their children dearly. And the students' test scores and admission records prove Elite Institute's efforts. Elite Institute will continue to help students realize their dreams and goals.
> [English translation provided by the author.]
> (*Korean Business Directory*, Korea Times 2005-6: 919)

Advertisements such as the above try to maximize the premise that Koreans value education. What is important to note is that such values need structural support. For Korean Americans structural support is not only provided by the public school system; it is buttressed by its own ethnic institutions.

Private Academic Institutions: Hagwon

As evidenced from the listings in the Korean business directories, a wide range of for-profit educational institutions or hagwons have sprung up and grown rapidly in Southern California. Hagwon simply means study place in Korean. It is where students study in small groups with an instructor who specializes in a particular subject. It is estimated that 80 percent of South Korean students attend hagwon to improve their chances of being accepted to a university (Ward, 2004). In 1996, South Korean parents spent $25 billion on private education which is 50 percent more than the government's education budget. A South Korean family today typically spends 15 to 30 percent of its budget on private education (Lartigue, 2000). In Seoul, some of the most expensive real estate is in the Kangnam area, not only because of the high quality K–12 public schools but also because of the high concentration of reputable hagwons in that area. In an interview with a Korean mom who was a former teacher in Korea, I learned that 52 percent of Seoul National University's students come from Kangnam area.

In contemporary Korea, there are many different kinds of hagwons. For younger students, hagwon is a place to learn various subjects most popular being English, math, art, and music. Often times, hagwon teaches material that is ahead of the school curriculum. Hagwons have been institutionalized as part of the education system in Korea so much so that public schools skip parts of the curriculum based on the assumption that they will be taught in the hagwons (Ward, 2004). For high school students, hagwons are supplementary evening schools, aiming almost exclusively, to

prepare students for the highly competitive college entrance examination and to help test-takers who did not score high enough to get into their college of choice to retake the exam with a better score the following year. Getting into a good university is considered a ticket to success in status-conscious Korea, where people are judged according to educational background. "In this status-obsessed and hierarchy-obsessed society, it is vital to ace the six-hour test to the top elite schools: Seoul National University, Yonsei University, and Korea University, in that order" (Rietman, 2000). Their alumni tend to be Korean society's elite, generally landing the most prestigious jobs and public offices. About a dozen other colleges are also considered in the top tier among the few hundred colleges in Korea. Without diplomas from one of these schools, it is difficult to climb the socio-economic ladder in Korea.

Increased immigration since the late 1960s has paralleled the formation of a sophisticated system of supplementary education, targeted specifically to children's academic achievement in Korean immigrant communities. Hagwons in the United States are mostly private businesses established and operated by Korean immigrant entrepreneurs to meet an ethnic-specific demand carried over from Korea. A Korean mother said during an interview, "Korean immigrants who are used to the hagwon system in Korea demanded it, and the need was met by Korean entrepreneurs." She explained that the majority of mothers were homemakers in Korea, but most of them hold jobs in the U.S. Thus, hagwon became a necessity, an academic daycare for Korean children. As for herself, she graduated from the prestigious Korea University with a degree in law but currently worked part-time at a drycleaners. She added, "Since we [immigrant

parents] don't know much about the educational system here and because our English is not good, we feel helpless, so we need to hire tutors or send our children to hagwon to help them." Another mother who was a junior high school teacher in Korea said during the interview, "If you are raised and educated here in the U.S., then you probably don't need to send your children to hagwon. But I am not familiar with the school system here or the college admission process so I see hagwon as a necessary bridge." These two examples represent Korean immigrant mothers who are well educated and literate, but their lack of proficiency in English makes them depend on hagwons.

The majority of hagwons are owned by Koreans, but the teachers are both Korean and non-Korean. They have eye-catching names like "Harvard Review," "Yale Academy," "Smart Academy," "IVY College," and "UC Learning Institute." Even the non-Korean-owned private supplementary schools such as Prep Center and Princeton Review have branches set up in or near Koreatown and Korean ethnoburbs. They advertise in Korean newspapers with promises of helping students excel in school subjects, become better writers, score high on standardized tests, assist in the college application process, practice college interviews, and ultimately get into the college of choice. Students enroll at a very young age and receive help in order to get into magnet programs, advanced math classes, honors classes, and advanced placement courses in their schools. Because hagwons are for-profit businesses, they are much more expensive than Korean-language schools. Monthly tuition can range from $90 to $500, depending on the grade level, subject matter, and weekly or weekend schedules. An intensive SAT summer school program complete with dormitory accommodations costs approximately

$2,000. Despite the costly tuition of hagwons, Korean and non-Korean hagwon entrepreneurs are well aware that Korean families are willing to make sacrifices in order to pay for this expensive supplementary education for their children.

