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'Raced' Perspectives on College Opportunity: The Intersectionality of Ethnicity and Social Class among Asian Pacific Americans

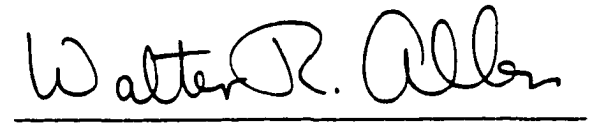
A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in Education

by

Robert Takumi Teranishi

2001

The dissertation of Robert Takumi Teranishi is approved.



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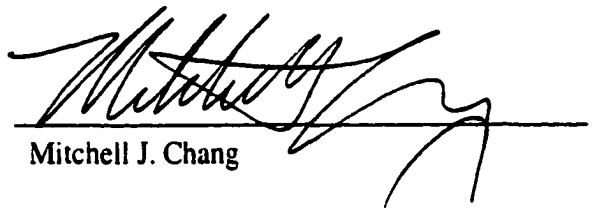

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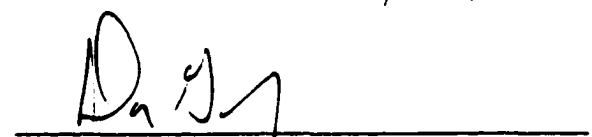

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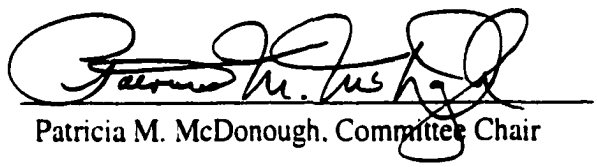

Patricia M. McDonough, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2001

In memory of my son, Robert E. Teranishi

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

'Raced' Perspectives on College Opportunity:
The Intersectionality of Ethnicity and Social Class
among Asian Pacific Americans

by

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Doctor of Philosophy in Education
University of California, Los Angeles, 2001
Professor Patricia M. McDonough, Chair

Asian Pacific Americans (APAs) have often been excluded from racial discourse pertaining to educational opportunities because of a lack of belief that there is need to address the educational issues of this population. The APA population has also been misrepresented by way of categorization and treatment as a single, homogeneous racial group when, in fact, the APA population is quite diverse with ethnic sub-groups that encounter different social and institutional experiences.

Using Critical Race Theory (CRT) as a guiding framework with the structural elements of Social Capital Theory, this study explores how ethnicity, immigration, and social class shape postsecondary opportunities and decision-making processes for APA students. Specifically, this study examines the expectations, guidance, and support Chinese and Filipino high school students' received from their protective agents (parents, extended relatives, and peers) and institutional agents (teachers and counselors) in their process of developing and realizing their postsecondary aspirations. The data were

drawn from interviews with 80 Chinese and Filipino American male high school seniors in four public high schools in California.

From a CRT perspective, this study challenges the dominant culture and deconstructs "traditional" notions of the APA educational experience by demonstrating ethnic, immigrant, and social class differences among the APA population. Specifically, I illustrate that APA students, from different ethnic and social class backgrounds, experience different historical, social, and institutional realities, which result in differences in their educational experiences and postsecondary opportunities.

Through the use of social capital theory, I demonstrate that Chinese and Filipino students live among and are influenced by a network of individuals that shape the ways by which students' form and negotiate their college aspirations, plans, and decisions. More specifically, I examine how the expectations, guidance, and support from socializing agents (protective and institutional agents) determine where a student applies to college, or whether the student decides to go to college at all.

There are implications for theory and practice that emerged from this study. In particular, as much as educational scholarship and policy continue to treat the APA population as the "invisible Americans," their size and growth in many colleges and universities across the nation demands closer attention. However, scholars and policymakers must be precise in their attempts to conceptualize the educational experiences and opportunities that exist for APAs. In particular, educational theory and practice should be aware of the social and institutional realities that affect APA students, which yield differences in the educational experiences and outcomes of ethnic, social class, and immigrant populations among APAs.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Equality of opportunity in American higher education has been a longstanding goal for colleges and universities. In the last decade, changing policies in higher education have made it particularly appropriate to examine access to and equity in higher education. These changes have included rising standards for high school achievement, more stringent admissions requirements for four-year institutions, increasing reliance on student loans coupled with soaring tuition costs, and large budget cuts of secondary and postsecondary public education.

More recently, actions to prohibit consideration of race/ethnicity as a criterion in college admissions have been perceived as sending the message that either these programs are unnecessary or that they provide an unfair advantage to students of color over white applicants to college. Within this debate, most discussion has been primarily concerned with the educational attainment of African American and Latino students compared to white students. Although, when Asian Pacific Americans (APAs)[1] are brought into this discussion, they are often considered to be educationally successful, overrepresented in higher education, or in general, a "successful minority."

A number of factors have contributed to the paucity of studies and policy consideration of the Asian American[2] population in educational issues. Perhaps the most

[1] I use the terms Asian American and Asian Pacific American (APA) interchangeably.
[2] I do not hyphenate Asian American, or the name of any racial/ethnic sub-population.

influential is the widespread belief that Asian Americans are a successful minority, not "educationally disadvantaged" like other minority groups. However, an informed discussion of access and equity requires an understanding of the Asian American educational experience within the context of the conditions that are affecting all students. This study set out to examine the Asian American student population within the context of social and institutional conditions, which have been found to affect the educational experiences and outcomes of different student populations.

Disadvantaged Minority or Successful Minority?

At the core of the challenge of entering APAs into the racial debate has been the task of figuring out whether APAs constitute a disadvantaged minority or an advantaged segment of society. The racial experience in the United States has long been interpreted in a black/white paradigm, excluding other racial and ethnic groups (Nakanishi, 1995; Ong, 1994, 2000; Takaki, 1989; Winant, 1993). When APAs are brought into this framework, they have been stereotyped as a "model minority," "the new whiz kids" (Times Magazine, 1987), and "America's super minority" (Fortune Magazine, 1986). Overwhelmingly, APAs have been characterized as a population with high academic achievement (Hacker, 1992; Nakanishi, 1995; Takagi, 1992), even "outwhiting the whites" (Newsweek Magazine, 1971).

Because of the perceived educational success among APAs, they are often excluded altogether from racial discourse on educational issues because of a lack of belief that there is need to address the educational needs or issues of this population (Nakanishi, 1995; Lee, 1996; Ong, 1994, 2000). Nakanishi (1995) explains that Asian

Americans are often "not considered to be educationally disadvantaged like other non-white minority groups" (pg. 274). Some scholars have identified Asian Americans as the "invisible Americans" because of the lack of attention that Asian Americans have received in scholarly research, public policy, and the political arena (Lee, 1996; Ong, 2000). As a result, while there is a small amount of knowledge about the educational experiences of Asian Americans as a whole, there remains even less known about the educational experiences of ethnic sub-groups within the Asian American population.

The Asian American population has been misrepresented because they have usually been categorized and treated as a single, homogeneous racial group. Data available to study the APA population have primarily been racially aggregated, masking ethnic sub-group differences. The 1996/97 Minorities in Higher Education Report (Hune & Chan, 1997) indicates that aggregated data on APAs has homogenized the experience of APAs providing a distorted picture of the educational participation of sub-groups within the APA population when, in fact, the APA population is actually quite diverse with sub-groups that have encountered different social and institutional experiences.

APAs are a pan-ethnic racial group, bound by the inherent social, political, and racial nature of American society (Espiritu, 1992, 1999). Through classification by the U.S. Census Bureau, the APA population includes 34 ethnic groups who speak more than 300 languages. The majority of the population are not native English speakers with 73.3 percent of APAs speaking a language other than English, compared with 13.8 percent of the total U.S. population. Some APAs are bilingual or multilingual and some speak more than one Asian dialect (Espiritu, 1992; Ong & Hee, 1994).

APAs are also a diverse and changing population; the Asian Americans population is a multicultural, multilingual, and multiethnic people who have different socioeconomic profiles, immigrant histories, and political outlooks (Espiritu, 1992, 1999; Omatsu, 1993). Within the APA population, there is also great variation that exists across individuals, families, and communities with regard to the educational and occupational attainment of Asian Americans, which differ by ethnicity, nativity, generation, class, and gender. In 1998, the percentage of Southeast Asian adults with less than a high school diploma (64 percent) far exceeded the national average for all APAs (23 percent). The per capita income among Japanese Americans was $19,373, in comparison to $14,420 among Hmong, Filipino, Southeast Asian, and Korean Americans.

Among Southeast Asians, 49 percent live in poverty compared to fewer than 10 percent of Japanese and Chinese Americans. Certain pockets of APA communities face economic hardship that exceeds that of other communities of color. As a result, much of the differential achievement of Asian Americans can be attributed to the diversity that exists within the Asian American population. The ethnic and economic diversity of APAs warrants the study of college opportunity for this population.

Purpose of the Study

This is a study of Asian American students' access to and opportunity for higher education through the study of college choice. College choice focuses on how students and families confront decisions regarding the continuation of their education after high school. Students' processes of deciding to go to college, or choosing to attend a

particular college, involve strategy, guidance, information, and knowledge (Hearn, 1984; Hossler, Braxton & Coopersmith, 1989; Hossler & Gallagher, 1987). In addition, students are also affected by social and political conditions such as the involvement, guidance, and support of their parents, peers, and school personnel (Hearn, 1984, 1991; Hossler, Braxton & Coopersmith, 1989; Hossler & Gallagher, 1987; McDonough, 1994, 1997). For some students, the culmination of these factors can determine their decision to attend college at all, and for others these factors will determine which particular college they will choose.

The first objective in this study was to examine the diversity within the Asian American population by studying how students from different ethnic sub-populations make decisions about college. Secondly, this study explored the effects of social class within these ethnic sub-populations. Accordingly, because of the ethnic and economic diversity of the Asian American population, this study aimed to identify and examine the ethnic and social class factors that shaped the college decision-making processes.

Perspectives on race and ethnicity, as well as the intersectionality of social class and other characteristics of the APA population, are guided by Critical Race Theory (CRT) (see Chapter Three). I conceptualized the college decision-making process through social capital theory by examining how students' maneuvered among their social networks (i.e. family, friends, or school personnel) to seek information and guidance, and how this process shapes students' postsecondary aspirations and choices (see Chapter Three).

Therefore, I examined if the college choice processes of APA students in California public high school students were similar or different across ethnic sub-populations and social class backgrounds, and how families, schools, and other social networks impacted postsecondary aspirations and decisions about college. Because I examined the role of ethnicity and social class, I held gender constant and only interviewed male students.

This study was guided by asking the following:

- How do students from different APA ethnic sub-groups describe their college choice processes?
- How does ethnicity, social class, or other background characteristics of APAs impact these decisions?
- How do social networks (family, peers, school agents, role models) and school resources (counseling, curriculum) impact APA students' college-choice processes?

To examine ethnicity within the APA population, the research design involved individual interviews with high school students from two Asian ethnic sub-groups – Chinese and Filipino Americans[3]. For each ethnic sub-group, I interviewed students from high-SES backgrounds and low-SES backgrounds in order to examine the role of social class. This design provides an in-depth perspective on the diversity of the Asian American population with regard to the role of social class among students from different APA ethnic sub-groups.

[3] I use the terms Chinese American and Chinese interchangeably, as well as the terms Filipino American(s) and Filipino(s).

Significance of the Study

This study was conducted in California, which has one of the largest systems of public higher education in the nation consisting of 9 University of California (UC) campuses, 22 California State University (CSU) campuses, and 106 community colleges. In 2000, Asian Americans made up 39 percent of the total enrollment in UC campuses (UC Office of the President, 2000), 21 percent of the CSU system (CSU Chancellor's Office, 2000), and 16 percent of the Community College campuses (California Community College Chancellor's Office, 2000). While APAs constitute a large proportion of the overall student population in many colleges and universities, they have received relatively little attention in educational policy and research.

Although there has been growing research on the college decision-making process for different student populations, there remains almost none on the Asian American population. However, by not studying Asian Americans, deficiencies in what we know about *all* of California higher education will endure. Through an in-depth analysis of Asian American college choice, this study better informs our understanding of the college-choice processes of all high school students.

This study aimed to address the Asian Pacific American community as an economically diverse, multi-ethnic population. More specifically, this study addressed Asian Americans as both a pan-ethnic and multi-ethnic population from different social class levels with similar and different educational processes. Accordingly, this study explored the Asian American population with the social and economic diversity of the population at the heart of the design.

From a methodological perspective, this study also contributes a unique perspective on Asian American students' educational aspirations and planning. In a study of Asian Americans in higher education, Wang (1993) explained that at the time of the study, there existed no data collected on the different ethnic sub-groups of Asian Americans in higher education. Wang concluded that "in order to achieve a better understanding of Asian Americans in higher education, we need more refined data collection." This study provides an in-depth perspective into college-choice processes for students from different Asian ethnic sub-groups and socioeconomic conditions.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The review of literature begins by describing the characteristics of the Asian American population, highlighting the ethnic sub-group and socioeconomic differences within the population. Then I discuss the literature on the academic achievement and educational mobility of Asian Americans, as well as the theoretical explanations for APA educational achievement. Next, I provide a review the literature on college choice, emphasizing studies that have focused on the impact of race, gender, and social class. Finally, I present college choice studies that have been inclusive of the Asian American student population.

"The Invisible Americans"

Some scholars have identified Asian Americans as the "invisible Americans" because of the lack of attention that Asian Americans have received in scholarly research, public policy, the media, and the political arena. While the disregard of Asian Americans continues, Asian Americans have grown to become the third largest racial-minority group in the United States after Latinos and African Americans. The U.S. Census Bureau found that in 1999, there was an estimated 10.8 million APAs in the United States, representing 3.8 percent of the total population. The number of APAs increased nearly 50 percent since 1990 and doubled from 1980.

Furthermore, the growth of the APA population is expected to continue with an increase of more than 25 million by 2050, representing almost a 250 percent increase

from 1999 (see table 2.1). The proportion of APAs is projected to be nine percent of the total U.S. population by 2050, maintaining that APAs remain as the fastest-growing ethnic group in the nation – more so than Latinos and African Americans.

Table 2.1: U.S. Population Projections by Race, 1999 and 2050

	1999		2050		1999-2050	
	Millions	Percent of Total	Millions	Percent of Total	Change in Millions	Percent Change
Total U.S. Population	273.4	100.0	405.5	100.0	130.9	48.0
White (non-Hispanic)	196.1	71.8	213.0	52.7	16.9	8.6
American Indian, Eskimo & Aleut	2.0	0.7	3.2	0.8	1.2	60.2
Black	33.1	12.1	53.5	13.2	20.4	61.5
Hispanic (of any race)	31.4	11.6	98.2	24.3	66.8	213.3
Asian and Pacific Islanders	10.8	3.8	37.6	9.0	26.8	248.1

Source: Population Projections Program, Population Division, U.S. Census Bureau, 2000

The U.S. APA population is also extremely diverse. Through classification by the U.S. Census Bureau, the APA racial category is inclusive of more than 30 different ethnic groups who speak more than 300 languages. Nearly three-quarters (73 percent) of the population is not native-English speaking and many APAs are bilingual or multilingual. In some cases APAs speak in more than one Asian dialect (Galang, 1988). Within the APA population, there are also variations that exist across individuals, families, and communities with regard to immigration, socioeconomic status and educational attainment (pre and post migration).

After restrictive immigration laws were lifted in 1965, many APAs primarily from first-world countries, such as China, Korea, and the Philippines, arrived in the U.S. with a college education earned in their native nation. Some groups of Asian American immigrants chose to come to the U.S. to pursue graduate or professional training, sometimes sent or even funded by their host-country's government (Huang, 1997). Also,

the Asian American immigrant stock has emigrated for family reunification. More recent groups of APA immigrants have been poorer with less education (Lee, 1996; Ong, 1994, 2000). The later group of APA immigrants, who began their immigration only in the past two decades, consisted of many refugees from Southeast Asia who arrived in several waves following the Vietnam War.

Three out of five APAs lived in the western United States with the largest congregation existing in California. In 1999, California had both the largest APA population (more than 4 million) and the largest numerical increase – more than a million – from 1990. California's APA population was larger than the combined total number of APAs in any other state in 1990. In 1999, APAs made up 12.2 percent of California's population.

Residential Integration, Segregation, and Ethnic Enclaves

In California, APAs have tended to cluster in particular cities and communities. Despite the diversity within the APA population, 96 percent live in urban areas. The largest proportions of APAs in California have resided in the Los Angeles basin and the San Francisco Bay Area, with growing proportions in the Central Valley and San Diego County.

Asian Americans, as a whole, have been found to be more integrated with whites than any other ethnic minority group (Lieberson & Carter, 1982; Massey, 1985) and their degree of integration increases significantly among families from higher socioeconomic status levels (Massey, 1985; Denton & Massey, 1988; Massey & Fischer, 1999). Despite low levels of neighborhood segregation, APAs have engaged in the revitalization and

expansion of old, and formation of new, ethnic enclaves. For instance, in Los Angeles, Chinese and Southeast Asians experience a high level of segregation. Filipinos and Southeast Asians experience similar levels of segregation in the Bay Area. These communities include Chinatowns in San Francisco and Los Angeles, Koreatown in Los Angeles, Little Saigon in Westminister, and Little Phnom Penh in Long Beach.

Some of these enclaves are inner-city neighborhoods that provide opportunities for immigrant-owned businesses and ethnic labor markets not available in the mainstream society (Zhou, 1992; Portes & Rumbart, 1990). The majority of new immigrants have been found to live in non- to limited- English-speaking environments. Immigrants with resources will often avoid the dense urban conditions of inner-city enclaves. As a result, there has been a rise of the ethnic enclaves in suburbs called "ethnoburbs" (Fong, 1994; Li, 1999).

The suburban enclaves have important socioeconomic status elements. Two examples of these suburban enclaves include Monterey Park in Los Angeles and Richmond in San Francisco (Fong, 1994; Sanjek, 1998). Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos who have economic capital and live in these ethnic-suburban neighborhoods have been able to achieve access to relatively advantaged resources comparable to those experienced by European-ethnic groups (Massey & Fischer, 1999).

Unfortunately, much of the literature inclusive of the Asian American population has overlooked the diversity of the population I have provided. Asian Americans are a population divided by social conditions, which influences where they live, the schools their children attend, and the availability of opportunity.

Academic Achievement and Educational Mobility

Because Asian Americans have been viewed as a single, homogeneous racial group in the popular press and scholarly research community, there has mostly been only one perspective on their educational experience, namely high academic achievement. As an aggregate group, Asian Americans, on average, have higher grade-point averages (GPAs), lower dropout rates, higher college preparatory course completion and Advanced Placement (AP) program participation, and higher standardized test-taking rates and scores that all other racial groups, including whites (CPEC, 1998). Asian Americans also have higher rates of eligibility to all sectors of higher education than their racial counterparts.

High college eligibility among Asian Americans has translated into the APA population representing the fastest-growing, college-going racial group in the nation. Nakanishi (1995) found that in the fall of 1976, there were 150,000 APA undergraduate and graduate students in American higher education. A decade later, in 1986, their participation rates tripled to 448,000. In 1992, there were 637,000 APAs in American higher education. Most APAs (82 percent) attend public institutions and a large proportion (39 percent) of college-going APA students enroll in public, two-year colleges (Escueta & O'Brien, 1991).

At some of the most reputable colleges, Asian Americans have a sizeable population (table 2.2). In each of these institutions, the proportion of the population that are APAs exceeds the proportion of the population constituted by Black and Latino students. The presence of Asian Americans in some of the most nationally renowned

universities has caught the attention of policy-makers, college administrators, researchers, the media, and the public (Takagi, 1992).