The survey distributed to Korean students at Torrance First Presbyterian Church and at North High School asks if respondents attended or are currently attending a hagwon. 28 out of 38 or 74 percent from the church reported that they currently or have in the past attended a hagwon. Of the eleven Korean juniors and seniors at North High School, all of them have hagwon experience. It was also evident that many students have attended more than one hagwon, some students wrote down as many as four hagwons. The two most common types of hagwons attended by Korean youth are math programs such as kumon or JEI and SAT preparatory schools. Going to an afterschool, weekend, or summer hagwon in an ethnoburb has become a common experience among Korean American youth.

Korean-Language Schools

Korean-language schools are a post-1965 phenomenon. They initially emerged in the 1970s as weekend schools intended to maintain the Korean language and culture, enhance ethnic cultural identity, and facilitate children's selective assimilation. By the end of the 1980s, nearly 500 Korean language schools were registered in the Korean School Association of America (KSAA), as well as numerous semiformal Korean language schools run by small groups of concerned parents or by small churches (Kim, 1992). Governed by a board of trustees, the KSAA is in charge of policymaking,

budgeting, fundraising, recruiting school principals and teachers, and sponsoring an annual conference (Kim, 1992). This association receives financial support from the Korean government in the form of free textbooks for all the students in the registered schools. By 1990, there were 152 schools in the Los Angeles area alone (Kim, 1992). In 2005, the number of registered Korean language schools in the Los Angeles area has increased to 254. This number may be on the rise because according to the principle of the TFPC Korean school there has been a renewed interest in the Korean language with the availability of the SAT II Korean language test.

Most Korean-language schools are nonprofit, and there are two main types: church affiliated and secular (Kim 1992; Zhou and Kim, 2006). More than three-quarters of the schools registered in the KSAA are church affiliated, once again, highlighting the centrality of the church in the immigrant community. In smaller churches, parents volunteer as teachers and classes are taught on Sundays before or after the service. Larger Korean churches, the mega-churches, usually have more formal Korean schools that operate on Saturday mornings for three or four hours. These schools are more structured and offer various academic and recreational programs. For example, Torrance First Presbyterian Church, one of the mega-churches in a Los Angeles suburb, operates the fourth-largest Korean language school in the United States, with approximately 500 K–12 students, 33 teachers, and 14 levels of Korean classes. The students meet every Saturday morning for four hours from September to June. Sometimes students stay longer for a school event such as a fieldtrip or a picnic or if they are involved in extracurricular activities such as singing in a chorus.

The secular formal Korean-language schools resemble church-affiliated schools in structure. Among the secular formal schools, the Korean Institute of Southern California (KISC) is one of the largest in the United States, with 12 branch schools, 3000 students, and 200 teachers. Secular Korean-language schools are held on Saturday mornings at a local public school that they rent. Korean schools are very affordable for most families. The annual tuition for Korean school is about $400. It is even less, about $300, at church-affiliated Korean schools because part of the expense is subsidized by the host church. The church-run Korean schools do not pay rent to use the classrooms because they are using the church's Sunday school facility. Thus, they are able to reduce the tuition. The principles of the Korean-language schools, both secular and church based, emphasize that Korean schools are affordable for everyone and that a family's economic background should not hinder their children from learning Korean which they refer to as the "mother language."

The survey distributed to Korean students at Torrance First Presbyterian Church and at North High School asked if respondents attended a Korean-language school sometime in their lifetime. 27 out of 38 or 71 percent from the high school ministry reported that they have gone through the Korean-language school. At the North High School, 8 out of 11 students or 73 percent have attended a Korean-language school while growing up. The duration of the years in Korean school varied from one year to six years. Although I cannot claim that Korean language school helped these students become proficient in Korean, I contend that Korean-language school is a common experience shared by majority of Korean youngsters in their primary school years.

Intended Objectives: Academic Enrichment and Social Support

For the Korean-language school, the goal is to help U.S.-born or -raised children integrate into mainstream American society and Korean American community by fostering and reinforcing ethnic culture, family ties, and ethnic identity. The following are mission statements from two church operated Korean-language schools [Translated into English by the author].

The goal is to teach our children born and raised in the United States Korean culture and language so that they grow up being proud American citizens. The backbone of our teaching is Christian faith. Our main objectives are: (1) to help our children understand the parent generation and retain a harmonious relationship so that they are able to attend church together; (2) to cultivate bilingual skills in our children to enable them to meet the challenges of our global world when they reach adulthood; and (3) to improve our children's ability to comprehend, speak, read, and write in Korean, aiming to attain Korean proficiency at high school level.

— Torrance First Presbyterian Church Korean School

The goal of Grace Ministries Korean School is to fulfill the needs not met by the public school system. Our school emphasizes character building, good morals, Korean cultural awareness, and academic achievement.

- Grace Ministries Korean Church

There are other reasons to send children to Korean school. As the Korean school principle reminds the parents in the weekly newsletter, preserving the parental language

is not the only goal of language schools. In his opinion, fostering the ethnic pride is more important than maintaining the ethnic language. He said during the interview,

> We increased the duration of Saturday school from three hours to four hours to add a lunch hour to give students a chance to socialize with fellow schoolmates and become friends. We also wanted to create a sense of community so that students feel comfortable being here and being Korean Americans. In my opinion, this is more important than mastering the Korean language.

It is clear from the principal's comments that the purpose of Korean schools in the United States goes beyond teaching the language. The larger goal of the Korean school is to help the Korean youngsters adjust in their bi-cultural and bi-lingual environment, and feel comfortable about their dual-identity as Korean-Americans.

While the above may be the goals from the schools' perspective, immigrant parents are more concerned about language barriers that will block the conversation channel. According to the Korean school principle and one Korean school teacher I interviewed, immigrant parents' primary concern is that if their teenagers can't understand Korean, they will not be able to carry on an in-depth conversation with them. Thus, it is crucial to the immigrant parents that their children learn enough Korean to at least understand what the parents are saying to them. Over 70 percent of Korean youth in my study have gone through a Korean-language school, and all of them said they can understand Korean, although their ability to speak Korean ranged from limited to fluent.

Studies show that the growth of ethnic language schools in the Korean immigrant communities has not led to ethnic-language proficiency among the second generation adults. For example, 78 percent of U.S.-born Koreans speak only English at home, as opposed to about 28 percent of U.S.-born Mexicans in Los Angeles (Lopez, 1996). Some

ethnic language schools do have excellent language programs that help students earn high school foreign language credits from the formal education system or to excel on the SAT or Korean language test. However, as they reach adulthood and leave their parents' home, the second generation tends to lose proficiency in their parental mother tongue. By college age, only a small fraction of them can still read and write in Korean (Lopez, 1996), and even a large majority of those who have attended ethnic-language schools have become English speaking adults with minimum conversational ability in the ethnic language. Although immigrant parents are aware that second generation's ability to speak Korean will never reach fluency, they continue to send their children to Korean school on Saturday mornings because they are afraid that children will completely lose the ability to communicate with the parents.

Private ethnic afterschool institutions, on the other hand, tend to be highly specialized and have concrete objectives that are often more academically oriented than linguistically oriented. For the hagwons, the goal is to provide a wide range of tangible supplementary services to help children do well in regular schools and ultimately gain admission into prestigious colleges. They are also marketed more to the parents than the students. Advertisements in the ethnic-language media promises as to "bring out the best in *your* child," "turn *your* child into a well-rounded superstar," and "escort your child into *your* dream school" [emphases added], as well as to "improve your test scores by 100 points" and "open the door to UC admission," (Zhou and Kim, 2006).

In sum, private ethnic institutions specializing in academic and extracurricular programs form a sophisticated system of supplementary education in the Korean

immigrant community. Despite diversity in form, governance, and curricula, these ethnic institutions offer services to immigrant families that are directly relevant to children's formal education.

Unintended Consequences of the Ethnic Systems of Supplementary Education

Although the goals and objectives of the language schools and hagwons may be different, there is one common outcome. Both institutions provide what Lopez (2002) calls "habit of study." Sitting in a classroom for three to four hours on a Saturday morning is not an easy or a desirable task for any youngster. Korean-language schools have to compete with Saturday morning cartoons, athletic games, catching up on sleep, and spending a leisurely morning at home. Korean children are deprived of "normal" Saturday morning activities and are "forced" by their parents to attend an extra day of school. In my opinion, the mere act of going to a Saturday morning Korean school, not to mention the homework associated with it, is an act of discipline and obedience. Children are being taught as early as preschool that learning Korean is important, but perhaps a more valuable outcome of Korean school is that they are developing a "habit of study" from an early age.

I argue that the "habit of study" is further reinforced in hagwons. A typical SAT hagwon is designed for high school students to attend three times a week, twice on weeknights for two hours and another two or three hours on Saturdays to take the practice diagnostic tests. Because the majority of Korean students I surveyed and interviewed took or planned to take SAT multiple times, students continue attending a SAT hagwon

for several months to over a year. An important spill-over effect of attending a hagwon and completing hagwon homework is that students develop a "habit of study." It matters little whether they are taking an algebra class, English writing class, or a SAT class; or whether they volunteered to enroll in a hagwon or are "forced" to be there by their parents. The fact is, Korean students are spending their afterschool time at a "place of study," instead of a non-academic environment.

Korean-language schools also have an unintended effect. In addition to learning the Korean language, students also learn about and celebrate traditional Korean holidays like Harvest Thanksgiving, Children's Day, and the Korean Parade Festival. Participation in these activities exposes children to their cultural heritage, thereby reaffirming their ethnic identity. Thus, ethnic schools provide a unified cultural environment where the children are surrounded by other Koreans and are under pressure to feel and act Korean. In addition, Korean teachers take on the role of teaching immigrant values. Family values such as filial piety, respect for authority, and hard work are reinforced in the classrooms. A Korean-language teacher from Gardena Korean School said during the interview, "Korean schools teach culture. We teach the kids that Koreans don't talk back to their parents and Koreans respect their parents. These values are reinforced in our textbooks and in our practices. I think that if we raise our children in this environment, it will help them be more Korean."