Table 2.2: Undergraduate Enrollment in Elite Universities, 1998

	Percentage represented by			
	APAs	Whites	Latinos	Blacks
Harvard	19%	46%	8%	9%
MIT	28	46	10	6
Michigan	11	71	4	9
Stanford	22	49	10	6
Yale	17	57	6	7

Source: University web sites (see bibliography)

The presence of Asian Americans in higher education is even more prevalent among California's colleges and universities. Forty percent of all APAs across the nation attend California public colleges and universities. In California, a greater proportion of Asian American graduates of public high schools (67 percent) attend a California public higher education institutions, more so than the proportion of whites (46 percent), Blacks (49.3 percent), and Latinos (42.5 percent) (CPEC, 1998).

Public higher education in California is divided into three tiers: the community colleges, California State University (CSU) system, and the University of California (UC) system. Outlined by the Master Plan for Higher Education (1960), each tier serves a different role in the state's educational mission.

The California community college system has the principle responsibility for providing vocational and remedial education, granting vocational certificates, Associates of Art/Science degrees, and to transfer students into the CSU and UC system. The community college system is the least expensive postsecondary education in California

and open to all persons of at least 18 years of age. The primary function of CSU campuses is to provide instruction in liberal arts, sciences, and in professional and applied fields up to the master's degree level. The top third of all California high school graduates, based on a set criteria, are eligible for first-time freshman admissions to the CSU system (CPEC, 1997).

The UC system provides instruction in the liberal arts, sciences, and professional education with a heavy emphasis on research. First-time freshmen are admitted through satisfying a similar eligibility criterion as the CSU system with additional standardized test requirements. The top 12.5 percent of all California public high schools are to be admitted to the UC system. The UC system is the most selective tier of public higher education in California.

In a number of colleges and universities in California public higher education, Asian Americans make up a sizeable proportion of the total enrollment (see table 2.3). In 1998, Asian Americans made up 39 percent of all undergraduate enrollment in the UC system (UC Office of the Presidents, 2000). At four of the nine UC campuses, Asian Americans constituted a larger proportion of students than any other racial group. At UC Irvine in particular, the Asian American population was two-and-a-half times greater than the white student population. Among the 23 CSU campuses, Asian Americans also had a significant presence at a number of campuses, such as San Jose (40 percent), Pomona (38 percent), San Francisco (37 percent), and Hayward (30 percent), constituting 21 percent of the system-wide enrollment (CSU Chancellors Office, 2000). In the California

community college system, consisting of 136 campuses, nearly 16 percent of all students were Asian Americans (California Community College Chancellor's Office, 2000).

Table 2.3: Undergraduate Enrollment in Selected California Campuses, 1998

	Percentage represented by			
	APAs	Whites	Latinos	Blacks
University of California	39.1	41.6	14.2	4.1
Berkeley	44.1	33.2	12.2	2.2
Irvine	61.7	23.3	12.2	2.2
Los Angeles	40.3	35.2	17.4	6.2
Riverside	44.1	29.6	20.2	5.6
California State University	21.1	47.6	22.7	7.3
Fullerton	26.1	45.4	24.5	3.3
Hayward	29.9	40.9	13.2	14.9
Long Beach	25.9	41.5	23.2	8.5
Pomona	37.6	32.4	25.2	4.1
San Francisco	37.0	39.4	14.5	7.9
San Jose	40.2	37.3	16.4	5.1
Community Colleges	15.8	42.6	24.3	7.3

Data Source: UC Office of the Presidents; CSU Chancellor's Office; California Community College Chancellor's Office.

Theoretical Explanations for APA Educational Achievement

Researchers have been challenged in their efforts to fully understand the educational experiences and outcomes of Asian American students. Much of the research on Asian Americans has left unanswered questions as to what factors, or relationships between factors, affect the Asian American student population (Hurtado, Inkelas, Briggs & Rhee, 1995; McDonough & Antonio, 1997). Part of the challenge is that studies have continually found that there is something about "being Asian" that predicts success for Asian American students (Hurtado, et al., 1995). The following explores the theoretical and methodological approaches that have attempted to unpack the educational experience, and particularly the achievement of Asian Americans in American education.

One perspective on Asian American educational achievement has been the study Asian American immigrant settlement and adaptation in American society (Ogbu, 1974, 1989; Zhou & Bankston, 1998). These studies have focused on the presumption that successful adaptation of immigrants is associated with the academic success of immigrant youth. Conventional theories of immigrant assimilation predict that proficiency in English, native birth or arrival at a young age, and longer U.S. residency should lead to adaptive outcomes. However, more recent studies have revealed an opposite pattern of successful adaptation. Regardless of national origin, longer U.S. residency translates into lower educational outcomes (Ogbu, 1974; Rumbaut & Ima, 1988; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 1995).

For Asian Americans, the effects of ethnicity on academic success remains significant, even after controlling for socioeconomic status, length of U.S. residency, and amount of time spent on homework (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996; Rumbaut, 1995, 1996; Zhou & Bankston, 1998). Ogbu (1974) attributes this to social-status grouping of the receiving society by distinguishing immigrant minorities (who arrive in U.S. by choice) and castelike minorities (who arrive by force where social status is imposed). Ogbu (1989) found that in spite of cultural and language differences, and relatively low economic status, Chinese American students were able to achieve high grade-point averages. Ogbu (1989) attributed the academic success of these students to their families and the communities, which placed high value on education and held positive attitudes toward public schools.

Asian Americans' cultural values have also been found to be correlated with high aspirations, respect for teachers, and the American school system (Ogbu, 1983; 1989). Other studies have found that immigrant families and communities provide the necessary isolation for success (Caplan, Whitmore & Choy, 1989; Gibson, 1989). These studies have attributed academic achievement to cultural values and practices unique to ethnic-immigrant families.

Sue and Okazaki (1990) have postulated a model of "relative functionalism" as an explanation for Asian American students' school performance. According to this model, rather than traditional family values and beliefs, educational success derives from parents' perceptions of blocked mobility, or limited economic and occupational opportunities, which causes parents to pressure their children to succeed in school as a means to mobility. While the theory of relative functionalism has been found to exist among the Asian American population, it has been criticized for the lack of explanation for other minority groups' reaction to perceptions of blocked mobility (Zhou & Bankston, 1998).

Recently, Claude Steele (1995) has proposed a theory of "stereotype threat" to explain the effects of stereotyping on African American students' academic underachievement. Stereotype threat refers to the effects of being judged by a stereotype that causes anxiety in the student which impairs their intellectual performance. Zhou and Bankston (1998) argue that Vietnamese Americans may benefit from positive stereotypes of Asian Americans as high-achievers which helps students in their adaptation to schools.

As a result, Asian Americans are positively influenced by how they are perceived and received by American society.

Other studies have focused on the impact of immigrant settlement, as explanations for differential outcomes of adaptation. These studies focus on how the location of immigrant settlement affects their access to social resources such as opportunities to education, occupations, and housing (Wilson, 1978; Zhou, 1993). Unfortunately, many immigrants settle in communities that are physically and socially isolated (Massey & Denton, 1987). However, some researchers believe that Asian immigrants who enter Asian ethnic communities benefit from a collective culture of highly valuing education (Zhou & Bankston, 1998). As immigrant families earn higher income and acquire higher education levels, they attempt to convert these status achievements into improved residential outcomes by purchasing homes in neighborhoods containing more prestige, more amenities, better schools, and higher-value homes (Hum & Zonta, 2000; Massey & Denton, 1993); thus the explanation for the Asian American ethno-burbs, such as Monterey Park in the San Gabriel Valley.

Theories of education achievement among Asian Americans were useful in providing a context for the study of college choice. However, there were also important college choice models that guided the examination of how APA students form their college aspirations, plans, and decisions.

College Choice Frameworks

Scholars have developed models of college choice that consider how students go through the process of realizing their educational aspirations. Hossler and Gallagher

(1987) have developed a three-stage model of college choice, which involves predisposition, search, and choice. This and other models have been widely used throughout subsequent college choice research (see Hossler, Braxton & Coopersmith, 1989; Hossler, Schmit & Vesper, 1999; Stage & Hossler, 1989).

Predisposition Phase

Predisposition involves the plans students develop for education or work after they graduate from high school. This involves the influence of students' families, academic performance, peers, and other high school experiences on the development of their postsecondary educational plans. Predisposition mostly involves the development of postsecondary aspirations, which have been found to have a considerable impact on students' eventual postsecondary outcomes (Hossler, Braxton & Coopersmith, 1989; Stage & Hossler, 1989).

In the predisposition phase, the role of parents is especially important in developing student aspirations. The strongest predictor of postsecondary educational aspirations is the amount of encouragement and support parents give their children (Hearn, 1984, 1991; Stage & Hossler, 1989). However, there are important differences to be noted between parental encouragement and parental support.

Parental encouragement has been defined as the frequency of interactions between students and parents about parents' expectations, hopes, and dreams for their children (Hossler, Schmit & Vesper, 1999). Parental encouragement plays a particularly important role in the formation of students' educational aspirations (Galotti & Mark, 1994; Hossler, Braxton & Coopersmith, 1989; Hossler, Schmit & Vesper, 1999; Hossler

& Stage, 1992; Stage & Hossler, 1989). Students in the ninth grade who talk the most with parents about their postsecondary plans are more likely to be certain of their plans (Hossler, Schmit & Vesper, 1999; Hossler & Stage, 1992).

Parental support is often a more tangible form of parental involvement than parental encouragement (Hossler, Schmit & Vesper, 1999). Parental support involves parents being actively engaged in the college planning and preparation process such as saving money for financing their students' education or attending financial aid and college planning workshops (Hossler, Schmit & Vesper, 1999; Hossler & Stage, 1992). Parental support often begins as early as students' predisposition phase and continues until students enter college.

The more students come into contact with other students with college plans, the more likely they will consider going on to college (Hossler, Braxton & Coopersmith, 1987; Hossler, Schmit & Vesper, 1999). However, the relative role of peers is small compared to parents (Hossler, Schmit & Vesper, 1999). Hossler, Schmit and Vesper (1999) also found that there is no significant relationship between students' educational aspirations and the amount of time they talked to teachers or counselors. This is primarily because when students are forming their aspirations, they focus more on their internal sources of support such as parents or siblings rather than school personnel or peers (Galotti & Mark, 1994; Stage & Hossler, 1989).

Search Phase

The *search* phase involves students beginning to seriously think and develop certainty about their postsecondary plans. This phase has been found to occur during

students' junior and senior year (Hossler, Braxton & Coopersmith, 1987; Hossler, Schmit & Vesper, 1999). The movement from the predisposition to search phase can be characterized by the shift from the formation of students' educational aspirations to the stability of their aspirations. More specifically, this phase involves students' process of discovering and evaluating possible colleges in which to enroll. This involves students evaluating what college characteristics fit them best based on their academic record, aspirations, and preferences (Hossler, Braxton & Coopersmith, 1987; Hossler, Schmit & Vesper, 1999). Hossler, Schmit and Vesper (1999) found that in some cases, juniors more so than sophomores, were less certain about their plans but this is probably because juniors discover new questions that they had not considered before they began their search.

In the search phase, students often shift their attention from parents to people in their school environment, such as teachers, counselors, peers, and admissions counselors, to obtain the information necessary to explore these options (Hossler & Gallagher, 1987; Galotti & Mark, 1994; Hossler, Schmit & Vesper, 1999). Admissions marketing material, such as college booklets or rankings magazines begin to play a role in students' postsecondary educational planning (Hossler, Schmit & Vesper, 1999; McDonough, 1997). During the search phase, students might also be taking the PSAT or SAT exam for the first time. The search phase might also involve students' evaluating other non-educational options such as employment or the military.

Parents continue to play an important role through the search phase even though it is their action-oriented activities that are particularly important at this stage of the college

choice process (Hossler & Gallagher, 1987; Hossler & Stage, 1992; Stage & Hossler, 1989). Parents support their children by taking them to visit college campuses and helping students to find colleges that are the right fit. Also, during the search phase, cost and financial aid become of primary interest to students and parents. Parents begin to seriously consider how to finance their child's education.

Choice Phase

In the *choice* phase, students narrow their set of colleges they have been considering. This is the phase where students will determine to which colleges they will submit applications for admissions. Students vary in the number of colleges to which they submit applications. Students applying to more selective colleges will often submit more applications than students who apply to less selective colleges. The number of applications and where students submit applications is partially dependent upon the amount of information students have to make their decisions (McDonough, 1997; Post, 1990). Information is most available from external resources such as teachers, guidance counselors, or college admissions representatives (Hossler, Braxton & Coopersmith, 1987; Hossler, Schmit & Vesper, 1999; McDonough, 1994, 1997; Post, 1990). Finally, the choice phase involves students determining which college to attend eventually.

The three-phase model of college choice is an important model to consider when studying how students form and realize their postsecondary aspirations. It is particularly useful in considering the sequencing of factors that shape the decision-making process for students and parents. In college choice models, parents overwhelmingly play a critical role in students' postsecondary planning and outcomes. However, parental influence

alone is often not enough to ensure a student has firm plans about futures (Hearn, 1984, 1991; Hossler & Stage, 1992; Stage & Hossler, 1989).

According to McDonough (1997), "the high school environment has a powerful influence on the ways that students choose college." Schools play an increasingly important role as students begin to narrow down their choices and weigh their options (Hearn, 1984; Hossler, Braxton & Coopersmith, 1987; McDonough, 1997).

Race, Class, and Gender: Differential Barriers and Processes

While college choice research has found that parents play a significant role in developing students' aspiration (Galotti & Mark, 1994; Hossler & Stage, 1992; Litten & Hall, 1989), and schools provide key resources for planning and decision-making (Hearn, 1984; Hossler, Braxton & Coopersmith, 1987; McDonough, 1994, 1997), there are discrepancies that exist across different student populations (Hearn, 1984, 1991; Hurtado, et al., 1995; Karen, 1988; McDonough, 1997). College choice research has also explored the impact of race (Hearn, 1984; Hurtado, et al., 1995; Karen, 1988; McDonough & Antonio, 1997), gender (Alexander & Eckland, 1977; Hearn, 1984, 1991; Karen, 1988), and social class (Hearn, 1984, 1991; Karen, 1988; McDonough, 1997). The following section explores the literature on factors that impact the key elements of college choice – namely the influence of family and school resources.

Parental Effects

Parents can affect students' educational process through the socioeconomic conditions in which their children live. Parents' socioeconomic background has been

found to be a significant factor in students' postsecondary aspirations and planning (Hearn, 1984, 1991; Hossler, Braxton & Coopersmith, 1989; Stage & Hossler, 1989; McDonough, 1997). In particular, parental SES has been found to significantly impact students' predisposition to college (Hossler & Stage, 1992; Stage & Hossler, 1989), while socioeconomic background of parents can impact students' aspirations, planning, and realization of their goals (Hossler, Braxton & Vesper, 1999; McDonough, 1997).

Across all achievement levels, students from lower socioeconomic groups are less likely to apply or attend college (McDonough, 1997). Students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds have also been found to apply to fewer colleges than their affluent counterparts (Astin, 1982; McDonough, 1994). In addition, students from different socioeconomic backgrounds view themselves as prospects for college differently, impacting their perceptions of colleges that are their best fit (Karen, 1988; McDonough, 1991). As a result, students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds are disproportionately in less selective institutions, two-year institutions, and public institutions (Hearn, 1984, 1991; Karen, 1988; McDonough, 1997).

Researchers have also explored the role of parents' socioeconomic status by exploring the effects of income and parental education levels separately. Some studies have found that parental income is not a good predictor of postsecondary plans of students (Hossler, Braxton & Coopersmith, 1989; Hossler, Schmit & Vesper, 1999; Paulsen, 1990). This research has concluded that it is what the parents do and say that are more important than family wealth in the development of educational plans and aspirations (Hossler, Schmit & Vesper, 1999). In other words, parental encouragement

and support along with good grades are more important than parental income in helping to shape students' aspirations.

However, there is also evidence that parental income, or the monetary capital of families, is an important factor when it comes to parents' perceptions of cost and financial aid eligibility (McDonough, 1997; Post, 1990). This is particularly interesting because parents often feel the burden of their children's college tuition and living expenses, often having a greater impact among lower-income families (McDonough, 1997). In addition, parents' perceptions of cost are often highly exaggerated, placing a higher impact of the perceived cost of higher education. In some instances, studies have found that parents think the cost of college is three times its actual cost (Hossler, Schmit & Vesper, 1999). In addition, parents often believe they are eligible for less financial aid than they actually are.

Parents' own experience with college is also a significant factor which shapes their children's aspirations and perceptions of college (Hearn, 1991; Hossler, Braxton & Coopersmith, 1989; Hossler & Stage 1987; McDonough, 1997; Stage & Hossler, 1989). Therefore, although parental income level does not influence predisposition, parents' educational level does. As parental education levels increase, students are more likely to plan to go to college (Hossler & Stage, 1992; Stage & Hossler, 1989). Parents with higher education levels are more likely to value education and to transmit their values onto their children (Hossler, Schmit & Vesper, 1999; McDonough, 1997). Some studies have found that father's education has a greater effect on students' decisions to go to

college than their mother's education (Hearn, 1991; Hossler, Braxton & Coopersmith, 1989).

With regard to the role of gender, some studies have found that female students talk to their parents significantly more so than male students (Hossler, Schmit & Vesper, 1999). However, there also is evidence that different levels of parental socioeconomic status may mediate the impact of gender on students' aspirations (Stage & Hossler, 1989). For example, where a female student attends college is more strongly influenced by social class background than it is for male students (Alexander & Eckland, 1977). The effects of gender have also been found to differ by race/ethnicity. Among African American students, mother's education level has a significant effect on educational attainment (Wilson & Allen, 1987). It should also be noted that there also exists a substantial body of research that has found that race/ethnicity and gender have little or no effect on the educational aspirations of students (Hossler, Braxton & Coopersmith, 1989; Hossler, Schmit & Vesper, 1999; Paulsen, 1990).

Nativity and First-Generation College Students

Some literature has found that parents of first-generation college students create a disadvantaged situation for their children's educational process (Padron, 1992; Perez, 1999) when parents are indifferent or antagonistic toward the educational system because of their own experience of the educational system failing them (Arzubiaga, Ceja & Artiles, 2001; Delgado-Gaitan, 1990; Perez, 1999). Students whose parents are immigrants (educated and non-educated) also may face a similar situation where they lack knowledge and cultural capital to participate in their children's American

educational process (Delgado-Gaitan, 1990; Padron, 1992). Immigrant parents make fewer visits to their children's teachers, and are less involved in school activities (Gibson, 2001).

Other studies have found that how involved parents really are depends on how schools foster parental involvement (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997; Lareau, 1989). Studies on Latino parents have found that conventional methods of involving parents were not as effective for Latino parents (Arzubiaga, et al., 2001; Delgado-Gaitan, 1990; Perez, 1999). When cultural- or language-sensitive communication is used by schools, increases in parental involvement are experienced.

School Effects

Although American public education is open to all students, it has produced differential outcomes despite numerous federal educational reform movements such as the school desegregation movement in the 1950s and 1960s (Orfield, 1993; Zhou & Bankston, 1998). The Coleman Report (1966) found that following such reform, children continued to encounter inequality to educational opportunities that was sharply divided by racial and social class segregation. Today, inequalities persist where the socioeconomic background of families continues to have implications on access to quality secondary education.

Children who live and attend schools in concentrated pockets of urban, inner-city communities are almost exclusively low-income, students of color. Gandara (1995) illuminates that low-income and minority students often attend ethnically-isolated schools that have poorer funding, fewer resources, teachers with less training and fewer

credentials, fewer college-preparation courses, and other conditions that negatively affect student learning compared to schools populated by students with a diversity of income levels.