Korean students learn to accept the pressures from their parents who push for excellence because they realize that other Korean students they meet at school, hagwon or church are facing the same pressures. A Korean high school student said during the

interview, "I know my parents are a lot more strict than my American [Caucasian] friends. I got a B in my report card, and I had to quit playing in the soccer team, and I love soccer. But I know my Korean friends' parents are the same if not worse." When asked if she ever attended a hagwon she replied, "I've been going to hagwon ever since I can remember, but it's not that bad because I get to see my friends."

These ethnic institutions provide unique opportunities for immigrant children to form different peer networks, giving them more leverage in negotiating parent-child relations at home. In immigrant families, parents are usually more comfortable and less strict with their children when they hang out with coethnic friends. It is because they either know the parents or feel that they can communicate with coethnic parents if things should go wrong. When children are doing things that would cause their parents anxiety, they can use their coethnic friendship network as an effective bargaining chip to avoid conflict (Zhou and Kim, 2006).

Lastly, Korean-language schools and hagwons nurture ethnic identity and pride that may otherwise be rejected by the children because of the pressure to assimilate. In ethnic-language schools and other ethnic school settings, children are exposed to something quite different from what they learn in their formal schools. For example, they read classical folk stories and Confucian sayings about family values, behavioral and moral guidelines, and the importance of schooling. They listen to or sing ethnic folk songs, which reveal various aspects of their cultural heritage (Zhou and Kim, 2006). Such cultural exposure reinforces family values and heightens a sense of ethnic identity, helping children to relate to their parents' or their ancestor's "stuff" without feeling

embarrassed. More importantly, being part of this particular ethnic environment helps alleviate bicultural conflicts that are rampant in many immigrant families. Many children I interviewed, especially the older ones, reported that they did not like being made to go to these ethnic institutions and to do extra work, but that they reluctantly did so without rebelling because other coethnic children were doing the same.

Ethnic Institutions in the Filipino Community

Although Korean and Filipino students at North High School share the same neighborhood of Torrance, they are exposed to two entirely different social environments. Except for involvement with their family and church, Filipino students did not have much exposure to ethnic institutions or ethnic culture. Compared to what is available in the Korean community, ethnic institutions are more scarce in the Filipino community. While the Korean community is supported by a strong co-ethnic entrepreneurship, the majority of Filipino immigrants are not entrepreneurs. Thus, the community lacks a "Filipino town" with co-ethnic businesses. There are no private academic support systems for Filipino students. Of course, Filipino students can attend a Korean hagwon as some non-Koreans have done, usually Chinese, Asia-Indian, and Caucasian students, but that has not been the case. Interestingly, some Filipino students at North High School were aware of Korean hagwons, but they call it a "Korean thing." As mentioned in the previous chapter, Filipino students shied away from SAT hagwons, Korean and mainstream institutions, because of the cost of the tuition which they didn't believe it was worth the cause. Unlike Koreans who were used to spending a lot of money on extracurricular

academic classes, the idea of spending a large sum of money for tutorials was foreign to Filipino students and parents.

As for the Tagalog language school, there is none that anyone I interviewed was aware of. When I asked the Filipino students, parents, pastor, and other church leaders, they responded that they have never heard of a Tagalog school. Some Filipinos were surprised to hear that in other Asian communities, language schools do exist. Unlike the Korean church, the Catholic Church has not taken the role of teaching immigrant languages. That job has been left for the Filipino parents. Unfortunately, parents are not consciously teaching their children Filipino languages and culture (Revilla, 1997), and classes in Filipino languages are not often available, except at a college level. Although other Asian American communities have historically set up language and culture schools for their youth, Filipino American communities have not (Revilla, 1997). Since Filipino parents have no barrier speaking English, there has been no dire need to teach the children Tagalog to keep the conversation channel open. Most Filipino students in my study responded that they speak English at home with their parents. The lack of Tagalog language school is depriving the Filipino student not only of language but an opportunity to learn the ethnic culture.

Lastly, I examined the local newspapers in the Filipino community and their internet sites. Compared to Korean newspapers, Filipino ethnic presses are comparatively small and are run with a small number of journalists. Not surprisingly, all the publications are in English. Filipino newspapers, *Balita*, *Philippine Star*, and *Asian Journal Publications* are bi-weekly papers. They are not delivered door to door like the

Korean newspapers but can be picked up for free at newsstands outside Filipino markets or other businesses. Another difference between the Korean and Filipino paper is that an education section does not exist in the Filipino papers or on the newspaper websites. The absence of an education section in the newspaper can be interpreted in two ways. First, while Filipino immigrants value education they do not make it their top priority like the Koreans. Second, since Filipino immigrants are proficient in English, the ethnic media does not have to provide them with information on education. Filipino immigrants can subscribe to the *Los Angeles Times* or news magazines or search the internet to learn about the American school system.

Discussion

The development of the ethnic system of supplementary education reflects the orientation of contemporary immigration, and in the Korean case, such developments are profoundly influenced by group-specific immigration dynamics. Prior to migration, Koreans lived in a country where education is the single most important means of attaining social mobility. Access to quality education is fiercely competitive in Korea, and families invest a disproportionate amount of their resources in supplementary education in order to improve their children's future life chances. Direct involvement in or exposure to institutionalized supplementary education in the homeland adds to the cultural repertoire with which both middle- and working-class immigrants carry with them when they migrate (Zhou and Kim, 2006).

Upon arrival in the United States, immigrants encounter a relatively open education system and abundant educational opportunities on the one hand, and "blocked" mobility on the other. This reality not only reaffirms their belief in education but also fosters a perception of education as the *only* possible means for social mobility (Sue and Okazaki, 1990). Korean immigrants also encounter the "model minority" stereotype frequently imposed on Asian Americans, which on the surface is a positive image, but in fact sets Asian Americans apart from other Americans and hold them to higher than average standards (Zhou, 2004). In this paradoxical situation, the value of education is heightened not merely as a means to enrich the self and honor the family, as Confucianism dictates, but as the most effective means for getting ahead in American society. The value of education and the means for achievement have been accepted by both middle-class and working-class Korean immigrants.

While the value these immigrant families place on education is constantly adapting to contextual changes, its actualization always requires material support. American public education is open to all, but easy access does not ensure quality. Nor does it guarantee success. The family's higher socioeconomic status can affect educational success by adding class-based resources, such as financial, social, and cultural capital, along with access to safe neighborhoods, quality schools, and various extracurricular activities. In contrast, low socioeconomic status may subject children to poverty, unsafe neighborhoods, inadequate schools, and disruptive social environments harmful to educational achievement.

For ethnic minority members, however, family socioeconomic status may not be the sole determinant of educational outcomes. The ethnic community can also be a source of support. The Korean ethnic community is supported by robust co-ethnic entrepreneurship. Even more importantly, the relatively high pre-migration socioeconomic status of Korean immigrants enables these groups to carry over and revitalize a practice that originated in the homeland. As the demand for education exceeds what public schools can offer, ethnic entrepreneurs provide afterschool programs to their coethnics. Also, because of the higher standards imposed on Asian American children as a model minority, parents increasingly turn to these ethnic institutions in the hope of giving their children an extra boost in the race for admission into prestigious schools. While contemporary ethnic businesses are a mixture of small mom-and-pop retail stores and large, upscale commercial enterprises, we now see small mom-and-pop afterschool establishments and child-care services as well as extensive and costly hagwons, and early childhood development centers in the Korean community.

Conclusion

The chapter attempts to answer the question of whether it is culture or structure that promotes the educational achievement among the children Korean immigrants. This study suggests that the cultural attributes of a group, especially the "education fever", feed on the structural factors, the ethnic social structures that support community forces and social capital. The ethnic systems of supplementary education that have been examined in this chapter clearly indicate that these ethnic systems are not necessarily

intrinsic to a specific culture of origin but, rather, are a product of culture-structure interaction. Although the value placed on education is seemingly rooted in Confucianism, it has been constantly shaped and reinforced by the broader and ethnic-specific structural conditions that immigrants have experienced prior to and/or after immigration.

This study highlights the important effect of the immediate social environment between a child's home and formal school, suggesting that the value of education must be supported by the ethnic community's social structures. Indeed, the ethnic resources and social capital generated by the system of supplementary education have played a crucial role in helping the children of Korean immigrants graduate from high school and gain entrance to prestigious colleges, particularly the University of California system, in disproportionately large numbers.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

In the preceding pages, I addressed the issue of academic achievement among children of immigrants. I focused on two ethnic communities, Filipino Americans and Korean Americans, because these two groups had a large gap in second generation education. By observing the social structures within the families and the ethnic communities, this study answered why second generation Korean American youth outperform their Filipino counterparts in academic outcomes and college enrollments. In a larger context, it answered how variations in the immediate social environments in which immigrant children grow up may account for intergroup differences in educational outcomes.

By closely examining the families and the ethnic communities in which second generation Filipino American and Korean American students have been raised, this study unpacked ethnicity by focusing on effects of the interaction of culture and structure in academic achievement. This study found that cultural attributes of a group play an important role in the academic achievement of second generation youth. In fact, cultural attributes may have an equally or perhaps more important role than family's socioeconomic status in academic achievement of second generation youth. However, the two factors are interdependent on each other. That is, culture is not maintained in a vacuum but needs the support of ethnic social structures. This study found that certain

important ethnic social structures that support education are vibrant in the Korean community but largely unavailable in the Filipino community.