As college admissions becomes increasingly competitive to the most desirable colleges, college preparatory curriculum, such as honors courses or the Advanced Placement (AP), plays an increasingly vital role (Adelman, 1998; Anderson & Hearn, 1992; Astin, 1982, 1985). For example, for the fall 2000 term at University of California Los Angeles, first-time freshmen had an average of 17 honors and/or Advanced Placement courses during high school bringing the average GPA among the first-time freshmen to a 4.20 (UC Office of the President, 2000). Unfortunately, ethnic/racial groups, as well as groups from different socioeconomic backgrounds, have differential access to college preparatory curriculum such as AP courses. Top students at an affluent school with a wide range of advanced and demanding courses will have more of an advantage to attend the most selective colleges than their counterparts at a high-poverty school that offers less college preparatory curriculum (Oakes, Rogers, McDonough, Solorzano, Mehan & Noguera, 2000; Wilds & Wilson, 1998).

There are also within-school variations across race and class that can impact students' preparation and access to higher education (Coleman, 1987). Within-school variations across race and class have been identified as the "school-within-a-school" phenomena (Horvat, 1996; Oakes, et al., 2000). Ability grouping and tracking practices result in disproportionate (and often inappropriate) placement of racial and ethnic

minority students in the lowest groups. These long-standing practices have had a significant negative effect on these students' opportunity to learn.

Counseling and guidance are also key elements for students' processes of making decisions about college (Alexander & Eckland, 1977; Horvat, 1996; McDonough, 1997; McDonough & Perez, 2000; Morrison, 1989; Spencer, 1994). Counseling and guidance informs students of options, provides important information, and helps students make decisions that may impact their postsecondary outcomes. Because of the important role of counseling in college choice, high school guidance counselors are gatekeepers to college access (McDonough, 1997). High school guidance counselors play a particularly important role as admissions to more selective colleges becomes more complex, competitive, and challenging. Guidance counselors are often the sole people who possess the knowledge and information necessary for students to make the right decisions to prepare for and enroll in college.

Unfortunately, many counselors have little exposure to college planning and are ineffective in helping to prepare students and parents for making postsecondary transitions (Boyer, 1987; McDonough, 1994, 1997). Students often lack information about college options and opportunities because of a lack of high school guidance services (McDonough, 1994; Orfield, 1992). In some schools, counselors are not always available to students. One study indicated that the average counselor to student ratio at low-income, inner-city schools was 1:740 (Fitzsimmons, 1991).

This is particularly compelling considering lower-income students, who may not have resources in the home, rely more heavily on counseling and guidance at school

(McDonough, 1997). Counselors in lower income schools often deal with scheduling, discipline, and maintaining dropout prevention (McDonough & Perez, 2000), rather than guidance for helping students with their academic achievement or postsecondary plans. There also exists within-school variability in access to counseling resources which is often influenced strongly by a lack of resources available to serve all students (Teranishi, 1998). Students are often tracked or targeted as priority for receiving service where others are assumed to not be "college material."

Asian Americans and College Choice

There are a few college choice studies (Hurtado, et al., 1995; Karen, 1988; McDonough & Antonio, 1997; Suzuki, 1994) that included a focus on the aggregated-Asian American population, but did not disaggregate for APA ethnic sub-populations. This research has found that APAs are best prepared for college and more likely to attend college immediately after high school (Hurtado, et al., 1995; McDonough & Antonio, 1997; Suzuki, 1994). Hurtado and colleagues (1995) explained that high-achieving students may receive greater attention and more information that helps them prepare for college. As a result, Asian Americans have been found to have a higher orientation toward selective colleges and are twice as likely to apply to the most competitive colleges as white students (Karen, 1988).

Asian Americans also had the highest expectations for a graduate education (Hurtado, et al., 1995) and higher rates of indicating that their career choices required graduate school (McDonough & Antonio, 1997). McDonough and Antonio (1997) found that among factors that influenced their decision to choose the particular college they

were attending, first-year Asian American students indicated that "graduates going to the top graduate schools" and good "academic reputation" were very important in their decision. In addition, Asian Americans had higher high school GPAs, higher SAT scores, and higher rates of taking three or more years of a foreign language than their racial counterparts (McDonough and Antonio, 1997).

McDonough and Antonio (1997) also found that among Asian Americans who are attending college, Asian Americans were twice as likely to have submitted more than four applications for college than whites and Latinos. Hurtado, et al. (1995) had similar findings where Asian Americans were both more likely to submit five or more applications as well as less likely to not submit any applications at all.

Therefore, Asian Americans have higher expectations for degree attainment, higher rates of standardized test taking, and higher rates of applying to more colleges than other racial groups (Hurtado, et al., 1995; McDonough & Antonio, 1997). However, these studies have also raised a number of questions that remain about the Asian American college-going population. For example, Hurtado and colleagues (1995) explained that it was not clear how much of Asian American's expectations were influenced by the role of parents or other resources.

In addition, academic achievement was the highest predictor for Asian American students' rate of applying to more colleges, whereas for other groups it was parents' income and education level. However, Hurtado and colleagues (1995) believe that academic achievement among Asian Americans might be closely tied to parents' socioeconomic status. Hurtado, et al. (1995) explained that there is more research needed

that examines the role of SES among the APA population. Therefore, these studies left much to learn about whether and how SES impacts the college choice process of Asian American students (Hurtado, et al., 1995; McDonough & Antonio, 1997). In addition, previous to this study, there has not been research that examined the college-choice processes for different ethnic sub-groups within the Asian American population.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Much of the educational research on Asian Americans has focused on culture, values, and immigrant settlement as explanations for academic achievement. The current state of research leaves many unanswered questions about the casual connections of key factors that influence Asian American educational outcomes. Many studies have been limited by their focus on outcomes such as test scores, grades, and dropout rates rather than students' actual educational process. There also remains a lack of consensus on what influences Asian Americans' educational experiences with regard to the roles of socioeconomic status, family and cultural values, and ethnic communities and schools.

This study combines the use a Critical Race Theory (CRT) as a guiding framework with the structure of social capital theory as a theoretical framework to examine and understand the educational processes of Asian American students. In this connection, the intersectional framework incorporates different aspects of Asian American students' educational processes, such as living in an ethnic community and attending schools with ethnic peers.

The Guiding Elements of Critical Race Theory

CRT was used to help understand the educational experiences of APA students by centering the dialogue on the issue of race as the core of the discussion (Matsuda, 1991; Solorzano, 1998; Wing, 1997). Solorzano (1998) explains that "a critical race theory in education challenges the traditional claims of the educational system and its institutions

to objectivity, meritocracy, color and gender blindness, race and gender neutrality, and equal opportunity." I assert that the study of the Asian American population requires a perspective that acknowledges the unique characteristics of APAs, as well as the unique social, political, and economic structure, which shape who APAs are. Therefore, the theoretical, conceptual, and methodological approaches in this study were guided by the interdisciplinary nature of CRT.

Conceptually, critical race theory in education challenges ahistoricism and the unidisciplinary focus of most analyses and insists on analyzing race and racism in education by placing them in both a historical and contemporary context using interdisciplinary methods (Delgado, 1984, 1992; Garcia, 1995; Harris, 1994; Olivas, 1990). In other words, CRT challenges dominant discourse on race and racism in education by examining how educational theory, policy, and practice have been used to subordinate certain racial and ethnic groups (Solorzano, 1998).

Examples of the subordination of race in education can be found in college choice research, which has predominately relied on data consisting of white students using large quantitative data sets. These studies have become the dominant discourse on, and been used to represent, the college-choice experience of all students. Rather, the current study contributes to a growing body of work that has demonstrated that the college decision-making process is notably different for African Americans (Allen, 1988; Freeman, 1997; McDonough, Antonio & Trent, 1995; Teranishi, 1998), Latinos (Ceja, 2001; Perez, 1999; Post, 1990), and Asian Americans (Gomez & Teranishi, 2001; Hurtado, et. al, 1995; McDonough & Antonio, 1997; Teranishi, 2001; Teranishi et. al, 2001).

I also used CRT as a lens to critically problematize traditional notions of race by examining the intersectionality of ethnicity, social class, and immigration among the APA population (Bell, 1987; Carrasco, 1996; Delgado, 1989, 1995, 1996; Olivas, 1990). These characteristics of the APA population have often been masked by research paradigms have placed Asian Americans in a black/white racial framework, leaving the study of APAs determined by the frameworks to understand inequities of African American vis-à-vis whites. In this paradigm, people of color are predominantly viewed as inferior, underprivileged or underrepresented, or underachievers. Conversely, resilient and successful students of color are considered "model minorities" (Stanton-Salazar, 2000).

The assumptions of the inferiority paradigm have been identified as: a) white middle-class Americans serve as the standard against which other groups are compared; and b) the instruments used to measure differences are universally applied across all groups (Padilla & Lindholm, 1995). When confined to this framework, Asian Americans are considered to have educational achievement levels equal to, or greater than, whites. This perspective severely neglects and undermines the study and understanding of the actual educational experience and process of Asian American students, as a whole and as distinct ethnic groups in parts. Therefore, I used CRT to examine the educational experiences of APAs from different ethnic (Chinese and Filipino), social class (high and low), and immigration (native born and immigrants) backgrounds.

CRT also played a central role in the methodological approach for this study. As a central principle of CRT, populations that have been otherwise been subordinated or

silenced can be heard through legitimate narratives that challenge the dominant discourse of reality (Delgado, 1984, 1992; Garcia, 1995; Harris, 1994; Olivas, 1990). Therefore, I employed interviews as a methodological tool to allow students to describe their educational experiences, perspectives, and perceptions related to their college decision-making processes. These stories served as counternarratives to the dominant ideology that has typified our understanding of how APA students form and realize their postsecondary aspirations. Therefore, applying a CRT lens allowed students to challenge the discourse of Asians Americans as a monolithic and prolific model minority by unveiling the ethnic and social class diversity among Asian American ethnic groups through their narratives.

While CRT provided a guiding framework for this study to examine ethnicity, social class, and immigration among the APA community, I used structures of social capital theory to examine the relationships of students with other individuals that comprised their social networks for these different APA sub-populations. A social capital perspective helped me to examine the transmission and content of narratives, by way of social relationships, which shaped the aspirations, plans, and decisions of the students in their college decision-making process.

Social Capital Framework

In a macro sense, social capital is the set of relations among persons in a society. Coleman (1988) explains that social capital is transmitted among a network of individuals who provide information, social norms, and access to opportunity. Stanton-Salazar and Dornbusch (1995) explain that through social capital, "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). Therefore, the study of social capital helped me to examine the relationships that students utilized to gain information and knowledge to inform their decisions about college.

Indeed, how information and knowledge are exchanged while students facilitate the web of opportunities concerning their postsecondary opportunities is important to understand. Particularly because social capital can vary for different student populations, often determining who has access to information, knowledge, and opportunity. Ricardo Stanton-Salazar (1997) has noted that "success within schools (or other mainstream institutions), has never been simply a matter of learning and competently performing technical skills; rather, and more fundamentally, it has been a matter of learning how to *decode the system*" (italics in text, p. 13). Thus, this study of Asian American college choice looks beyond academics, and more closely at students' relationships with socializing agents (i.e. family, friends, school personnel).

Social capital theorists have stressed the importance of social network relationships within families, communities, and schools (Coleman, 1987; Stanton-Salazar, 1997; Stanton-Salazar & Dornbusch, 1995; Zhou & Bankston, 1998). One approach to the study of social capital is through a network-analytic framework. Network analysis is an examination of how structural properties of institutions affect access to information, knowledge, and power through patterns of relationships in a network (Granovetter, 1973; Howard, 1974; Wellman, 1983). Network analysis is the

study of the processes through which resources are gained and mobilized, including exchange, dependency, competition, and coalition (Wellman, 1983).

The power of network analysis resides in its fundamental approach to the study of social structures. Network analysts search for deep social structures through identifying and describing patterns of relationships to learn how network structures constrain social behavior and social change. Network analysis can explore "the relationship of people to society and to social change in terms of shared consciousness, values, and systems of expectations" (Howard, 1974). Network analysis can help explain a particular web of social relations as they work for, or against, an individual or set of individuals in pursuit of a particular information need.

This study explores the college-choice process through an examination of the interdependence and cooperation of students, families, and structural resources (i.e. high school guidance counselors, teachers, college admissions representatives, etc.). Throughout this study, a network perspective was used to interpret the basis of interpersonal links between students and social networks (families and school personnel) who assist students in choosing colleges. With the examination of students' and families' networks, this study provides a deeper understanding of how Asian American students develop their college aspirations, plans, and decisions.

Ethnic Social Relations Framework

Mihn Zhou and Carl Bankston (1998) have noted that social capital has a powerful effect on the academic success of students within immigrant communities and schools. This is because communities and schools provide a context in which social

capital is formed (Coleman, 1988; Zhou & Bankston, 1998). The close-knit, social relations within ethnic communities can provide constructive "patterns of social relations involving shared obligations, social support, and social controls" (Zhou & Bankston, 1998: 12). Therefore, the social capital that exists within ethnic social relations in a community has a unique and powerful effect on shaping aspirations and educational values among ethnic immigrant children.

The neighborhoods that people live in can affect access that youth have to quality schools and social networks. This is because where people live, will often determine where their children will go to high school, with the exceptions of those who are able to attend private schools or transfer across public school districts. Many ethnic and racial neighborhoods that are largely of a single ethnic or racial group also have schools that are largely of the same ethnic or racial group. Examples of this exist in California which include schools in East Los Angeles that are almost exclusively Chicano students (99% at Garfield High School and Roosevelt High School) or schools in some parts of the San Gabriel Valley that are largely Asian American students (70% at Mark Keppel High School).

The study of ethnic schools and communities are particularly important to study considering that among Asian American ethnic sub-groups, there has been a resurgence and revitalization of ethnic enclaves. For example, in the Los Angeles Basin, Chinese, Koreans, and Southeast Asians have formed ethnic enclaves downtown, in the San Gabriel Valley, the City of Westminster, and the City of Long Beach. Chinese, Filipinos and Southeast Asians in the Bay Area have developed ethnic communities in the cities of

San Francisco, Oakland, and San Jose. These communities have assumed names such as "Chinatown," "Koreatown," "Little Saigon," and "Little Phnom Penh."

Ethnic enclaves have become popular locations for the settlement of newly arrived immigrants as well as the resettlement of migrating Asian Americans providing opportunity for immigrant-owned businesses and ethnic labor markets, which are not available in the mainstream society (Zhou, 1992; Portes & Rumbart, 1990). The majority of new immigrants live in non- to limited-English-speaking environments. These communities tend to be densely populated inner-city neighborhoods with schools mostly populated by students of color.

Asian immigrants with economic resources will often avoid the dense urban conditions of inner-city enclaves. As a result, there has been a rise of the ethnic enclaves in suburbs - "ethnoburbs" (Fong, 1994; Li, 1999). These suburban enclaves are associated with socioeconomic status. Two examples of these suburban enclaves are Monterey Park in Los Angeles and the Richmond District in San Francisco (Fong, 1994; Sanjek, 1998). It is assumed that ethnic groups that have moved into these ethnic suburbs, such as Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos, are able to achieve access to relatively advantaged resources (Massey & Fischer, 1999).

Some Asian American ethnic groups, particularly those who settled before the 1965 immigration act, have been integrated into white or more diverse neighborhoods. In fact, Asian Americans are considered to be the least segregated racial group in the nation. Some sociologists (Fong, 1994; Li, 1999; Massey & Fischer, 1999) believe that residential integration is a determining factor for mobility and future attainment and

explains the academic achievement of Asian Americans. However, other studies have found that Asian Americans living in integrated neighborhoods achieve lower academic success than their non-Asian counterparts and it is the ethnic enclaves that promote greater academic success.

Therefore, there has existed a lack of understanding and consensus on the impact of living and attending schools in ethnically isolated or diverse integrated communities for Asian Americans. This study applies CRT as an ideological tool to critically examine the diversity among the APA population and social capital theory as a theoretical framework for examining social relationships, which play into students' processes of developing and pursuing educational opportunities.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

In this study, I explore the postsecondary plans and choices of male, Asian American high school students. More specifically, this study examines the college-choice processes for APA ethnic sub-populations from different social class backgrounds focusing on students' access to information and knowledge, college decisions, and perceptions of opportunities through an examination of social capital (relationships with family members, community members, and school agents). The research design involved administering a survey to and conducting interviews with male Asian American high school seniors, from two different ethnic sub-groups, in four public high schools across California.

To examine ethnicity within the APA population, the research design involved individual interviews with male students from two Asian ethnic sub-groups – Chinese and Filipino Americans. For each ethnic sub-group, I surveyed and interviewed students who attended schools that were comprised with either high-SES or low-SES students in order to examine the role of social class. This perspective highlighted the ways in which social class affected the college decision-making process for students from different APA ethnic sub-groups. The following describes the research design, data sources, and research procedure for exploring these goals.

Research Design

This study was conducted in California public high schools. California was an ideal state in which to examine the APA population for a number of reasons outlined below. According to the U.S. Bureau of Census, in 1999, California was the state with the largest number of APAs (more than 4 million) in the nation (see table 4.1). It was also the state with the largest proportion of the nation's Asian American population, consisting of nearly 40% of all APAs nationally. In California, Asian Americans also constitute a sizeable proportion (12 percent) of the overall population. Unlike any other state, APAs are a sizeable population in California public education, particularly in schools within or surrounding Asian-ethnic enclaves.

Table 4.1: Top Five States with the Largest Asian American Population, 1999

Rank	State	APA Population	% of State Population	% of National APA Population
1	California	4,038,309	12.2	39.1
2	New York	1,024,625	5.6	9.5
3	Hawaii	753,691	63.6	9.4
4	Texas	577,306	2.9	4.4
5	New Jersey	469,435	5.8	3.9

Source: Population Estimates Program, Populations Division, U.S. Bureau of Census, Washington, DC, 2000

An Examination of Ethnicity

This study included an examination of ethnicity among the Asian American-racial population, therefore two APA ethnic sub-populations were chosen for comparison groups – Chinese and Filipino Americans. There were three criteria that helped me decide on choosing these particular groups: 1) the size of these ethnic groups, 2) the growth of these ethnic populations, and 3) the social class backgrounds of these populations. The following explores these parameters in more detail.

To some extent, the similar size and growth of the Filipino and Chinese Americans played a role in the decision to analyze these groups and not others. Filipino and Chinese Americans constitute the two largest Asian groups in the nation, many of which are concentrated in California (See table 4.2). The Chinese and Filipino population also represent the greatest growth among the APA population in California and nationally.

Table 4.2: Number and Percentage Growth of Selected APA groups in California

	Number in CA, 1999	Percentage increase in CA, 1990-1999
Filipinos	731,685	104.2%
Chinese	704,850	116.3
All APAs	2,845,659	116.7

Source: Population Estimates Program, Populations Division, U.S. Bureau of Census, Washington, DC, 2000

With regard to their immigration rates, Chinese arrived in the United States earlier than any other APA ethnic sub-population, the first arriving as early as 1820. Filipino immigration began almost a century later around 1910 (U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1994). However, by 1920, the rate of Filipino immigration matched Chinese immigration rates and has since continued to be similar. As a result, the Filipino and Chinese American communities now consist of both native-born (who are born in the United States) and immigrants (who reside in the United States but born elsewhere) (See table 4.3).

Table 4.3: Immigration Status among Filipino and Chinese Americans, 1990

	Number among	
	Filipino Americans	Chinese Americans
Native Born	488,000	447,000
Immigrants	1,160,000	970,000
Totals	1,648,000	1,417,000

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, 1990 five percent Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS).

The size and growth of these populations in California has resulted in rather large ethnic communities. What is meant by ethnic communities is that in a set residential area, there exists a sizeable proportion of a single ethnic group. This is also true for the impact of these populations on California schools. The majority of some California schools' student populations are now Filipino or Chinese Americans. In addition, while historical Filipino and Chinese American communities and schools already exist, California can expect the population of these communities and schools to grow exponentially in the future.

Exploring college choice among these two ethnic groups will illuminate whether the college choice process is similar or different for different APA ethnic sub-populations. In particular, I focus on the role of ethnicity through an examination of social capital on college decision-making within these ethnic populations' families and schools.