This study found that both Filipino and Korean cultures emphasize the importance of education. However, the ways in which this emphasis is actualized in these two groups are very different. Middle-class Filipino immigrants encourage their children to do their best in school, but they do not pressure their children to be top students in their class. Filipino parents are acculturated in American culture, and it is reflected in their "easy-going Americanized" parenting styles. Compared to the modest standards of Filipinos, there is a tremendous stress on education among Koreans in Korea and in the U.S. Korean immigrants brought with them the culture of "education fever" from their home country, and it is clearly reflected in their authoritarian parenting styles that expect their children to bring home straight A's.

On the surface, cultural attributes of the two ethnic groups seem to explain the differences in educational outcomes between Filipino and Korean American students. However, I do not attribute school achievement entirely on culture because cultural attributes can die out in the new country as immigrants and their children become acculturated in the host society. The Korean immigrant community is unique in that it is supported by ethnic social structures that foster immigrant values on education. Cultural values and behavioral patterns require structural support. This study has shown that it is the business-oriented and church-centered ethnic community that plays a mediating role of transmitting the immigrant culture, the "education fever" to the Korean second generation.

In the following section, I will summarize the findings from the main chapters of the dissertation.

Peer group, family and culture

Chapter Four found average GPAs and SAT scores of Koreans in the sample are significantly higher than those of Filipino students. The only exception is the GPA of Filipino students who attend the Filipino Protestant church. This chapter highlights the affect of several important variables on academic outcomes. First is the social network. Only a few Filipino students had friendship circles with Asian students. Most of the Filipino students had friends who are of various backgrounds, including Latino and African American friends. On the other hand, Korean students "stuck with one another." Their friendship circle did not extend beyond other Asians and whites. The students from the Korean church had tight friendships with fellow church members. Surrounding oneself with an academically oriented peer network is an advantage that Korean students had over Filipino students.

Second, I argue that ethnic differences exist in family dynamics. The different styles of parenting have an effect on educational outcomes. The interviews show two different trends of parental control in Filipino and Korean families. Filipino students expressed that their parents are not very strict when it comes to academics. Filipino parents were described as being "cool" while Korean parents were described as being "too Korean," meaning strict. Although Filipino and Korean parents both wanted their children to pursue higher education, Korean parents clearly had an advantage. Through their social networks and ethnic media, Korean parents were much more informed about

the educational pipeline in the United States. This is paradoxical given that Filipino parents are more fluent in English language and more acculturated. However, Korean immigrants were able to benefit from having a strong ethnic community that is able to sustain the community forces that value education.

The Church

Chapter Five illustrates that regular involvement in a religious organization can also have positive academic outcomes. It must be made clear that it is not so much the religious teachings that affect education but participation in the religious organization. Ethnic identity and cultural pride are reinforced in the immigrant church coupled with teachings of immigrant cultures, specifically respect for parents, teachers, and learning. The church can be a valuable resource for academic success, but only if they take on the responsibility of reinforcing the values and promoting educational achievement. The Catholic Church I observed had a narrow religious focus. The goal of the religious leaders and teachers in the Catholic Church was to meet the spiritual needs of the adolescents. They did not concern themselves with reinforcing ethnic identity and cultural pride in their students, or helping their students acquire a "habit of study" that can boost secular education.

The Filipino and Korean Protestant churches seemed to have a larger goal beyond religion. Although religious teaching was their foremost priority, the pastors and teachers pushed their students to do their best in school. Being a good son or daughter and a good student was taught as a way to glorify God. In this way, the church acts as a direct link

between preservation of traditional values and educational achievement. By emphasizing the importance of culture and education, Protestant churches play an important role in keeping students on a "straight path" and more focused on academic life during the difficult teenage years. I conclude that a commitment to church and peer support groups within the church can positively influence Koreans and Filipinos with their academics.

Ethnic media, hagwon, and language schools

Chapter Six answers the question of whether it is culture or structure that promotes the educational achievement among the children of Korean immigrants. In order to answer the culture versus structure question, this chapter examined the ethnic media, ethnic businesses, and other ethnic institutions that play a crucial role in circulating valuable education-related information and providing supplementary after-school education for second generation Koreans. This study concludes that the answer is both cultural and structural. The cultural attributes of a group feed on the structural factors, particularly ethnic social structures that support community forces and social capital (Zhou and Bankston 1998; Zhou and Li, 2003; Zhou and Kim, 2006]. Although the value placed on education is seemingly rooted in Confucianism or "*yangbanism*," (Lett, 1998) it is being constantly shaped and reinforced by the broader and ethnic-specific structural conditions that immigrant have experienced prior to and/or after immigration. The ethnic systems of supplementary education that have been examined in this chapter clearly indicate that these ethnic systems are a product of culture-structure interaction.

Policy Implications

A key policy implication of this study suggests that public schools alone may not be sufficient to ensure immigrant children's educational success. Afterschool academic programs are needed, particularly in low-income urban communities (Gordon et al., 2003). The challenge that a majority of immigrants and native minority parents face is not having sufficient information about the educational pipeline in the U.S. and the educational resources to boost their children's academic performance. One step would be to encourage the Spanish language ethnic media as well as other ethnic media to educate the immigrants about the American educational system. Information on K-12 schools, afterschool programs, requirements for colleges, scholarships, financial aid would be valuable for the non-English speaking communities. Second, strengthening existing community-based nonprofits and churches in disadvantaged neighborhoods would be the next step. Both secular and religious organizations need to be sufficiently funded to implement and provide afterschool academic and enrichment programs, such as SAT preparation, tutoring, and recreational programs.

Many local churches and other religious institutions already have the infrastructure for providing afterschool programs. One possibility would be for the religious institutions that serve the disadvantaged ethnic minority communities to put into operation afterschool and weekend academic programs. This may be difficult if the religious organizations insist on focusing on the spiritual needs and neglecting a chance to promote upward mobility through education. However, if the religious institutions can

adopt the goals and strategies of Korean and Filipino immigrant churches, it would greatly benefit the academic performance of disadvantaged minority children.

As for non-profit organizations, the Korean Youth and Community Center (KYCC) in Koreatown Los Angeles, is an excellent example. KYCC's academic programs, afterschool homework classes and SAT preparatory classes, are modeled after hagwons but classes are either free or affordable. Furthermore, this nonprofit is not ethnically exclusive. Since the majority of Koreatown residents are Latinos, many of the students taking part in KYCC's afterschool programs are children of Latino immigrants. It is not unusual to find a classroom with students of multi-ethnic backgrounds in KYCC.

More nonprofit agencies like KYCC are needed in our immigrant and non-immigrant communities that lack the resources of middle-class Korean communities. Another step may be to promote ethnic entrepreneurship in afterschool education in the form of small business loans for prospective entrepreneurs and vouchers for low-income immigrant families. However, the viability of private businesses that can be modeled after Korean hagwons in economically disadvantaged neighborhoods lacking other coethnic businesses and social institutions remain a subject for further investigation.

APPENDIX A

STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE

Age: _____ Year in School:_____

Name of High School:_____

Sex: M ___ F___; How many siblings?____

Born in the U.S.? Yes_____ No_____ Age at immigration _____

How do you identify your ethnicity? Filipino_____, Filipino-American _____,

Korean _____, Korean-American_____, Asian _____.Asian-American _____,

American_____, Other _____

What is the ethnic background of your two closest friends?

_____

Do you attend church? _____

Age that you started attending church ____ Parents attend church? Yes____ No ____

Do you attend Bible Study on Sundays regularly? Yes _____ No _____

Do you attend Friday/Saturday Night Bible Study regularly? Yes _____ No _____

Do you smoke? No ____ Yes _____ if yes, regularly _____ occasionally _____

Do you drink alcoholic beverages? No ____ Yes ____ Sometimes _____

What is your plan after high school graduation? _____

What is your career goal? _____

Is there an occupation that your parents encourage you to pursue? _____

Is there a specific college that your parents want you to attend? _____

If you are a senior planning on going to college in the fall, specify the name of school

_____ Major _____

High School GPA (unadjusted) _____

How many times did you take the SAT I? _____Highest SAT I score _____

Have you attended a SAT school? Yes _____ No_____

If yes, which one(s)? _____for how long? _____

Number of years of attending Korean language school _____

How many times have you visited Korea? _____

Number of years attending Tagalog language school _____

Have many times have you visited the Philippines? _____

Do you play a musical instrument? Yes ____, No_____

If so, which one(s)? _____

Father's Highest Level of Education _____

His Occupation _____

Mother's Highest Level of Education _____

Her Occupation _____

Parental Marital Status: Married ____ Remarried ____Divorced____

Family's Annual Income: Under $25,000_____ ,$25,000-40,000 _____ ,

$40,000-60,000_____ , $80,000-100,000_____, over $100,000 _____

APPENDIX B

LETTER TO GAIN ACCESS AT NORTH HIGH SCHOOL

Dear _____:

I am a doctorate candidate at UCLA's sociology department doing research for my PhD dissertation. The topic of my dissertation research is educational achievement among second generation Korean and Filipino students. My hope is to use this study to identify key factors that positively affect academic achievement of all students. During the past year, I have been observing and interviewing Korean students at Torrance First Presbyterian Church and Filipino students and St. Philomena Church in Carson. The final part of the research requires me to interview students who may not be affiliated with a religious organization, preferably at a local high school.