An Examination of Social Class

This study is also an examination of the role of social class on students' college choice processes among the APA population, therefore it was important to find two ethnic groups with similar social class backgrounds. I wanted to be able to examine how social class level impacts college choice for students from different APA ethnic sub-populations. In other words, do students from different ethnic groups, but similar social class backgrounds, experience the college choice process similarly or differently?

Filipino and Chinese Americans were similar with regards to social class levels in terms of the educational attainment of adults and income levels. In 1990, of persons over

25 years of age, 59.3 percent of Chinese Americans and 60.3 percent of Filipino Americans had less than a bachelor's degree. Inversely, 37.3 percent of Chinese and 39.2 percent of Filipinos had a Bachelor's or Master's degree (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1990). Filipino and Chinese Americans had a lower average educational attainment level than Japanese Americans and Asian Indians, but higher than Southeast Asians and Pacific Islanders.

In 1990, the mean wage and salary incomes levels of Chinese and Filipino Americans, between the ages of 18 and 64 were also very similar, Chinese Americans made an average of $22,908 and Filipino Americans made an average of $21,416. This was less than Japanese Americans ($28,257) and Asian Indians ($27,815), but greater than Vietnamese Americans ($17,590) Cambodians ($14,364) and Hmongs ($9,923).

Filipino and Chinese Americans had interesting similarities and differences, making them good cases for comparisons within the APA population. The Filipino and Chinese American population also provided a useful context for looking at the role of social class in Asian American students' college choice across and within ethnic sub-populations. The following describes the selection process for the fieldsites and participants as well as the data collection procedure for this study. In-depth descriptions of the fieldsites and participants are included in Chapter Five.

Fieldsite Selection Criteria

I conducted individual interviews with 80 male Chinese (n=40) and Filipino American (n=40) seniors at four public high schools in California. Aggregated statistics on each comprehensive public high school in California were examined to select the

schools where the students were to be interviewed. The criteria for selecting the four high schools was primarily based on the racial and social class composition of the student body. In addition, I also took into consideration the location of the schools (Southern California and the Bay Area), the different types of neighborhoods that surround the schools (suburban and urban), and college enrollment rates. As a result, I was able to narrow down more than 800 comprehensive public high schools in California to four.

Two of the schools (Wilson High and Kennedy High) had a large ethnic population of Chinese Americans and the other two (Hoover High and Jackson High) had a large Filipino population (see Table 4.4).

Table 4.4: Fieldsite Demographics

	Number of APAs*	Proportion of All Students**	Percent Eligible for Free Meal	Percent LEP
Chinese High Schools				
*Wilson High	1,642	65%	24.1%	17.0%
Kennedy High	1,462	68	63.0	33.3
Filipino High Schools				
Hoover High	542	35	4.0	4.8
Jackson High	632	40	56.6	15.7

Source: California Basic Education Data System (CBEDS), California Department of Education, 1997.
Note: * School names have been replaced with pseudonyms.
** Number and proportion of APAs reflects the ethnic composition of the population in each category, Chinese or Filipino.

I interviewed Filipino students in schools that had the majority of their population who were Filipino, and Chinese students in schools had the majority of their population who were Chinese. This allowed me to examine social capital and ethnic social relations within the context of peers and families that are of the same ethnicity as the respondents.

For student participants from each ethnic group, I also wanted to examine students who attended low-SES schools and some who attended a middle class or high-

SES school. I utilized three commonly used social class measures to select schools of different social populations. The first was the proportion of students in each school who were eligible for Federal Free or Reduced Meals (FRM). The second measure was the proportion of the student population that received Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). Finally, I compared the average education level of parents.

Table 4.5: Distribution of Participants by Fieldsites

	Number of participants among			
	Wilson High (High-SES)	Kennedy High (Low-SES)	Hoover High (High-SES)	Jackson High (Low-SES)
Chinese Participants	20	20	--	--
Filipino Participants	--	--	20	20

Table 4.5 represents the distribution of study participants in the four high schools where the study was conducted. The Chinese respondents (n=40) attended the predominately Chinese schools and the Filipino respondents (n=40) attended the predominately Filipino schools. In order to examine the role of social class on APA college choice, I interviewed half of the students from each ethnic group (n=20) from schools that had students who were predominately low-SES and half from schools that were predominantly high-SES (n=20).

Student Selection Criteria

There were a number of criteria that were used to systematically select interview participants for this study. The most basic elements were to first identify all seniors that were males and of the same ethnicity as the school where they were being interviewed. For example, I would focus on a sample of Chinese American male seniors in the schools

that were selected to study Chinese American students. One challenge in this first set of criteria was simply identifying the ethnicity of the students. Only one of the four schools identified the students by ethnicity. The other schools aggregated Asian Americans into one racial category. In order to select Chinese or Filipinos from the initial list of Asian senior males, I looked at the students' last names. Because this was not a reliable indicator of selecting Chinese or Filipinos from a racial category that captures 34 ethnicities, I had a follow-up scheme which I will describe in the data collection procedure.

There were also three more criteria that were more challenging to identify about the students, which are discussed in more detail below. First, I wanted to select students whose social class background matched the social class level of the larger student population. Secondly, I wanted a balance of immigrants and native-born students. Finally, I wanted to target students who were college bound or at least considering college as a postsecondary option.

To target students whose social class background matched the social class of the school, I initially planned to get information about students' parental education levels. What I quickly learned was that schools often did not have these records in their computers or in a form that was searchable in any systematic manner. Therefore, I relied on indicators such as whether they were eligible for the FRM program or if their parents received AFDC. This proved to be among the only indicators of social class available aside from asking students directly. In retrospect, the use of composite indicators of social class was fairly successful in that I captured respondents from social class

backgrounds that were similar to the composite to the overall student population. Participant and Fieldsite descriptions are available in Chapter Five.

To find students' immigration status was also challenging and not immediately or systematically accessible by way of the schools' databases. Therefore, I relied on another crude correlate of immigration status by finding students who were currently, or have been in the past, enrolled in English courses designated for non-native English speaking populations. This measure was really the only indicator that I could use to try to ensure some balance of immigrant and non-immigrant youth for this study, however it proved to be somewhat successful considering the balance of immigration status among students in the final sample.

Finally, I wanted to target students who were college bound or at least considering college as a postsecondary option. This was done in a number of ways depending on the willingness of the key informants in each school to divulge different types of information about their students. College-bound students were often identifiable through indicators such as: advanced placement or honors course enrollment; being enrolled in courses that satisfied admissions criteria for four-year colleges such as being enrolled in advanced Math (trigonometry or calculus) or science courses (chemistry or physics) in their senior year; or, identifying students by their class rank, usually compiled by their overall GPA, which is often used to identify the valedictorian candidates or students eligible for the UC system under the Eligibility in the Local Context (ELC)[1] Policy. In some cases, only one

[1] Eligibility in the Local Context is a UC admissions policy used to identify and admit the top four percent of students at each California public high school into the UC system.

of these criterion were necessary and in other instances all or a combination of some of the criteria were used to identify college-bound seniors.

What I found to be crucial in selecting students that met the criteria described above was the great deal of the input and willingness to participate among the key informants at each high school in the study. I will describe this process below because of its great impact on the successful data collection process, including the smoothness of the potential logistical nightmare I could have encountered, but more importantly the ideal sample of students for whom I was able to capture the stories of their lives. Participant descriptions for each high school follow in Chapter Five.

Data Collection Procedure

In this study, I was able to secure access to the schools by first finding someone who could make a connection with an administrator in each of the schools. For example, in one case a principal, at a high school I was interested in, knew a member of my dissertation committee. In two cases, I utilized a colleague that I knew did outreach in the schools and had a close relationship with the principals. In only one attempt did I contact a principal without bringing in a third party, and I did not achieve access to that school. Instead, I found an alternative school and utilized a colleague who was a board member in that district. Therefore, in every school in which data was collected, finding a mutual friend made all the difference in the administrators' receptiveness to me and their willingness to participate in this study.

Initial contact with the principals were made by phone. In these conversations I identified who I was and who recommended the contact each of the principals. I briefly

described the study and what I needed from each of the schools, including the number of students and the nature of their participation in the study. I typically mailed them the documentation of the same information that I discussed with them over the phone (see Appendix A-1).

After this initial contact had been established, I set up an appointment and visited the schools to meet with the principals in person. In these meetings, I would reiterate the purpose of the study and what my requests were from each of the high schools. But more importantly, these meetings were designed to discuss the more specific needs that I had in order to make the data collection process as smooth as possible for them and myself. The specifications of these conversations included how many students I needed, how they were to be selected, how long I would need them for, when and where they would be interviewed, and the nature of their participation (including the specific contents of the survey and interview protocol). In every meeting with the principals, I told them how this procedure would work best in my opinion and I would ask what their suggestions would be to make it work better.

In every case, the principal or vice principal became my primary key informant and coordinated all of the needs once I gained access to the school. The key informant provided me with the necessary data to select student participants, arranged the rooms to conduct interviews, and provided hall passes to excuse students from classes.

After identifying all students who met the criteria for participation in the study, I developed a sample of 30 to 40 students to attend an orientation meeting. I selected more than 20 students for the orientation to leave room for attrition throughout the selection

and interview process. For example, some students decided not to participate after being informed about the study or were absent on the day of the orientation. The orientation included an introduction of myself, the nature of the study and its importance to the Filipino and Chinese American community, what I needed from each of the students, and an opportunity to answer any questions that they may have. During this meeting, I also made it clear that this was a study of Chinese or Filipino American male seniors and if any of the students did not meet these criteria, they were not eligible to participate in the study.

Those students who did meet the criteria and decided to participate were provided a project information form, which provided a description of the project and the nature of the request for their participation (see Appendix A-2). Students who agreed to participate were asked to sign up for an individual interview during one of their class periods. On this sign-up form, I also asked what class they had on the day and time of the interview in case they did not show up and required tracking down (see Appendix A-3). It was agreed upon with the principal and suggested to the students to not sign up for an interview during a class that they knew would have a test or could not be missed. The students were then instructed to meet at the designated interview location on the day and time of their interview and provided with a student (and parent consent forms when necessary) (see Appendix A-4 to A-6), which were required by the UCLA Office for the Protection of Research Subjects.

Each individual interview lasted between 45 minutes to an hour. The participants were first given the survey (see Appendix B-1), which gathered information about the

participant's background. The survey also served as a chance to gain an initial understanding of the students' backgrounds and aspirations and proved to be useful for providing clarification from the participant as it related to their answers during the interviews. The interview itself loosely followed an interview protocol which was designed to capture information about students' use of resources and social networks, as well as their perceptions of opportunities in higher education (see Appendix B-2 for interview protocol). Adjustments to the conversations were made during interviews to pose questions that were better suited for each student who was interviewed through a process of probing. Upon the completion of the interviews, students were provided information about college and financial aid, a binder, and a book bag as a gift for their participation in the study.

Data Analysis

The analysis of the data involved systematically organizing and exploring interviews, field notes, and other material accumulated during the data collection process (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). The following explains the procedure for managing, coding, and interpreting the survey and the interview data.

Data Management

The survey data was entered into SPSS, a software program for quantitative data sources. All individual interviews were tape recorded, labeled through a transcript-label scheme, and transcribed (see Appendix C-1). The transcriptions were performed by outside agencies due to the massive amount of data that was collected. Upon receiving transcriptions, each interview was double-checked for accuracy. Then the transcripts

were entered, organized, and managed through the use of NUD*IST, a computer software program for managing large, qualitative databases. This database assisted in the management, organization, and coding procedures necessary in qualitative research.

Coding Procedure

Transcripts were systematically coded in order to manage and analyze the interviews. Codes are labels for units of text such as words, phrases, sentences or paragraphs (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The initial sets of codes were loosely based on themes that have emerged from the theoretical framework as well as questions in the interview protocol. These themes were classified into broad descriptive categories. These broad categories were related to students' information sources, postsecondary decision criteria, and perceptions of opportunities (see Appendix C-2). I then collapsed and saturated categories until the themes within different categories fit together coherently, yet retained distinctions between categories (Cooper & Kemper, 1993). The second phase of coding took a more grounded theoretical design (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) to expose themes and categories that may not have been driven by the theoretical framework or interview protocol.

I then explored transcripts to modify and refine codes and categories, as well as develop new ones. This process developed a broad framework of different categories of codes, as well as detailed codes and themes. The final set of codes were applied to each of the transcripts in NUD*IST for data interpretation (Appendix C-2).

The survey data was coded in the SPSS application (see Appendix C-3 for codebook). The characteristics of each student respondent from the questionnaire was

also applied to document codes in the NUD*IST database in order to run reports on the qualitative data using information about the students gained from the surveys. For example, I was able to identify qualitative codes on immigrant parents' influences on their child's college choice process with whether the parents were educated in the U.S. or in their homeland.

Data Interpretation

My first level of analysis was to examine the survey data. I first ran frequencies on all variables to get a general sense of the background characteristics of the sample. Then crosstabulations were performed to examine the student samples in each of the four high schools. This information provided the basis for the fieldsite and participant descriptions in Chapter Five. These findings were also compared to the larger student population in each high school to measure the extent I did, or did not, capture respondents who were similar to the larger student population.

The qualitative data interpretation was performed through summarization of themes that emerge from the data. These themes were also interpreted across the ethnicity and social class backgrounds of the respondents. In addition, another level of analysis involved exploring codes between high- and low-SES schools. These interpretations were recorded through "analytic memos" (Creswell, 1994). All analytic memos were reviewed, compared and analyzed to serve as the basis for the data interpretation.

CHAPTER FIVE

METHODOLOGY (CONTINUED): FIELDSITE AND PARTICIPANT DESCRIPTIONS

As described in Chapter Four, the four fieldsites in this study were chosen primarily because of the ethnic and social class compositions of the schools. Two schools, Wilson and Kennedy, had large ethnic populations of Chinese Americans, and the other two, Jackson and Hoover, had large Filipino populations. Each of the four schools had a student ethnic composition that was representative of each school's ethnic community.

Selecting schools with large Filipino and Chinese student populations allowed me to examine the social capital and ethnic social relations within the context of family members and peers, which were of the same ethnicity as the student participants. In addition, I examined APA students from different social class backgrounds by studying half of the participants from each ethnicity at a low-SES school, either Kennedy or Jackson, and the other half at a high-SES school, either Wilson or Hoover.

I now present in-depth descriptions of each school and the respondents who were selected to participate in the study. The school descriptions provided for each school include: 1) a portrait of the community; 2) a profile of the ethnic, immigrant, and social class backgrounds of the student population; 3) a description of the resources that were pertinent to college opportunities; 4) eligibility and college-going rates to different types of colleges; and 5) a discussion of the school's culture or reputation (see Appendix D-1).

The respondent descriptions are also provided for each school, which includes: 1) profiles for the participants' ethnicities, social class backgrounds, and immigrant status; 2) profiles of the participants' parents with regard to their immigration, educational, and occupational backgrounds; and 3) a discussion about the participants' high school achievement and experiences (see Appendix D-2).

Wilson High School

Wilson High School was located in San Francisco, CA. San Francisco has the largest concentration of Chinese Americans of any city in the nation. This school was not, however, located in Chinatown, where the largest concentration of Chinese lived in San Francisco. Instead, Wilson was located in a less-densely populated community that had become an outlet for Chinese Americans who viewed living in this neighborhood as a means of new opportunities and upward mobility from the concentrated immigrant neighborhood of Chinatown.

Between 1970 and 1990, the outmigration of whites to the suburbs of the Bay Area steadily increased, which had made the white population nearly non-existent in the neighborhood surrounding Wilson High School with the exception of a handful of first-generation Eastern European immigrants. Rather, some students described the neighborhood as being a second Chinatown, but without the impact of a constant influx of Chinese immigrants, which has had an impact on Chinatown's population density and thus competition for scarce resources.

Although the Chinese Americans in this community were primarily second or third generation, new immigration patterns of family sponsorship had brought first-

generation Chinese directly into this neighborhood. Family sponsorship had created situations where many single-family dwellings had become multiple family households where recent immigrants were living with family who sponsored their immigration. Thus, although Wilson was located in a more desirable middle-class neighborhood, it was experiencing an increase of students that had parents with little, if any, formal education in the United States.

At the time of this study, Wilson High School was comprised of over 1,500 Chinese American students constituting 65 percent of the school's total population of 2,392. Wilson had one of the largest concentrations of Chinese American students of any single high school in the nation. Although there was not any institutional data available to discern how many of the students were immigrants or native born, it was assumed that there were a number of immigrants based on the presence of students who were classified as Limited-English Proficient (LEP). Nearly 20 percent of the students at Wilson were considered LEP. In addition, the influx of Chinese immigrants to the neighborhood also provided evidence of the existence of both native-born and immigrant Chinese in the school.

During my time at the high school, I also observed different cliques in which the students associated. Through conversations with students, teachers, and counselors about my observations, I learned about the differences between the immigrants and the native-born Chinese. Some of the native-born students described the immigrants as being "fresh off the boat (FOBs)," which carried connotations of not being "Americanized" or being different than the native-born Chinese. Inversely, some of the immigrants described the

native-born Chinese Americans as being "lazy" and described how these students would be across the street from the school smoking cigarettes and "hanging out." The relationship between these groups are discussed later in this chapter, as well as in the next chapter when I discuss peers as forms of social capital.

Wilson High had a student population that was fairly middle class. There was a low proportion of students whose families received AFDC (14 percent) or were eligible for the Free-Meal Program (10 percent). Forty-four percent of the students' parents were college graduates with another 20 percent of parents completing some college. However, interestingly, there were also 38 percent of students' parents who received a high school diploma or less creating a range of students from different social class backgrounds. This provided evidence of a bifurcated community inclusive of recent Chinese with low educational attainment as well as those with high educational attainment.

In terms of the faculty and curriculum, Wilson has a long-standing cohort of experienced teachers. The faculty had an average of 18 years teaching at Wilson High. Nearly all of the instructors were credentialed, and only two teachers were working on an emergency credential. Interestingly, between 1995 and 1999, there were only seven new faculty hired. As a result, at a time when there had been a teacher shortages across the state and the nation, caused by an increase in students and a lack of teachers in the pipeline, Wilson had not experienced problems hiring or retaining their faculty.

Wilson High offered a comprehensive curriculum that mainly focused on college preparation. Wilson offered a range of Advanced Placement (AP) and honors courses, in addition to their standard courses, which met the criteria for UC eligibility. In their AP

Program, Wilson offered courses in English, history, Spanish, math, biology, chemistry, and physics, which enrolled 450 students (20 percent). Many of the students who participated in the AP Program, also took the AP exam. In 1999, 308 students took 815 AP exams across a variety of different subject areas. In terms of their performance on these exams, 455 students (56 percent) passed.

Wilson High also had a college office, which served three purposes. First, it provided a place for students to find information pertaining to college. This information included college catalogs, college applications, and information about standardized exams. Second, the office served as a place for students to receive guidance regarding college, which was usually from a college counselor. Finally, the office served as a location to hold recruitment meetings when advisors or outreach staff from universities came to campus to talk with students. For example, three days a week, Upward Bound sent a representative to the college office to speak with their program participants at the high school.

In addition to five full-time academic counselors, Wilson High had two part-time counselors devoted to college counseling. Both of the college counselors were retired counselors who used to work at Wilson. One of the counselors received her Ph.D. in education after retiring, and returned as a college counselor while she looked for a job. The counselors rotated schedules so usually there was at least one counselor in the office throughout the day. The counselors also usually had a student assistant for each period to help with different tasks around the office.

Wilson High had a strong reputation for sending a number of students to college each year. In 1998, the University of California had 160 applicants for admission from Wilson High, 115 (or 72 percent) of which were submitted by Chinese American students. In the same year, 102 students from Wilson enrolled at a UC campus, of which 80 (or 78 percent) were Chinese Americans. Another 91 seniors from Wilson attended a CSU campus (60 of which were Chinese Americans) and over 200 students went to a community college (of which half were Chinese Americans). I was not able to find accurate data on how many students attended private colleges, but the counselor as well as the participants described private colleges as an option that many seniors considered and pursued.

Wilson High was viewed as a school with a strong reputation for sending students to elite colleges. The school's reputation seemed to be built on their rate of sending students to college and the resources available at the school, such as an extensive college preparatory curriculum or the resourceful college office. It was not, however, the most desirable high school in the city. Students explained that Wilson was a "good school, but not the best." Some students described how they ended up at Wilson High School after trying to get into other, more reputable, public schools that required a certain score on an entrance exam, which they did not meet. It seemed that many students didn't mind ending up at Wilson because, as students' indicated, at least it was better than other poorer performing and non-selective high schools in their area.

Wilson High Participants

All 20 study respondents from Wilson High School identified as Chinese Americans. However, after talking with students, I learned that there were actually various ethnic labels that students used to identify their ethnicities, usually used among other Chinese Americans. For example, some students identified their ethnicities based on their language (such as Cantonese or Mandarin) and others based on their homeland (such as Taiwan, Hong Kong, or mainland China).

The ways in which Chinese Americans associated with each other, based on their ethnic identity and other ethnic characteristics (i.e. immigration status, nationality, etc.), delineated various forms of ethnic sub-group social networks. For example, most of the students indicated that nearly all of their friends were Chinese American. However, native-born Chinese Americans tended to have friendship groups that were also native-born Chinese Americans. Some students also felt more comfortable being around other Chinese who spoke the same language as them, such as Cantonese rather than Mandarin. These friendship groups, and the social capital that they produced, are discussed further in this study.

Fifteen of the participants were U.S. citizens. Only half of the students from Wilson were born in the United States – primarily in California. The rest of the participants came from a diverse cross-section of Chinese territories. Only three of the ten immigrants were born in China, four were born in Hong Kong, one in Taiwan, and one was from Vietnam. One student I interviewed was born in Central American when his parents' immigrated there temporarily until they eventually ended up in San

Francisco. Among the immigrant youth in the sample, upon arrival to the U.S., all came directly into San Francisco. However, among the native-born students, some had moved to San Francisco from other states such as New York or Florida. These students were mostly children of immigrant parents who moved to these states to live with relatives, then relocated to San Francisco to find better opportunities.

The parents of the participants were mostly educated in their homelands and few had received any formal education in the U.S. In terms of their highest educational attainment, almost half of the parents had not finished high school with a few parents attending college. The parents of immigrants tended to have less education than the parents of the native-born students. The participants' fathers also tended to have more education than their mothers.

In terms of the Wilson study participants' academic achievement levels during high school, nearly all of the respondents (95 percent) from Wilson mostly had between a 3.0 to 4.0 GPA. All of the respondents at Wilson High School had enrolled in at least one AP course; nearly two-thirds of the respondents (65 percent) had taken five or more. The student participants at Wilson also had a high rate (90 percent) of taking the SAT I. The average combined (verbal and math) SAT I score of the respondents was approximately 1,108.

Kennedy High School

Kennedy High School was located in the heart of a large Chinese American community in the San Gabriel Valley on the eastside of Los Angeles. The area surrounding the high school was actually a juncture of three cities that was heavily

populated with Chinese Americans, as well as Latinos and other Asian American ethnic populations. However, when looking at the commerce in this area, as well as the populations of the surrounding schools, it was clear that the Chinese had established a strong ethnic presence in the tri-city area. There were some streets and avenues in the community that were exclusively Chinese-owned businesses such as restaurants and retail stores. These businesses had signs in Chinese languages and Chinese employees to serve the Chinese customers.

Kennedy High also had a large Chinese American population, 1,488 out of 2,173, that constituted a solid majority (69 percent) of the overall student body. The rest of the student population at Kennedy was mostly comprised of Chicano students. From some of the students I spoke with in the interviews, as well as from school administrators, I learned that there were actually many different Chinese American populations attending Kennedy. First, there were students whose families who had lived in the neighborhood for many generations. Second, there were students whose parents initially immigrated to Chinatown in Los Angeles, then moved to the neighborhood surrounding Kennedy to seek better opportunities. Finally, there were students whose families were very recent immigrants, who immigrated directly into the local neighborhood. This cross-section of Chinese Americans represented a diverse Chinese American population, both in the community and the school.

The principal and some students in the interviews also told me about a new group of Chinese immigrants who were entering the school that were arriving in the U.S. without their parents. These youth were termed "parachute kids." These students were

sent to the U.S. to live with relatives or other sponsors primarily to pursue higher education in the U.S. The principal explained that these students were sent during high school because parents believed that their child's chances of getting into a more reputable college were increased if they got their education in the U.S. before applying for college. Other forms of strategy to gain opportunities for youth are discussed in subsequent chapters.

The students at Kennedy came from a lower social-class background than the students at Wilson. Over a third (35 percent) of the students came from families that received AFDC and 30 percent were eligible for the Free Meal Program. A third of the students were also classified as ESL students, providing further evidence of a sizable immigrant population in the school.

The parents of the students attending Kennedy had a mixed representation of educational backgrounds. Nearly a third (32 percent) of the parents had a college degree, 42 percent had a high school diploma, and more than a quarter (26 percent) had not completed high school. From discussions with students and administrators, I was able to find out that this diversity of educational backgrounds needed to be seen from two perspectives. First, some parents received their education in their homelands. This group tended to have lower-educational attainment. Second, there was the group of parents who received their education in the U.S., which represented a higher educational background. The diversity of educational backgrounds was something that was taken into consideration during the analysis of the family influences in later chapters.

Kennedy had a cross-section of college preparatory and vocational curriculum. In conversations with the principal, he described how the vocational element was something that was emphasized in the 1960s and 70s, and now being fazed out in lieu of college preparatory curriculum. He emphasized the importance of having coursework available for the students that could provide them with postsecondary opportunities.

Kennedy had a strong cohort of faculty. Over 90 percent of the faculty were fully credentialed with an average of 18 years teaching at the school. Between 1995 and 1999, Kennedy hired 10 new faculty. Interestingly, eight of these new hires were on emergency credentials. Although the principal was new, many of the administrators and faculty had been around for many years. Some students, who had lived in the neighborhood their entire lives, described how their older siblings (and even parents) had the same teachers as them.

Kennedy High offered 16 AP courses in a number of subject areas (English, Spanish, calculus, biology, chemistry, physics, government, and history). This program enrolled 422 students representing 20 percent of the overall student body. Over 60 percent of the students who took the AP courses, also took the exams. There were 256 students who completed 463 exams in different subject areas. The passing rate was also very high at 76 percent, which was well above than the state average.

Kennedy High did not have a college office. Therefore, academic counselors had the responsibility of providing college information and advising. Counselors would provide most of their college guidance through visits to the senior classes in their home rooms in the first semester of each academic year. These sessions would involve talking

to seniors about how to plan and prepare for college. Aside from this advising, counselors were only available by appointment if students wanted individual attention.

Kennedy has sent a number of students to college upon graduation. In 1999, the UC system received 124 applications from Kennedy, which represented nearly 30 percent of the graduating seniors. Of the applicants to UC, nearly 92 percent (n=114) were Chinese Americans. Seventy-four graduates of Kennedy enrolled in UC, including 67 Chinese Americans. In the same year, 71 Chinese graduates (out of 87 total) enrolled in the CSU system, and nearly 174 Chinese graduates (out of 200 total) attended a community college. I was unable to find the rate in which students attended private or out-of-state colleges, however from the interviews it seemed that there were students had pursued a technical or vocational schools.

These overall college-going rates and curricular structure seemed to indicate that Kennedy High was a school that had a strong college culture. However, it is apparent that these opportunities were not available for all of the students. For example, of the 94 Latino graduates in 1998, none applied to the UC system and only four enrolled at a CSU campus. With these disparities, it made me wonder if there were inequalities in the opportunities that were available for different students populations, such as recent immigrants or lower-income Chinese. These questions were pursued further in the analysis, which is discussed in later chapters.

Kennedy High Participants

The majority of the study respondents from Kennedy High identified as Chinese Americans, however there were three students who had one parent who was Chinese and

the other of another ethnicity. In two cases, one of the parents were Japanese American and in one case a parent was a Chicana. However, in each of these cases, the students' indicated that being Chinese American was a big part of their ethnic identity. Three-quarters of the study respondents were U.S. citizens. Half of the respondents were born in the U.S., nearly all of whom were born and raised in California. The other half of the respondents were born outside of the U.S. in China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan.

Nearly all of the respondents had parents who received some of their education in their homeland, but half of the parents also received some education in the U.S. A quarter of the respondents indicated that their parents had a bachelor's degree or higher, yet the majority of the parents had not gone to college. The degree attainment seemed to be similar between mothers and fathers. More than half of the students indicated that their parents did not speak English very fluently and only a quarter felt their parents spoke English very fluently.

With regard to Kennedy study participants' high school achievement, nearly two-thirds (65 percent) had a cumulative high school GPA between a 3.0 and 4.0. Half of the respondents (50 percent) had taken at least one AP course, but the majority of these students had taken only one or two. Less than a third of the students (30 percent) took the SAT I exam. However, the students who did take the exam had a high average combined (verbal and math) SAT I score of 1,125.

Hoover High School

Hoover High School was one of three high schools located in Vallejo, CA, a suburban residential community on the cusp of the eastside of the San Francisco Bay Area. At the time of the study, Vallejo was becoming a popular housing location for Bay Area commuters. However, historically it had been known best for its naval base, which closed in 1997. Prior to its closure, the military base had a substantial impact on Vallejo's economy by providing commerce for local businesses. However, more relevant to this study, was the fact that the naval base brought many generations of Filipinos to the community.

During WWII, when the Philippines became a territory of the U.S., Filipinos were allowed, encouraged, and sometimes forced to join the U.S. military to help fight against the Japanese. After the war ended and the Philippines became an independent country in 1946, Filipinos continued to be allowed to join the U.S. military for which case they were provided U.S. citizenship. Therefore, much of the early Filipino immigration was due to their relocation and placement on military bases in the United States. Following the establishment of a critical mass of Filipinos who came to the U.S. by way of the military, coupled with the reunification act of the 1986, family-sponsored immigration created vibrant Filipino communities in pockets surrounding active and inactive military bases, particularly on the east and west coasts of the U.S.

In Vallejo, Filipinos had established their presence in number as well as political and economic strength. At the time of the study, the Filipino American population made up more than a third of the total population in Vallejo. Interestingly, while spending time

in Vallejo, I learned about many Filipinos involved in the local politics, such as the city government, the school board, and the board of health. I had the opportunity to meet some of these people and learned about how they believed that in their city Filipinos had the strongest voices and positions of influence, than any other place where Filipinos congregated. Many of these community leaders described the pride they had in their Filipino community.

Students and other informants described how Vallejo had three cross-sections of Filipinos, in which case the description will sound similar to what I illustrated about the Chinese communities in this study. First, there were native-born Filipinos whose history in Vallejo spanned two or three generations. Some of these Filipinos were involved in the military and others in small businesses or the agricultural industry.

The second cohort of Filipinos were those that migrated from other places to settle in Vallejo in search of better opportunities. These migration patterns can be traced from more concentrated and impoverished communities in the bay area or communities outside of California in which case Filipinos relocated to be closer to family and a stronger Filipino community.

Finally, there was a growing Filipino-immigrant population who arrived in the U.S. by way of family-sponsored immigration, which constituted the overwhelming majority of Filipino immigrants in Vallejo at the time of the study. The diversity of the Filipino community in Vallejo had implications on the population of Hoover High School.

Hoover High School had a population that was racially diverse with Filipinos holding the largest proportion of any single ethnic/racial group. In 1999, there were 633 Filipinos who constituted 30 percent of the total student population. Another 26 percent of the Hoover student body were African American, 13 percent were Latinos, and 21 percent were white. In discussions with administrators, the Filipino student population at Hoover had historically been larger, but had diminished with the transferring of many Filipino students to a new local public high school that opened in 1997.

Hoover High School had a very low rate of students who were classified as LEP (4 percent). In general among Filipinos there tended to be a high rate of English-language literacy because the schools in the Philippines require students to speak, read, and write in English. However, although many Filipino immigrants knew the mechanics of written English as taught in the Philippines, many students described their ability to speak the language as being limited. Particularly, the pronunciation of English words and the understanding of cultural slang in the U.S. tended to provide challenges to recent immigrants, although the LEP rate does not reflect these challenges.

In terms of the social-class level of the school, only 5 percent of students came from families that received AFDC and only 4 percent were eligible for the Free Meal Program. Interestingly, 42 percent of students had parents who had a college degree and an additional 47 percent had finished high school and/or had some college education. However, these indicators of social class may not have accurately captured the social class levels of these Filipino parents. This was primarily because Filipinos tended to have comparable, if not higher educational attainment than the average in the U.S.

However, if parents received their education in the Philippines, particularly a college degree, it typically had not translated into the same occupational or monetary capital as a similar degree attained in the U.S. The ways in which educational attainment of Filipino immigrants had affected their monetary capital, as well as other forms of capital, are discussed in further detail in later chapters.

Hoover High School had a range of curricular goals for their students. As described to me by administrators, one of the main goals of the curriculum was to provide students with the courses that were required by the UC system for eligibility. Hoover also offered AP and honors courses, but there were not enough to reach many of the students. For example, the four AP courses were only able to enroll 76 students, or three percent of the student body. Students from Hoover took 110 exams and had a passing rate of 49 percent, which was much lower than Wilson and Kennedy High.

At Hoover, there were also a large number of vocational courses in which students would enroll. In particular, the Reserve Officer Training Corp (ROTC) was a very popular program at Hoover High. Even after the closure of the naval base, the strong presence of military recruiters in the high school was probably a residue from when the base was in operation.

The faculty at Hoover High School seemed to be going through quite a bit of turnover when I visited the high school. Although 85 percent of their faculty had full credentials, there were 12 percent that were working with emergency credentials. There were also a few teachers working using a waiver. As a result, the teaching staff seemed to be bifurcated consisting of teachers who were very new as well as teachers who had

been there longer. Overall, the teachers had an average of 13 years at the school, which was much lower than the average years that teachers had at Kennedy High and Wilson High.

However, the most prevalent problem facing Hoover was the number of substitute teachers who were teaching. Students described how some of their classes were taught exclusively by substitute teachers. Among the courses that were mentioned by students in the interviews were a physics course, a biology course, and an English course – all of which were UC preparatory courses. How prevalent this problem was, or for how many students this affected, was not discernable through any available data.

The counseling staff at Hoover was also fairly new. At the time of the study, three of the four counselors were in their first year at the school. One counselor, who had the responsibility of working with the seniors, told me how she had just completed her master's degree in educational counseling at a local private college. She explained that prior to going to graduate school in counseling, she had been an elementary school teacher at another school in the district. She said that the problem she was facing, as well as the rest of the new counseling staff, was that her education had not prepared her for the college advising that she was expected to provide for the seniors. She said that her lack of preparation not only affected what she knew about different colleges and what it took to get into them, but also her knowledge of what the college-choice process involved, which also included an understanding of the range of issues students can face during this process. She expressed remorse for the students in that academic year because of the lack

of knowledgeable counselors, which was a disservice to the students that could seriously affect their futures.

In 1999, Hoover had about 13 percent (n=65) of its seniors apply to UC and six percent (n=29) who enrolled at a UC campus. Half of the graduates from Hoover who enrolled in a UC campus were Filipino. There were another 40 Filipinos that enrolled at a CSU campus, but the Filipino graduates had their greatest concentration (n=83) in community colleges. Although data was not available, there were also respondents who also mentioned vocational schools and the military as postsecondary options.

Of the three high schools in the community, students said that they chose to attend Hoover because their friends were there. Students also described the culture of Hoover as being diverse and good for going to college. Some students wished they would have attended the new high school, but they said they liked the idea of finishing school where they started. Some students thought that although they liked their high school experience, they felt it could have been improved if the school had better resources for college. However, for the most part, students seemed content with the opportunities that were available for them to pursue their postsecondary aspirations.

Hoover High Participants

All respondents from Hoover High identified their ethnicity as being Filipino. Nearly all were U.S. citizens. Most of the students were born in California, however there were four that were born in the Philippines. Most of the students were second-generation immigrants whose parents were born in the Philippines and moved to the U.S. before the respondent was born.

Nearly all of the respondents' parents received education in their homeland, but about a quarter of the parents also received some education in the U.S. In these cases, the parents attained some form of postsecondary education. Nearly three-quarters of the parents had received a bachelor's degree or some college, but it was mostly received in their homeland. Fathers had a higher rate than mothers of only having a high school diploma. Two-thirds of the respondents indicated that their parents spoke English very fluently, and another third said they spoke somewhat fluently. A third of the parents – primarily the fathers – were either active or inactive in the military.

In terms of the Hoover participants' high school achievement and activities, nearly two-thirds (65 percent) of the respondents had a cumulative high school GPA between 3.0 and 4.0. More than half (55 percent) of the study participants had taken at least one AP course. However, the majority of the respondents who did take AP courses had only taken one or two. Nearly three-quarters (70%) of the students had taken the SAT I and had an average combined (verbal and math) score of 1,053.

Jackson High School

Jackson High School was situated in Daly City, which was located just south of San Francisco near the San Francisco International Airport. Daly City had one of the largest concentrations of Filipinos in the nation. By way of immigration through family sponsorship, Daly City had slowly become one of the most popular destinations of Filipino immigrants to the U.S. Therefore, the concentration of Filipino immigrants continued to grow and be replenished by a constant influx of new immigrants making Daly City a strong Filipino community since the late 1960s.

At the time of the study, Jackson High had the second largest concentration of Filipino students in the state. Filipinos constituted nearly half (45 percent) of all students in the school. Because of the influx and exponential rate of new Filipino immigrants into the community, the diversity of Jackson High's Filipino population had continued to change. In particular, the rate of students who were immigrants had increased, as well as what characterized the new immigrant Filipino population. For example, the administrators at the high school explained that they had increasing numbers of Filipinos who did not speak English very well. At the time of the study, 13 percent of students who were considered LEP.

In addition, the social class backgrounds of the new immigrants had changed over the years. Whereas Filipino immigrants of the 1960s through 1990s tended to have higher educational attainment from their homeland, the more recent immigrants were not as educated. For example, although a third of the Filipino students had parents that received a college degree, there were also 24 percent who only had their high school diploma and 20 percent that did not finish high school. Therefore, similarly to Hoover High, there was evidence of a varied Filipino population with regards to immigrant- and native-born students. The intricacies of how this played out in Hoover students' college opportunities are also described later in the study.

At the time of the study, Jackson High School was struggling with a number of issues related to student outcomes. The most immediate problem the school was facing was their graduation rate, which was well below the state average. Administrators explained that this was caused by poor attendance rates and other forms of delinquency.

Beyond the attrition rates, there were also problems with getting students to attend college. For example, among the 250 graduates in 1999, only 20 (or 8 percent) were eligible to attend the UC system. In the same year, only eight students enrolled at a UC campus and a large majority of graduates (60 percent) attended local community colleges. Filipinos comprised about half of the students who attended each of these sectors of California public higher education.

Jackson High was focusing a lot of attention on the development of curriculum that would address the problems of retention and college opportunities. However, at the time of the study, there were only two AP courses (English and chemistry) available in the entire school, which enrolled only 50 students. Therefore, only about 4 percent of all students had access to these courses. Thirty-five students took the AP exam, but only 9 students passed, which was a passing rate of only 25 percent.

Jackson High was in the process of adding AP courses through the recent acquisition of an AP Challenge Grant. The school was also in the process of starting a college office and a "Step to College" class. These efforts were developed and administered through collaboration between faculty and counselors at the school. In addition, Jackson High had not been able to establish consistent partnerships with college outreach efforts. Historically, the only college representatives that would visit and talk to their students were from community colleges. So the school was attempting to get representatives from, and forge partnerships with, CSU and UC campuses as well. Some respondents discussed how these many efforts have helped them gain new knowledge about college opportunities, which are discussed in later chapters.