I am writing to request permission to talk to Korean and Filipino students (juniors and seniors) at North High School during May and June of 2004. Questions will be related to their academic and career goals, parental involvement in their education, extra-curricular activities, and peer groups. The session will take approximately 60 minutes either during their lunch hour or after school. Part of the session will include an opportunity for students to get college/career planning advice. I have been counseling students for the past nine months armed with information that I have gained through five years of teaching at UCLA and extensive studies of college admission policies and procedures. I am hoping to collect twenty interviews – Filipino and Korean students combined.

This study has been approved by the Human Subjects Committee at UCLA. I have consent forms for students which state that there will be no negative effects on the students by participating in the study. Furthermore, I will only conduct these interviews with students who are interested. Finally, the students' names will remain anonymous and their privacy guaranteed.

If you need more information, please contact me at 310-318-6088. Thank you in advance for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Susan S. Kim

APPENDIX C

VOLUNTEERS NEEDED!

We are looking for volunteers to participate in the research, **Academic Achievement of Second Generation Filipino and Korean Americans: A Look at Immigrant Families and Ethnic Communities.**

The goal of this project is to find the processes of how second generation youth's educational outcomes are being affected by the ways in which parents and children are involved in the ethnic community.

If you are a high school junior or senior with immigrant parents from the Philippines or Korea, you are eligible to participate in the research.

Participation in this study is voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will not adversely affect your relationship with UCLA, your school, or your church.

If you volunteer to participate in this study, you will be interviewed by the principal investigator, Susan S. Kim, about your school, church, and home. The interview will take approximately one hour.

There is no anticipated discomfort associated with the interview.

You may not directly benefit from the participation in this study.
However, this study may enhance our understanding of academic achievement among children of immigrants.

Any information that is 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 required by law. You will have the right to review/edit any of the audiotapes. Only the principal investigator will have access to the audiotapes.

If you would like to volunteer for the study or have any questions about the research, please feel free to contact Susan S. Kim, the principal investigator at UCLA, Department of Sociology, 264 Haines Hall, 310-753-1383 kims@ucla.edu or Professor Min Zhou, the faculty sponsor at 264 Haines Hall, UCLA. 310-825-3532 mzhou@soc.ucla.edu

UCLA IRB # G02-11-025-01

APPENDIX D

UCLA IRB # G02-11-025-01

ASSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH (subjects aged 16-17)

Academic Achievement of Second Generation Filipino and Korean Americans: A Look at Immigrant Families and Ethnic Communities

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by Susan Kim from the department of sociology at the University of California, Los Angeles. The results of this study will be used for the PhD dissertation. You were selected as a possible participant in this study because you are a high school student with either Filipino or Korean immigrant parents. Participation is this study is voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will not adversely affect your relationship with UCLA, your school, or your church. We will also ask your parents to give their permission for you to take part in this study. But even if your parents say "yes" you can still decide not to do this.

- **PURPOSE OF THE STUDY**

The purpose of the study is to better understand some aspects of immigrant families and ethnic communities which encourage or discourage academic orientation among high school youth.

- **PROCEDURES**

If you volunteer to participate in this study, you will be interviewed by the principal investigator, Susan S. Kim, about your school, church, and home. Examples of interview questions are your GPA, SAT, afterschool activities, religious involvement, and friendship patterns. The interview will take approximately one hour.

- **POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS**

Some of the questions may seem personal to you or make you feel uncomfortable. You may skip any question that makes you feel uncomfortable and still remain in the study.

- **POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO SUBJECTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY**

You may not directly benefit from the participation in this study. However, this study may enhance our understanding of academic achievement among children of immigrants.

- **PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION**

There will be no monetary payment for participating in this study.

- **CONFIDENTIALITY**

Any information that is 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 required by law. You will have the right to review/edit any of the audiotapes made as part of the study to determine whether they should be edited or erased in whole or in part. Only the principal investigator will have access to the audiotapes.

- **PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL**

You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. You may also refuse to answer any questions you don't want to answer and still remain in the study.

- **IDENTIFICATION OF INVESTIGATORS**

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact Susan Kim, the principal investigator at 801 North Maria Avenue, Redondo Beach, CA 90277, 310-318-6088 or Professor Min Zhou, the faculty sponsor at 264 Haines Hall, UCLA. 310-825-3532.

- **RIGHTS OF RESEARCH SUBJECTS**

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. You are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of your participation in this research study. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, contact the Office for Protection of Research Subjects, 2107 Ueberroth Building, UCLA, Box 951694, Los Angeles, CA 90095-1694, (310) 825-8714.

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH SUBJECT

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 given a copy of this form.

_____

Name of Subject

_____ _____

Signature of Subject Date

SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR

In my judgment the subject is voluntarily and knowingly giving informed consent and possesses the legal capacity to give informed consent to participate in this research study.

_____ _____

Signature of Investigator Date

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