Many study respondents from Jackson High compared their school to other schools in the Bay Area. Students described Jackson High as a school that was not known for sending students to college; rather, they felt that students at local private high schools looked down on Jackson as a place to go to because Jackson students could not afford to go to the private high schools. Many study respondents would say that if they really wanted to go to college, they would have chosen to go somewhere else. But many students seemed to prefer Jackson so they could go to school with their neighborhood friends. Many students said they liked the culture of the school because it had "cool" students instead of "nerds." Other students had pride in their schools' ethnic diversity.

Jackson High Participants

All the respondents at Jackson High self-reported their ethnicity as being Filipino. Two-thirds of the students were U.S. citizens and half of all respondents were born in California. Half of the respondents were also born in the Philippines. Among the first-generation who came to the U.S., nearly all had their first destination as their current residence.

All of the respondents were either immigrants or children of first-generation immigrants. Nearly all of the students indicated that their parents received all of their education in the Philippines. Only two students indicated that their parents had received some education in the U.S. A little more than half of the parents had received a bachelor's degree or higher and the rest of the parents usually had at least a high school diploma. Only half of the respondents indicated that their parents spoke English very

well, and many said their parents were only somewhat fluent in their use of English. A quarter of the parents had been, or were at the time of the study, active in the military.

In terms of Jackson High study participants' high school achievement and activities, nearly two-thirds of the respondents had a cumulative GPA between a 3.0 and 4.0. Approximately one-third (35 percent) of the study participants had taken an AP course during high school. Less than a third of the respondents had taken the SAT I exam and had an average combined (verbal and math) score 840.

Cross-Site and Cross-Participant Comparisons

This chapter described the different high schools and respondents that were chosen for this study. The schools had different contexts and cultures that produced different outcomes and opportunities for students. The respondents also had different familial and community backgrounds, which created different contexts for how they participated and shaped the students' college-choice processes. This section examines more closely some key similarities and differences across the schools and study participants drawn from each school. The following section describes how differences between the school sites and participants yielded limitations that should be considered in the results and conclusions of the study.

Cross-Site Comparisons

The schools each had different rates of offering UC/CSU courses and vocational courses (see Table 5.1). Among the Chinese schools, Wilson High offered the more UC/CSU courses (386) than Kennedy High (220). Interestingly, Kennedy High offered more AP courses (17) than Wilson (13). However, Kennedy High offered nearly twice as

many vocational courses (36) and enrolled three times as many students (1,005) than Wilson, which had 17 courses enrolling 308 students.

Table 5.1. Selected School Characteristics, 1999

	Number and/or Percentage Among			
	Chinese Schools		Filipino Schools	
	Wilson High *(High-SES)*	Kennedy High *(Low-SES)*	Hoover High *(High-SES)*	Jackson High *(Low-SES)*
Course Availability				
Number of UC/CSU Courses*	386	326	280	220
Number of AP Courses	13	17	n/a**	2
Number of Vocational Courses	17	36	30	26
SAT Indicators				
Number of SAT Exams	370	242	144	100
Average SAT (V+M) Score	972	1,051	964	869
UC Enrollment by Ethnicity				
All students	102 (19%)	75 (17%)	29 (6%)	8 (3%)
Chinese Americans	80 (23%)	67 (20%)	--	--
Filipino Americans	--	--	16 (9%)	4 (3%)
CSU Enrollment by Ethnicity				
All students	91 (17%)	87 (19%)	48 (10%)	41 (16%)
Chinese Americans	60 (17%)	71 (21%)	--	--
Filipino Americans	--	--	32 (17%)	24 (20%)
CCC Enrollment by Ethnicity				
All students	273 (51%)	247 (55%)	214 (45%)	156 (63%)
Chinese Americans	181 (52%)	174 (52%)	--	--
Filipino Americans	--	--	83 (45%)	91 (76%)

Data Source: California Department of Education, Educational Demographics Unit, 2000.
Note: * Does not include Advanced Placement (AP) and International Baccalaureate (IB) courses.
** Data on this measure was found to be inaccurate for Hoover High School.

Among the Filipino schools, Hoover High offered more UC/CSU courses (280) than Jackson High (220). Hoover High also offered more vocational courses (30) that enrolled more students (732) than Jackson High, which had 26 vocational courses enrolling 644 students. However, it should be noted that the two Filipino schools have enrollment rates that are quite different where Jackson High is only three-quarters the size of Hoover High.

Students at each high school also had differential rates of taking the SAT I exam as well as different scores. For example, among the Chinese schools, Wilson High has more students (370) than Kennedy High (242) take the SAT I. However, Kennedy High had a higher average SAT I score (1051) than the students at Wilson High (972). In the Filipino schools, Hoover had more students (144) take the SAT I than Jackson High (100). Hoover students also scored nearly 100 points higher, on average, than the Jackson students.

The schools also different by college-going rates to community college, CSU, and UC campuses. For example, among the Chinese schools, Wilson High sent a greater proportion of their Chinese graduates (23 percent) to a UC campus than Kennedy High (20 percent). Inversely, Kennedy High was more likely to send Chinese graduates (21 percent) to a CSU campus than Wilson High (17 percent). An equal proportion of Chinese graduates (52 percent) from each high school attended a community college after high school.

Among the Filipino schools, Hoover High had a greater proportion of their Filipino high school graduates (9 percent) attend a UC campus than Jackson High (3 percent). Inversely, Jackson High was more likely to send their Filipino graduates (20 percent) to CSU campuses than Hoover High (17 percent). More than three-quarters (76 percent) of the Filipino graduates of Jackson High attended a community college after high school compared to less than half (45 percent) of the Filipino graduates at Hoover High.

Therefore, within each ethnic group, the schools had different rates of course offering, SAT outcomes, and college-going rates to different sectors of California public colleges and universities. Overall, a trend occurs where the high-SES schools (Wilson and Hoover) were more likely to have better postsecondary educational outcomes than the low-SES schools (Kennedy and Jackson). How the context of the high- and low-SES schools affected these outcomes are discussed further in Chapter Eight. However, the next section provides cross-participant comparisons to better describe the differences between the study respondents from each school.

Cross-Participant Comparisons

The participants in each school were selected based on a set criteria described in Chapter Four. Primarily, the participants were selected based on their grade level, gender, ethnicity, and probability that they were college-bound. However, the characteristics of the study participants often varied across the schools because of the differences that existed across the schools. For example, the low-SES schools (Kennedy High and Jackson High) tended to have participants that had lower socioeconomic status than the students at the high-SES schools (Wilson High and Hoover High). This section examines more closely the similarities and differences across the study participant samples.

The Filipino students were more likely to have parents who attended at least some college than the Chinese students (see Table 5.2). However, a greater proportion of the students at Hoover High (90 percent) had parents who attended college than the students at Jackson High (75 percent). The high rate of Filipino parents' college attendance was

because nearly all (95 percent) of the Filipino parents were educated in the Philippines where attending college is much more common than in countries where ethnic Chinese originate. Hence a much smaller proportion (35 percent) of the parents of the Chinese students attended college as opposed to the parents of the Filipino students.

Table 5.2: Participant Background Characteristics and High School Experiences

	Number and/or Percentage Among			
	Chinese Schools		Filipino Schools	
	Wilson HS *(High-SES)* (n=20)	Kennedy HS *(Low-SES)* (n=20)	Hoover HS *(High-SES)* (n=20)	Jackson HS *(Low-SES)* (n=20)
Parental Education				
At least some college	7 (35%)	7 (35%)	18 (90%)	15 (75%)
Parents educated outside of U.S.	19 (95%)	18 (90%)	18 (90%)	20 (100%)
GPA				
A range (A+, A, A-)	7 (35%)	2 (10%)	3 (15%)	2 (10%)
B range (B+, B, B-)	12 (60%)	11 (55%)	10 (50%)	10 (50%)
C range (C+, C, C-)	1 (5%)	5 (35%)	7 (35%)	8 (40%)
AP Courses				
5 or more	13 (65%)	1 (5%)	1 (3%)	0 (0%)
3 to 4	4 (20%)	1 (5%)	3 (15%)	3 (15%)
1 to 2	3 (15%)	8 (40%)	7 (35%)	4 (20%)
None	0 (0%)	10 (50%)	9 (45%)	13 (65%)
SAT I				
Taken the SAT I exam	18 (90%)	6 (30%)	14 (70%)	6 (30%)
Average Total SAT I Score (V+M)*	1108	1125	1052	840
SAT II				
Taken the SAT II exam	12 (60%)	5 (25%)	7 (35%)	0 (0%)
Average Total SAT II Score (W+M)**	1151	1222	1184	--
ACT				
Taken the ACT exam	1 (5%)	0 (0%)	1 (5%)	0 (0%)
Average Total ACT Score	24	--	27	--

Note: * Indicates total combined SAT I Verbal and Math score
** Indicates total combined SAT II Writing and Math score

The study participants at each high school also had different high school experiences and outcomes. For example, among the Chinese schools, there were more participants (95 percent) at Wilson High who had between a 3.0 and 4.0 GPA than students at Kennedy High (65 percent). At the Filipino schools, there were more

participants (65 percent) who had between a 3.0 and 4.0 GPA than at Jackson High (60 percent).

The study participants also varied by the types of courses they took during high school. Among the Chinese schools, more participants (85 percent) took at least three AP courses than students at Kennedy High (10 percent). The same trend was true among the Filipino schools where more participants at Hoover High (18 percent) took at least three AP courses than participants from Jackson High (3 percent). Rather, the participants at the low-SES schools (Kennedy and Jackson) were likely to not have taken any AP courses during high school (45 percent and 60 percent respectively).

Each school also contained participants with differential rates of taking the SAT I, SAT II, and ACT exam. Among the Chinese schools, students at Wilson High were three times more likely to take the SAT I exam than students at Kennedy High[1]. However, the students at Kennedy High had a higher average combined (Verbal and Math) SAT I score (1125) than the students at Wilson High (1108). Among the Filipino schools, participants at Hoover High were more than three times more likely to take the SAT I exam than the participants at Jackson High. The average combined (Verbal and Math) SAT I score at Hoover (1053) was also much higher than at Jackson High (840).

Similar patterns emerged with regard to the participants rate of taking the SAT II exam. At the Chinese schools, participants at Wilson High were twice as likely to take the SAT II exam than the participants from Kennedy High, although the Kennedy

[1] The data collection occurred during the Fall semester of students' senior years. Therefore, the test-taking rates only reflect the number of students who had taken the exam as of the date of the interviews and not students who may have taken the exam following the interviews.

participants scored higher (1222) than the Wilson participants (1151). Among the Filipino schools, 35 percent of the participants from Hoover High took the SAT II score with an average score of 1184, yet there were not any participants from Jackson who took the SAT II exam. Only two students (each from a high-SES school) took the ACT exam.

The different fieldsite characteristics and study participant experiences and outcomes has implication for how these findings should be interpreted. This is discussed further in the following section.

Limitations

There are two primary limitations that were taken into consideration when developing the results of this study. First, the primary criterion that was used to select the schools for this study, ethnic composition, restricted the number of schools from which to select fieldsites. In California, there are only a handful of schools that have a large proportion of APA students. Therefore, the number of schools in which I had to choose the fieldsites was limited. As a result, the fieldsites that were selected differ in ways that make it challenging to compare the schools.

For example, the schools had different academic resources that may affect the ways in which teachers engaged in college guidance. In some cases, college may not have been the desired outcome for their graduates. The schools also had different counseling resources, which may have had different goals for their graduates. Although these differences are important points of comparison across the schools that can determine the ways in which school personnel provide college guidance, schools or

school personnel were not a unit of analysis. Therefore, I am only able to provide the perspective of the student participants on these resources.

The second limitation pertains to the study participants. Although many attempts were made to select similar types of students across each fieldsite (see Chapter Four), I wasn't always able to find identical samples. Specifically, the samples differed by high school experiences and achievement levels (as discussed in this chapter) and postsecondary aspirations (discussed in Chapter Six). The differences in the samples were taken into consideration during the process of analyzing the data and writing the results, but I found it important to point them out up front.

The next chapter delineates the aspirations and decision criteria of the study participants to set the context for the subsequent chapters, which focus on how students formed and pursued their postsecondary aspirations. In Chapter Seven, I examine the ways in which protective agents (parents, other relatives, and close friends) influenced students' aspirations and offered guidance and support which helped students realize their goals. Chapter Eight examines the ways in which institutional agents (teachers, counselors, and other school personnel) provided postsecondary information and guidance and how their ability to do so was affected by the resources and culture in each school setting, which were discussed in this chapter.

CHAPTER SIX

ASPIRATIONS AND PERCEPTIONS OF OPPORTUNITY

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a context for the role of social networks in shaping students' postsecondary preparation and decision-making processes. When high school students pursue college, they are involved in a process of narrowing down a large range of options that span a spectrum of different postsecondary opportunities and outcomes.

College choice research has found that the aspirations that students hold are an important function in determining their future outcomes (Hearn, 1984, 1991; Hossler, Braxton & Coopersmith, 1989; McDonough, 1997). As a point of departure for this study, I aimed to examine the postsecondary aspirations of the Chinese and Filipino students, as well as the intricacies of how students prepared for, developed, and pursued these aspirations. More specifically, this chapter illustrates the postsecondary decision criterions, perceptions, and aspirations of the study participants.

First, I describe the students' perceptions of opportunities and criterions that shaped their postsecondary aspirations. Then I demonstrate the range of postsecondary aspirations the students' described to me during our interviews. This section is not intended to merely present the "dream school" that students were shooting for after high school, but rather the ranges of opportunities that shaped the distribution of students' postsecondary aspirations, which were shaped by students' decision criterions and perceptions of opportunity.

Decision Criteria and Perceptions of Future Challenges and Opportunities

Students' postsecondary aspirations and planning have been found to be shaped by a set of decision criteria, as well as their perceptions of future opportunity. In this section, I examine the criteria that students used to form their aspirations and focus on their perceptions of institutional reputation, cost and financial aid availability, proximity of colleges to their home, and welcomeness and congruency to their future goals.

Institutional Reputation

Most students look at colleges based on their reputations (Astin, 1982; Hossler, Schmit & Vesper, 1999; Karen, 1988; McDonough, 1994, 1997). The most common measure students in this study had for an institution's reputation was its level of prestige. Students identified these schools as being "famous," "top-tiered," or "prestigious." Many students felt that the prestige of a campus would determine what type of job they could get with a degree from that institution.

Chinese American students at both Wilson High and Kennedy High felt that reputation was important for them to consider when choosing colleges in which to apply. However, fewer students at Kennedy High were pursuing a UC or private four-year college than at Wilson High. Nearly all of the students at Wilson High, were concerned about going to a prestigious and reputable university. One Wilson student explained, "I wanna get into a good college, and the colleges that I'm expecting myself to get into are worth more - the top ranked. I mean, the greatest colleges there are. I'm shooting for a Harvard or an MIT or something, something within like the top fifty, or like, first tier."

Many Filipino students also focused on academic reputations to decide which colleges to consider. However, Hoover students were more likely to consider reputation than students at Jackson. A student at Hoover High said, "If I got accepted to UC Irvine, I'd probably take UC Irvine because of the fact that it's a UC and that it's a more prestigious than a State college. Sacramento State is good, but I mean UC Irvine is more prestigious." However, Filipino students, particularly at Jackson High, were more willing to pursue community colleges and CSU campuses.

Cost and Financial Aid

Another decision criterion that students' weighed in their college-choice process was the cost of tuition and living expenses, in conjunction with the availability of financial aid. These two factors have been found to be significant factors in students' decision-criteria, especially for lower-income students (Hossler & Gallagher, 1987; McDonough, 1997; Post, 1990). However, a confounding issue related to cost is the fact that students' and parents' perceptions of cost are highly exaggerated (Hossler, Schmit & Vesper, 1999; McDonough, 1997). In some instances, studies have found that parents think the cost of college is three times its actual cost (Hossler, Schmit & Vesper, 1999). In addition, parents often believe they are eligible for less financial aid than they actually are. Among the respondents in this study, most students also exaggerated the cost of tuition. The amount that students estimated for the cost of tuition was greater among lower-income students. The exaggeration of tuition cost was also overestimated in all tiers of public higher education in California. Many of my conversations with the

students transpired similarly to the conversation I had with a Filipino student at Jackson High School. He said:

> To go to a UC or CSU, it would probably be $100,000 a year. I'm gonna try to apply [for financial aid], but I doubt I'm gonna get it because my sisters applied and couldn't get it. My parents make too much.

In fact, at the time of this study, the annual tuition was $4,500 for a UC, $1,700 for CSU, and $520 for community colleges (as a full-time student).

Students' concerns about cost and financial aid created a great level of concern as to how they would pay for their college education, and particularly how this financial burden would affect their families, particularly for lower-SES students. For middle-class students, in addition to their concerns about how the financial burden of college would affect their families, they had greater concerns about the availability of financial aid than the lower-income students. Many of the students, without prior investigation, did not believe they were eligible for any financial aid. A Wilson student elaborated on the issues by saying, "We're like middle class and have to be really poor to get any kind of financial aid."

There were some ethnic differences between the Chinese and Filipino American students with regard to students' perceptions of cost. Although both the Chinese and Filipino students admitted that college was going to be expensive, the Chinese students were not as concerned with cost as much as the Filipino students. Many Chinese students stated that it was worth paying the cost for an education because having a college degree from a good school led to a good job; that is, the Chinese students saw mobility as more accessible through investing in their education than Filipino students.

Location and Proximity to Home

Students also discussed how the location of colleges played into their decisions on where they might want to attend. Many students were attracted to schools that were located in cities in which they were familiar. Usually they would consider schools in places where they knew someone. Some students would also consider things like whether the location of the school had non-curricular things to do or what the weather was like. But, what seemed to be most important about the different locations of schools, was their proximity to home, as found in previous research (Hossler, Schmit & Vesper, 1999; McDonough, 1997). Hence, students had to reconcile the advantages and disadvantages of living at or near home or going far away to college as a part of their decision-making criteria.

Many of the students wanted to stay near home or live at home while they were in college. One student described the advantages of living at home. He said, "I don't have to worry about paying bills, food would always be available, someone will continue to do my laundry, and I will have my family near me in case anything happens." Inversely, students thought that if they moved away from home, they would gain "freedom" and "independence." Often, students said that their parents did not want them to leave the house out of fear that the students would go out of control and party too much instead of hitting the books.

But yet again, there were some ethnic differences between the Chinese and Filipino students. Many of the Filipino students did not seem to want to live beyond an hour's drive radius, and thus be able to live at home. Yet, Chinese students were more

open to the idea of leaving home for a school, and were willing to travel further than the convenient hour's drive back home. They considered living a couple hundred miles away from home, which expanded their range of colleges to select from, rather than just the local colleges the Filipino students considered. For example, nearly half of the Chinese students at Wilson High were considering an out-of-state college.

Institutional Fit and Perceptions of Welcomeness

Students also had different perspectives on what their college experience might be like if they were to attend different campuses. They would use these perceptions to weigh the likelihood that they would "fit in" or "feel welcome" at the institution. Among students, the most common aspects of the college experience they considered were the academic and social environments.

With regard to the academic environment, students were mostly concerned about how difficult their classes would be and whether they would do well. Their perception of how difficult college would be for them was often based on their perceptions of how difficult it was to get into college. Many students felt that at more selective colleges the classes had students who were smarter than at colleges that were less selective. For some students, this created some anxiety where they were afraid they would not be able to handle the coursework at more selective colleges.

Students were also concerned about the social environment at different colleges. Some students had concerns about the size of different institutions, particularly at public universities. They would say that they thought that some schools were "overcrowded."

Their concerns about the size of the school also created concerns about whether they could fit in or make friends in this type of environment. One student explained:

> My biggest worry about college is just fitting in, just because it takes me a while to get comfortable with people. But I mean academically I think I'll do good anywhere I go – I hope. But it's just socially, I just want to make sure I can fit in.

Students' perceptions about being able to make friends in college were a big part of their general concerns about the social environment in college. Many students wanted to be able to find friends with whom they could communicate, get along, and feel comfortable. Chinese students, in particular, were more likely to be concerned with finding friends that they could talk to in their native language than the Filipino students. However, across both ethnic groups, students had concerns about the ethnic composition of different colleges. But interestingly, students were not as concerned about their ability to get along with other students of different races, but rather how people of other races will treat them. A Filipino said:

> When I go to college, I want some Filipinos there. Blend it in as long as I can communicate with them. But, if it's all White students, I would feel a little awkward. I wouldn't want them to look at me all weird or treat me bad because I'm the only Asian guy there.

Therefore, students had different perceptions of what college would be like. In particular, students seemed to emphasize concerns about cost, location, and being able to fit into the academic and social environments. Students' perceptions were often associated with what their postsecondary aspirations were. The following section describes the educational aspirations of the Chinese and Filipino students in this study and how their plans were closely tied to how the criteria they used to select colleges was connected with their perceptions and concerns about college.

How Perceptions Shape Postsecondary Aspirations

The study participants had a range of postsecondary aspirations (see Appendix E). Their aspirations were usually comprised of a set of different postsecondary options in which they had to consider. The general trend of students' postsecondary aspirations was that students had a school that was their first choice, which almost always was the most difficult to get into from their list, and a list of backup schools. Often times their backup schools were also ranked, usually in the order of how difficult it was to get into these colleges.

For some students this meant that their first choice college was a highly selective college, such as UC Berkeley or UCLA, and their backup colleges were other less selective UC colleges, such as UC Santa Cruz or UC Riverside. Other students may have had a CSU as their top choice, with a community college as a backup. There were also students who wanted to attend a selective four-year college, but believed that attending a community college and transferring into a four-year college was their best strategy. A few students were contemplating whether to take a job, or take time off from education, after high school.

Almost all students were considering colleges based on their academic and occupational interests. A majority of the participants were pursuing computer fields, such as computer engineering, computer science, or information technology. Some students also had interests in business, engineering, and biology. Students identified schools that they felt had the best reputations in these fields which they believed would provide the best opportunities for work beyond college.

Aspirations of the Chinese American Respondents

For the Chinese American respondents, nearly all aspired to graduate from a four-year college or university and many talked about long-term goals such as advanced degrees (see Table 6.1). In terms of the colleges to which the students were applying, most students were considering UC campuses, half were considering CSU campuses, and a quarter of the students mentioned attending a community college with hopes of transferring to a four-year college. There were also students who were also considering private colleges as well as out-of-state colleges. Very few of the participants considered the military, trade schools, or taking time off as part of their postsecondary planning.

Table 6.1: Participant Degree Aspirations

	Number and/or Percentage Among			
	Chinese Schools		Filipino Schools	
	Wilson HS *(High-SES)* (n=20)	Kennedy HS *(Low-SES)* (n=20)	Hoover HS *(High-SES)* (n=20)	Jackson HS *(Low-SES)* (n=20)
Some college	0 (0%)	2 (10%)	3 (15%)	4 (20%)
B.A./B.S.	7 (35%)	8 (40%)	8 (40%)	4 (20%)
M.A./M.S./M.S.W./M.P.H./M.B.A	10 (50%)	9 (45%)	6 (30%)	7 (35%)
M.D./D.D.S./J.D./Ph.D.	3 (15%)	1 (5%)	3 (15%)	5 (25%)

The Chinese students at Wilson High had a narrow set of colleges they were considering, mostly comprised of highly selective colleges with good reputations. These students' set of colleges included in-state colleges, such as UCs and elite private colleges, as well as reputable out-of-state, usually private, colleges. Nearly all the Wilson students were certain they would receive their bachelor's degree from the institution they would attend after high school.

The Chinese students at Kennedy High also aspired to four-year degrees, but the range of colleges they considered was much broader. In particular, only half of the students considered UC or CSU campuses, and a number of students considered attending community colleges in hopes of transferring into a four-year college later on. Nearly all of the Kennedy students wanted to attend a college in California and only a couple considered a private college. Some of the Chinese students at Kennedy were not sure if they would complete high school.

Aspirations of the Filipino American Respondents

The Filipino students had a wider range of institutional and degree aspirations than the Chinese students. For example, Filipino students were interested in public schools, such as UCs and CSUs, and community colleges, but they also mentioned proprietary vocational schools in auto mechanics, computers, or art (culinary and performance). Moreover, there were more Filipino students interested in only receiving an associate degree or a vocational certificate than among the Chinese (see Table 6.1). Nearly all were interested in colleges in California and most were interested in public institutions with the exception of the students who were interested in the proprietary vocational colleges. Filipinos were also more likely to pursue opportunities such as the military, seeing it as a means to college.

The Filipino students at Hoover High had a range of postsecondary plans, which included UCs, CSUs, or community colleges with the hopes of transferring in the future. All of the campuses that the Hoover students mentioned were in California. In most cases, the colleges they were considering were in close proximity to their home. Some

Hoover students were also considering the military and proprietary schools that offered certificates.

There were only a couple of Filipino students at Jackson High who aspired to attend a UC campus. The majority of the students wanted to attend a local CSU campus if their grades were high enough or a community college in hopes of transferring to a CSU. A number of students at Jackson mentioned interest in attending a trade school or possibly the military. However, nearly half of the Jackson students were undecided about their postsecondary plans or were considering taking time off after high school to work.

The Formation of Opportunities

This chapter delineated the respondents' perceptions of aspirations and future opportunities to set the context for the next chapters, which focus on *how* students formed and pursued their postsecondary aspirations. The subsequent chapters examine how protective agents (parents, other relatives, and close friends) and institutional agents (teachers, counselors, and other school personnel) provide different opportunities for students through expectations, guidance, and involvement.

CHAPTER SEVEN

PROTECTIVE AGENTS

This chapter examines the social relationships of Chinese and Filipino youth with "significant others" (i.e. parents, relatives, and peers) as they navigate the process of developing and realizing their postsecondary aspirations and decisions. Social relationships with significant others have often been considered the most important social spheres for a child's development because of their commitment and capacity to socialize the child for the future (Coleman, 1988; Sewell & Hauser, 1980; Stanton-Salazar & Dornbusch, 1995). In college choice research, the influence and involvement of significant others have been found to be critical factors in the development of a student's postsecondary aspirations and plans (Galotti & Mark, 1994; Hossler, Schmit & Vesper, 1999; McDonough, 1997).

In status attainment models, "significant others" have traditionally been comprised of parents, extended relatives, and peers (Coleman, 1988; Sewell & Hauser, 1980; Stanton-Salazar, 1997). In this study, I conceptualize the role of "significant others" as *protective agents* (Stanton-Salazar, 1997). From this perspective, I posit that the Chinese and Filipino youth in this study were not raised exclusively in the confines a parent-child relationship, but rather in embedded social networks, which extended out into a web of social relationships that shaped their postsecondary goals and strategies. An important feature of protective agents was that these social networks were the set of individuals who had the best interest of the student in mind and cared the most about their

futures. These social networks provided students encouragement and guidance through expectations, obligations, and trustworthiness (Coleman, 1988), as well as tangible resources such as information, knowledge, support, and involvement (Hossler, Schmit & Vesper, 1999). In this chapter, I focus on the roles of parents, siblings, extended relatives, and friends who served as protective agents.

Parental Expectations, Encouragement, and Involvement

Among students' social networks, parents have been found to play a crucial role in the college-choice process (Galotti & Mark, 1994; Hossler, Braxton & Coopersmith, 1989; Hossler, Schmit & Vesper, 1999; Hossler & Stage, 1987; Stage & Hossler, 1989). Some studies have found that the way in which parents participate in their child's college-choice process is one of the most important factors that can determine a student's educational outcomes (Hossler, Schmit & Vesper, 1999; Hossler & Stage, 1987). Parents play a particularly important role in the predisposition phase consisting of aspiration formation and goal-seeking (Hearn, 1984, 1991; Stage & Hossler, 1989). Parents will often provide a set of expectations, which set the tone for their child's educational pursuits, as well as guidance and involvement, which help students realize their educational goals. In this section, I examine how the Chinese and Filipino respondents described their parents' expectations, encouragement, and involvement.

Both Chinese and Filipino students described a variety of expectations that their parents had for their futures. The expectations that parents had usually fell into two broad categories. First, I begin by discussing the general, long-term expectations that

were described to me by the students. Then I describe the more immediate expectations the parents had regarding their children's education.

The general parental expectation, with regard to their child's future, usually fell in the realm of upward social mobility. Most students indicated that they were "expected to go to college since they were born." In many cases, the students felt that the parents were adamant that a good education was the only means for mobility, particularly if a degree was earned at a prestigious college. One student said his parents believed that, "a college degree in the U.S. can open doors to opportunities." These general educational expectations were consistent across the parents of most Chinese and Filipino students in this study.

Nearly all of the first and second generation Chinese and Filipino students talked about how their families migrated to the U.S. specifically to give their children a better life – a chance to have opportunities that were not available to them in their homelands. Students indicated that access to higher education in their native homelands (i.e. Philippines, China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, etc.) was typically limited to privileged families who were wealthy. The students felt that the expectation of the parents were that their children would take advantage of the postsecondary opportunities in the U.S. and it would benefit the whole family. A Filipino student described his families migration to the U.S. by saying:

> The only reason why my parents came to America was for us, the kids. And, like that really like made me smile because they thought about us. Back in the Philippines, it was really hard to get your studies and to find a job because it's poor out there. And they came to America so we could get a better education.

Parents' expectations regarding the specific type of college their children should attend, however, resulted in more distinct differences between the Chinese and Filipino parents. In a few cases, if the Filipino parents were educated in the U.S., they would encourage their children to attend a UC. Students with U.S. educated parents said that their parents encouraged them to attend a UC campus was because the parents understood and reinforced the benefits associated with attending a more selective college. From a social capital perspective, the types of exposure and experiences that parents have with higher education can determine the ways in which they form their postsecondary expectations and provide encourage for their children to pursue college.

However, most Filipino parents were more general about their specific postsecondary expectations and just wanted to see their children continue their education after high school. The most common expectation of the Filipino parents was to have the students pursue anything they wanted, as long as they did something school-related after high school. A Filipino student said, "My parents don't expect anything. I mean they don't expect me to be something special. They're more like, 'Do what you do, but don't do something stupid like not go to school.'" In many cases, this meant that the Filipino parents expected their child to attend a local community college or CSU campus. One student explained, "My parents saw my relatives going to community colleges and they think that's what I'm suppose to do after high school."

Chinese parents tended to have more specific postsecondary goals for their children than Filipino parents. Many Chinese parents expected their kids to attend an elite university, which should lead into a good paying job that offers happiness and

stability. One student explained, "My parents want me to go to the best college, so I can get the best job." Another student described his parents' expectations regarding which college they wanted him to attend. He said, "they just know Berkeley, but they don't know all the other UC campuses. They just know the top ones: Berkeley, Stanford, and Harvard, which are the ones they push me to go."

The most common way that Chinese and Filipino parents would express their expectations was through different forms of encouragement. Through conversational exchange with their children, parents would express their attitudes and values about education. For example many students described how their parents would tell them that in order to get an easy job, they had to work hard first, so they could have a better life later on. A Chinese student said, "[My parents] say that it's important for me to get a college education so I don't have to work too hard to get money." One Filipino student said, "My dad says that it's up to me what I want to do. But he has a motto that goes, 'If you don't graduate from high school, then you'll be flippin' burgers.'"

In terms of ethnic differences in parental encouragement, Chinese parents were more willing than Filipino parents to encourage their children to attend colleges that were further from home. One Chinese student, who lived in the L.A. area, was considering going to go UC Davis. When asked if his parents would mind the distance, he said, "No. If it's good for my education, they would understand."

Also most of the Chinese parents' encouraged their students to not be concerned about money or working while they were in high school. Chinese parents would tell their children that they wanted the best for their children and would work hard to give them a

good life. That is, the main goal was to have their children study now and work later in a good paying job. A Chinese student talked about his father's views on the cost of college. He said:

> My [father] thinks it's worth it to spend more. He says that even though it costs more to go to a private college, he thinks it is still a better education. So he tells me, "Don't look at the prices anymore."

Many of the Chinese students said that somehow their parents would figure out how to handle the cost, but it was mostly something their parents were willing to deal with; whereas the parents expected the students just to worry about getting in. One student explained it as, "my parents realize that college is an investment and that only the best is good enough for me."

Many Filipino parents, on the other hand, would provide encouragement for their children through personal storytelling. The stories that parents would tell informed students of what parents' experiences had been in their homeland, in order to provide a context for their expectations. The most common story students' described was how their parents would encourage their children to strive for an easier and better life than what they have had. One student said, "My parents don't want me to end up like them, working really hard. They want me to have an easier job, a better life." Another student said, "My parents just say that if I get a better education then I'll get money and go through life easier, instead of struggling like they have."

Another interesting theme for the types of stories Filipino parents would tell to the students had to do with teaching their children how to cope with challenges they faced in their lives. For example some parents would tell them about racism or forms of

discrimination they had faced. One student said, "My father cautioned me about racism outside of [our community], he says he's seen things I may not have experienced, but he has." For this student, his father told this story because he was encouraging him to consider going to college close to home, or somewhere where the student had family or other Filipinos to keep him safe.

In some cases, the expectations and encouragement that parents provided placed a lot of pressure on the students to succeed. Both the Filipino and Chinese students described this pressure as being overwhelming and counterproductive. In most cases, the pressure was in the form of negative reinforcement. A common way that Chinese and Filipino parents would place pressure on the students was through comparisons with their siblings. Parents would say, "Why can't you do good in school like your sister?" And if an older sibling failed, parents would say, "Don't end up like them." Some students said that their parents would scold all the kids if another sibling did something wrong. One Filipino student explained:

> When my sister gets into trouble, I get in trouble. If she does something bad, then I get yelled at and I get the blame, too. So they think that whatever she does, I'm gonna do the same thing. That's the pressure right there.

Many students said they felt a lot of pressure to not let their parents down. Students said they were "worried about being embarrassed if they fail." Many students said that their parents believed that what the student did reflected on the entire family. For some students, this pressure seemed to be overwhelming. Many students said that they could never please their parents. For other students, this pressure was an incentive to try harder in school. A Chinese student said:

> [Chinese] children are brought up to think that college is the most important thing. I learned that you need to get a college degree to get a good job and that's the only way to achieve in life. The pressure motivates me to work harder because I'm afraid of failing. But sometimes I get stressed out.

Although parents had high postsecondary expectations and pressured their children to get into a college, the extent to which parents were actually involved in helping their children realize these expectations varied and were sometimes non-existent.

Parental Involvement

Parental involvement has been defined as the active engagement of parents in their children's educational processes, not just talking about something related to education (Hossler, Schmit & Vesper, 1999). In a few cases, students described how their parents were actively involved in their college-choice process, however incidents of parental involvement were more common among the Chinese than the Filipinos. For example, Chinese students described how their parents would read magazines and books about college, attend career fairs to learn about different majors and fields, take them to visit colleges, and sign them up to attend community colleges in the summer. A Chinese student described his mother's involvement by saying:

> My mom keeps me on track. She likes to stay on top of all my grades. She tells me what I need to do to improve my SAT scores or makes sure I get certain grades, stuff like that. She even signed me up for an SAT class. She's always ahead of me.

Chinese parents seemed to monitor their children's educational pursuits more closely than the Filipino parents. For example, some Chinese students described how their parents would monitor their homework and grades. Some Chinese parents would make sure their kids were taking the right classes. One student described how he took an

SAT preparation course and he felt the only reason why the course helped him improve his scores was because his parents made sure that the he did his work for the class.

There were also Chinese students that felt that their parents were not involved with their process of going to college. In some cases, parents' lack of understanding about the U.S. educational system was a barrier. However, the expectation of parents for their children to attend an elite college was still prevalent. One student said, "[My parents] just care about the outcome – not the process. They just want to know the result, which school I'm going; they don't even know what a SAT is." Thus, although most parents were not involved, they had clear expectations for their children and expected them to figure out the process on their own, as long as attending a good college was the outcome.

Some students felt that their parents' inability to speak English was a reason why their parents were not involved in their college-choice process. Often times, this prevented parents from talking with teachers or school administrators. One Chinese student said that his parents would not talk to teachers, "unless the teachers talked to them." The Chinese parents' language ability also created difficulty for the students to communicate with their parents about their college decision-making process. One student said, "I don't share college information with my parents because it's kind of hard for me to translate it into Chinese."

Among Filipinos, the involvement of parents was very limited. Many of the Filipino students said that their parents would provide what they could, but the majority of the students felt that they needed to be self-motivated. Some students wished their

parents were more involved so they could receive more guidance. One Filipino student said:

> I think if my dad had pushed for more, like talked to someone at my school, then I wouldn't be that messed up right now. I'd have something to work toward because he doesn't really guide me about school. He just says, "Don't mess up."

More often was the case that the Filipino parents' expectations were manifested in "signals" rather than direct involvement. One Filipino student said, "My parents are not directly involved in my education, but they send signals to let me know what to do." Another student said, "If the parents don't like my decisions, they'll help me stay on track, like bumper walls."

Both Chinese and Filipino students talked about the complexities involved in communicating with their parents about their educational pursuits. However, it was apparent that there were family obligations between students and parents. The mutual-dependency of students and families included the parents' commitments to the student and the students' commitments to the parents. However, the Chinese students seemed to have different obligations to their parents than the Filipino students.

Chinese parents seemed to encourage their children to pursue selective colleges regardless of the location or cost of tuition of the college. The obligation that Chinese students seemed to have to their family was for them to pursue the *best* education so they could help support their families later on. Filipino students, on the other hand, described family obligations as something they expected to have while they were in college because the family was "the most important thing." Therefore, in their process of making decisions about college, Filipino students said that they had to consider the obligations

that they had for their families, such as living at or near home, being accessible to the family, and to carefully consider the financial burden of college on their families.

Therefore, among Chinese and Filipino students, the family obligations were a salient part in how students formed and pursued their postsecondary educational aspirations. However, the mutual-dependency of family members reached beyond the relationship between the students and their parents and also manifested in students' relationships with siblings, extended relatives, and friends. The next section describes the exchange of information and knowledge between the respondents and their siblings, extended relatives, and friends.

A Web of Opportunity: Kinship as Protective Agents

Another important set of social networks, which expands the perspective on the role of protective agents, are students' relationships with their siblings, extended relatives (aunts, uncles, cousins, or grandparents), and friends. Studies have found that children are seldom raised and socialized exclusively within the confines of their parents; rather they are raised in embedded social networks that extend into a wider range of individuals that constitute family and community kinship (Coleman, 1988; Stanton-Salazar, 1997; Valenzuela & Dornbusch, 1994). This section examines: 1) the composition of relatives and friends that students had as kinship; 2) the ways in which family and kinship were a trusted information source and provided guidance for students; and, 3) how kinship often served as role models for students as they pursued their postsecondary aspirations.

In this study, kinship was conceptualized beyond the immediate nuclear family; rather, families were broadly defined. Among Filipinos, respondents described their

godparents and their parents' close friends as "aunties" and "uncles." With regard to students' friends, students would often say, "I considered them my brothers and sisters." The friends of the students, as well as their relatives were almost exclusively of the same ethnicity of the respondents.

In many cases, the Chinese and Filipino students explained that their families ended up in their communities because of extended family and friends of the family; either through family-sponsored immigration or relocation to be near friends and family. In some cases, there were multiple families living together to help each other out, usually in the case of recent immigrants. One Filipino student described his household as consisting of, "my dad and mom, my older sister, my grandmother, my uncle and his son."

In their network of friends and relatives (either in the home or in their communities), nearly all of the respondents said they knew at least one family member or friend who had some experience with college. One student described these protective agents by saying, "with most of my relatives and friends, education is kind of like a tradition. I come from a long line of high achievers who are well-educated." This web of relatives and friends often ensured that somewhere in the students' social networks, there was someone who they could talk to about college. Therefore, while parents provided the expectations and encouragement to pursue postsecondary education, the relatives and friends often provided the information and guidance that helped the students realize and strategize their aspirations. One student explained:

> My parents are just pretty encouraging about college. They just say, "Do the best you can in high school, it'll look good when you apply for college." But when it comes to college my parents haven't really experienced it here, so I'll go to my brother for that kind of stuff. So I really can't get the specifics, like how to go about doing things, from my parents. But I can get it from my brother directly since he's still going through the process. Then I'll take that information to my friends.

Both Chinese and Filipino students described how their relatives and friends "watched out for them" and "made sure they were on the right path." Some students described how they felt lost, confused, or overwhelmed with the options they had and decisions they had to make. The relatives would make sure the students sustained their progress and provided useful guidance. Some students described their relatives as being "a major influence." In many cases, the relatives provided guidance that was both comforting and inspiring to the students. One student said:

> What drives me is something that my uncle said a long time ago. This was when I was young, but it still stays in my head because it really meant a lot. He said, "If you really want to succeed in life, you do something that you really like to do." And my other uncle also encourages me to go to college. I go to them for advice about the college process. I know they try their best to help me out.

In many cases, older siblings, extended relatives, and close friends were students' most trusted sources of information and guidance about different aspects of college choice and college life. As opposed to immigrant parents who had not gone to college in the U.S., friends and relatives "knew that kind of stuff." In students' survey responses, more than a third (64 percent) of the participants indicated that their siblings, relatives, and friends were their *most* trusted source of information and guidance, compared to only three percent who indicated the same about their parents. One student said that he went to his friends for advice because he could "relate to them." One student explained how

his friends were a main source of information for him in his college choice process, particularly because they were more advanced and had a lot of information to share with him. He said, "A couple of my friends that I have in my honors classes and my AP classes really know their stuff when it comes to college. I can always turn to them since they're ahead of me."

Further evidence of the trustworthiness of information and guidance from relatives and friends was also apparent when students indicated their preference for the advice of their relatives and friends over their teachers and counselors at school. A Chinese student explained:

> I haven't really talked to anybody in terms of counselors or teachers. I don't know if I'll ever use them because I'm mainly going through my sister to do it all. She keeps reminding me what to do. She keeps bringing up the topic of me having to do this and that to insure that I do well.

Students described the range of guidance and encouragement they received from their relatives and friends on a range of topics related to their college-choice process. Their relatives and friends would tell students about different colleges, the requirements to get in, what college life was like, and how to best strategize for the best experience. In some cases, the students described this as the "groundwork" or "foundation" of college.

Another common theme related to the role of siblings, extended relatives and friends was that students felt these protective agents were role models. The support that relatives and friends were able to offer was particularly helpful because it gave them a place to go to or fall back on if they needed it. One student captured the nature of the support he received from his friends by saying:

> As you have good relationships with some people and have that tight knit group of friends, I think you don't have to get everybody to accept you. I think that's a big part of it, support – as long as you have someone to fall back on. You know, you don't have to have everybody on your side, you know, but as long as you have those people that you can go to when you have problems then that's cool.

In many cases, these relatives provided inspiration to students as they deciphered and negotiated the college-choice process. One student said, "My sister is a big role model to me. I look up to her a lot. And when she got into college – even before – I would just follow her, watching what she did like when she filled out applications and when she researched college. So I learned a lot from her. I probably got most of my college information from her." Another Filipino student described the motivation he receives from seeing his sister in college. He said:

> Seeing my sister in college motivates me and it's like she's gonna be rich when she grows up. She's really like dedicated to her work. She doesn't put down 100%, but 110%. That really motivates me because her determination makes me wanna do it, too. I really look up to her.

In many cases, relatives and friends were the main support group for the student. Some of the students felt that a collective effort among their friends was a source of encouragement that would ensure each other's success. Among friends, the support that was fostered between them was a powerful form of reciprocity and collective resourcefulness. One student explained:

> My friends and me made a pact. Like in wrestling when they put you in submission hold, you don't want to tap out. To tap out is to quit. So instead of quitting, you would rather just pass out. Well, last year we got together and we said, "We'll never tap out, but we'll pass out." So we went through the whole junior year with a positive attitude that we'll make it and we did. I haven't passed out yet.

In some cases, the siblings, extended relatives, and friends were involved in the students' college-choice process. Some students described how their parents would seek the help of relatives and family friends to take their child somewhere, or do something with the child related to college. In some cases, the parents felt that the family members and friends were better equipped to provide this support, since the parents were not familiar with what the child was doing. In other cases, the parents were just too busy to help out. One student explained, "I get information from my cousin who graduated from Cal State Hayward. One day, my mom was at work so my cousin was the one that registered me for a college workshop." In a few cases, the students described how their siblings and extended relatives would be financially supportive. One student said, "My sister will be working by the time my parents do need the money [for me to go to college]. Probably she'll be paying my tuition because my parents are working to pay off her tuition."

Many students would literally follow the educational path of their relatives and friends. They would aspire to attend the same college or pursue the same careers as their relatives and friends. One student explained, "My college process is pretty straight forward. Basically since I'm supposed to just follow my older sisters and my brother." Other students would say, "I want to go to San Diego State because my cousin and friend went down there. They say it's a nice school – got a good education, you know."

However, although relatives had the potential to provide rich information, knowledge, and guidance for students about college, it was nearly always derived from their own experiences. Therefore, if a student was situated in a network of individuals

who were typically older and experienced in college, the information and guidance was quite resourceful. Some students described how they felt fortunate to have relatives or friends who had already experienced the college-choice process because they knew it would make a difference in their own experience.

Most students described how families with multiple siblings had different roles assigned to siblings depending on birth order. For both Filipino and Chinese students, the first-born has special responsibilities to the family because the first-born is considered the "second in command" to the parents. Many students described how the oldest sibling was expected to know better and was often the genuine pig or "great experiment" that had to figure out the educational system to guide their younger siblings in the future. In the Filipino culture, there were even words in their dialect that identified and defined the roles of these children. The first-born son was called the "Kuya" and the eldest daughter was called "Ate." The oldest child often provided more concrete advice than the parents and served as a guide to the younger siblings because the oldest child could share their lived experiences. A Chinese student said:

> One of my sisters went through the college process three years ago, so she went through it hard. Being the first one to go to college, she had problems, but she went through it and she now knows the basics. And I have another older sister who went through the college process two years ago. She got help from my other sister. So both of my sisters are now helping me out.

The landscapes of students' network orientations were instrumental in shaping their social distributions of possibilities. The support and guidance needed to develop, sustain, and socialize youth for life after high school were provided by a close-knit network of cooperating members of a kinship. The network of protective agents proved

to have elastic boundaries – diffused and intersected across and between different family, friends, and other kin within the students' ethnic communities. The network of family and kinship mobilized to form localized or micro-scaled coalitions.

In the next section, I highlight similarities and differences in how college information was circulated and diffused throughout students' networks of immediate family members, extended relatives, and close friends. In addition, I illustrate that the characteristics of the network members (immigration status, educational experience, etc.) often determined the type of information, guidance, and opportunities that were available for students and how this context affect the college-choice process of Chinese and Filipino students in similar and different ways.

Network Orientation and Social Boundaries: The Intersection of Immigration and Social Class

Many students described how their college plans triggered interactions between different members of their protective agents (immediate family members, extended relatives, and close friends). For example, students explained how their parents would engage in conversations about college with their friends, coworkers, older siblings, or other relatives, and then shared what they learned with the student. One student described this as, "hearsay." I asked one student if his parents learned about college from any anywhere else besides his family and he replied, "I don't know where else they would get it."

Some students described how the practice of exchanging information about their families with other social networks was a source of pride for their parents. In some cases,

the parents seemed to live vicariously through the success of their children. A Filipino student said, "I think my parents take pride in us kids, it's a part of being a Filipino." The students' success was often a source of validation for their families. Many of the parents showed off their kids to their friends and family. Many students said that their parents would gauge the performance of their own children by constantly comparing their kids to the children of their friends and other family members.

While the students' networks were an accessible and often rich source of information and guidance, they could also be considered a source of reproduction of privileges for some students, and disadvantages for others. In many ways, there was evidence of ethnic social capital that did not cross immigration and social class boundaries within the myriad of individuals and families that constituted these ethnic enclaves. In this section, I discuss these divisions as they created boundaries for students' networks of guidance and support regarding their postsecondary opportunities. Particularly, I highlight the existence of "social boundaries," which were influenced by the social class background and immigration status of students' protective agents.

The Social Boundaries of Ethnic Social Capital

The experiential knowledge and perspectives that family and friends acquired, and passed to other members of their social network, were circumscribed by "boundaries." "Boundaries" are confines of cultural knowledge that contain values and beliefs, expectations, and rules that make up a network of individuals' social distribution of possibilities (Boykin & Toms, 1985; Phelan, et al., 1993; Wellman, 1983). The boundaries of ethnic communities were largely determined by the members' collective

immigration statuses and educational experiences, which characterized the group. The experiences of the individuals that constituted their social networks would determine these individuals' fields of knowledge. Therefore, the information and guidance that family and friends provided to the students was dependent on the range of experiences they had acquired. I present examples of how the immigration status and educational experiences of protective agents creates the social boundaries for the students.

Many first-generation Chinese and Filipino students talked about how their immigration to the U.S. caused many challenges for their family. Especially for immigrant youth that were older when their families immigrated, the immediate challenges of settlement and adjustment for their families took precedence over the students' day-to-day educational needs. In some cases, some students were even split between parents during immigration where some students came with one parent while another parent stayed in their homeland. A Filipino student captured the type of family fracturing that can exist during immigration and settlement. He said:

> My dad came to the U.S. first and I stayed with mom in the Philippines. Then my mom came to be with my father and I stayed with my grandparents. My mom found out that my dad was having an affair and moved to Chicago. Then, my grandparents passed away so my uncles moved into my grandparents' house. Eventually, I moved to the states and lived with my dad.

When immigrant families arrived in the U.S., many had to give attention to more basic and immediate needs, such as survival, over the need to help their children negotiate the college choice process. Many students described how they had responsibilities in their family, especially during this time of adjustment. Some students said they did not even see their parents very much because they were always working. In

these cases, the students explained that their parents were also seeking mobility, in search of a better life for their family. Among Filipinos, while many of the parents had advanced degrees, their education in the Philippines did not have the same exchange value in the U.S. Therefore, many parents had to take jobs that were lower in status than they had in their homeland. One student explained:

> When we were back in the Philippines, my dad did pretty cool because he was an accountant. They were living well out there. But when they came to America, it was not what they expected. They didn't get the perfect jobs they wanted and we kind of lived like bums at first. I mean he doesn't regret coming here, but he says, "Oh I could have had a better job." So it's just hard for him right now. I think if they were back home, they would have better jobs. Over here it's like starting all over again.

For both the Chinese and Filipino students, most of their parents did not have any educational experience in the U.S. Nearly all students said that their immigrant parents and relatives did not understand the educational system in the U.S. and assumed it was the same as in their homelands. Some students said that their parents believed that the only difference in the educational system here was that it was more accessible and universal. One student explained, "My parents think that all I need to do is get good grades and I'll get in. The colleges will even come to me." Therefore, a pattern emerged where the information, guidance, and perspectives on college that students were able to gain from their parents and relatives tended to be bounded by what experience they had with education in the U.S. The boundaries of what Filipino students were able to acquire from their relatives tended to be confined to community colleges and state colleges.

Many Filipino students said that many of their relatives went to community colleges so that is what they encouraged them to do. Students would say, "I want to go to DVC because my brother like goes there." Another student explained:

> I want to go to a community college because I know a lot of older friends and relatives that just went to a junior college first, so they can stay at home. Or they would go to a state school here that was close. Aside from my sister, out of my family group here in the Bay Area, the person that's farthest is I think is at San Jose State. Yeah, that's probably the farthest. It's the farthest from Vallejo. My sister is going to Santa Barbara.

The advice the Chinese students were able to receive from their relatives tended to have wider-boundaries that were more inclusive of strategic ways of getting into four-year colleges and universities. The Chinese students, who typically had higher aspirations than the Filipino students, would talk about the information they would get from relatives who attended UC campuses. One student described what his brother's advice was to him regarding the reputation of different public colleges in California. The student explained, "My brother says that what's best for me is a UC... instead of a Cal State."

Other Chinese students described the strategies their relatives would suggest for finding the colleges that had the best reputation for the majors or fields they were interested in. One student said, "My main source of information for college is my sisters and cousins who are already enrolled in colleges. They are telling me what UCs have the good engineering programs. I will decide which one fits me best later on." Another student described how his brother was encouraging him to attend a UC campus immediately after high school instead of transferring from a community college. He explained:

> My brother said that I could go to [a community college] and then transfer, but it's gonna take longer. He said for him, it took three years at [a community college] and then he went two years at Berkeley. He said it wasn't that great because he didn't learn much at [a community college] and then when he went to Berkeley he wasn't actually prepared to take advance courses.

In a few cases, a student was the first family member to go to college. In this situation, students described how they were creating pathways that would determine the subsequent guidance they could pass down to younger siblings and relatives. One student explained:

> I have four siblings – two older ones and two younger ones. None of my two older siblings even graduated high school. And in my immediate family, I'm going to be the first one to graduate high school, and probably going to college. I have to set a good example for my younger siblings – the little ones. I'll make sure they do things the right way and not make the same mistakes me and my older brothers have made.

Therefore, although protective agents could be resourceful in the Chinese and Filipino students' college choice process, there were also limitations to their actual involvement. While family and friends provided the expectations and encouragement for the students, the students often had to resort to other aspects of their social networks to seek help in their college decision-making process. The next chapter discusses the role that schools and other structural resources played in providing postsecondary opportunities for students.

CHAPTER EIGHT

INSTITUTIONAL AGENTS

In schools, institutional agents, such as teachers or counselors, have the capacity and responsibility to transmit complex institutional resources and opportunities for students as they plan and prepare for their postsecondary prospects (Stanton-Salazar, 1997). During the process of choosing a college, institutional agents also exist in the forms of college admissions officers, outreach personnel, and other vehicles (such as the internet, books, magazines, or television) for colleges to inform and guide to students. The orchestration of institutional agents and resources in students' social networks play a critical role in determining the quantity and quality of information, guidance, and opportunity the students have during their process of developing and pursuing postsecondary aspirations. More specifically, research on college choice has found that institutional resources begin to play their most important role when students are in the process of searching for information to help them consider or pursue different colleges (Hossler & Gallagher, 1987; Hossler, Schmit & Vesper, 1999; Galotti & Mark, 1994; McDonough, 1997).

In this chapter, I examine the roles of teachers, counselors, and other institutional agents in providing or undermining the social capital available for students as they developed and pursued their postsecondary aspirations. More specifically, I illuminate: 1) the different forms of institutional agents, 2) the disposition of institutional agents with regard to the college information and knowledge that is transmitted to students, and 3) the

factors in the larger school or institutional settings that create or undermine the ability for institutional agents to provide college information, knowledge, and guidance for students. I should note that much of the discrepancy in how institutional agents interacted with students was evident in the social class composition of the students and schools, rather than the ethnic composition of the students or the schools. Therefore, this chapter focuses on these social class differences.

Teachers as Institutional Agents

This section examines how teachers exist as institutional agents that can either provide or undermine the opportunities that are available for students. More specifically, I illustrate how the ways in which teachers provided information, guidance, or encouragement to students determined the type and amount of information and knowledge students had regarding college. In particular, I discuss the accessibility of teachers, the ways in which they provided information and guidance to students, and how the interactions students had with teachers was often determined by the structural and programmatic contexts in which the teacher was situated.

With regard to the accessibility of teachers, although more than three-quarters (77 percent) of the study participants indicated that they received at least some information and guidance about college from their teachers, most students felt their teachers were not very accessible. Nearly all of the students indicated that the accessibility of teachers was primarily through contact in the classroom where students' interactions with teachers typically occurred when the teachers were directing their instruction to the entire class. As a result, students' indicated that it was difficult to develop any close relationship with

teachers. One student said, "I haven't really develop a real personal relationship with a lot of the teachers. Only some I kind of got a little insight into what they're about."

Although many students did not have a close relationship with their teachers, they openly discussed the differences in the ways that teachers interacted with them in different types of courses. In particular, the biggest differences in the ways teachers provided information and guidance about college existed between two distinct academic programs, college preparatory and vocational. The courses I identify as "college preparatory courses" include courses like AP, Gifted and Talented Education (GATE), honors, and other college preparatory courses that are geared toward college preparation. The second type of program I focus on are "vocational" which includes a range of courses such as Regional Occupational Program (ROP), Work Experience, Reserve Officer Training Corp (ROTC), and what some schools call electives (such as autoshop, woodshop, etc.).

Students in college preparatory courses or programs felt that these teachers treated them differently than the teachers in other types of courses. For example, teachers in college preparatory courses provided college information or guidance by telling the students about different colleges they should consider or what they needed to do to get into different types of colleges. One student said, "My AP teachers have helped me in my college planning. They're the ones that care the most about students. They actually want to help, whereas other teachers don't really care." The teachers in the college preparatory programs often gave specific advice about college. One student explained:

> I have an AP teacher that told me, "Do good now so you don't have to take general education classes in college." She also told me special dates and deadlines and helped me with my college essay.

When students did not take these courses, they seemed to have teachers that were less likely to be interested in helping students maximize their college plans. Students described how they felt that some of their teachers did not care. A Hoover student explained, "For the most part, teachers are just worried about what they're teaching, like their lesson. Some teachers just don't want to give any good advice. They just basically don't care."

When teachers in vocational courses did provide advice, they often did not give students a wide range of postsecondary options they should consider. For example a Filipino student at Jackson High described how his teacher was encouraging him to attend a community college. The student said, "My teachers tell me that it's the same thing. You're being taught the same thing you'll get at a UC; it's just that it's the price that's different."

In many cases, students felt that the information their vocational teachers would provide them was limited and not thorough. They did not feel that they could rely on their teachers to give them everything they needed. A student at a low-SES school said, "At this school, you gotta be a self-starter. You can't rely on your teachers to give you all that information. They tell you a little bit. You got to go out there and find out more."

In some cases, the vocational teachers were discouraging to students. One student explained, "Some teachers just really got problems. They're impatient and rude. If you make one little mistake, they blow up." Another student said, "In some classes, you're

not motivated at all because the teachers don't seem into it." In some cases, the teachers would tell the students that if they did poorly in their class, it was not the teacher's fault – rather, it was the student's fault. A Filipino student at Jackson discussed how he was trying to get information about attending a local state college but his teachers were discouraging him. He said, "Usually the most common thing you hear is, 'If you can't handle this work, you can't handle college.'"

Therefore, while college preparatory courses offered instructors who provided students with information, guidance, and motivation about college, the students who did not have these classes felt that their teachers were not caring, accessible, or encouraging about college. For the later group of students, the discourse they used to describe their teachers included words like "unavailable," "inaccessible," or "unapproachable."

Unfortunately, as described in Chapter Five, students at the low-SES schools (i.e. Kennedy High and Jackson High) were plagued by having fewer of AP and honors courses than at the high-SES schools (Wilson High and Hoover High). For example, at the time of the study, Jackson High School only had two AP courses. As a result, the study participants from low-SES schools were less likely to take AP courses than the participants at the high-SES schools. Moreover, among the respondents who did take AP courses, on average, took fewer courses (1-2 classes) than students at the high-SES schools (more than five classes).

Instead, the low-SES schools tended to offer more vocational courses such as typing, auto shop, or nutrition. As a result, the respondents who attended the low-SES schools were less likely to access college information and guidance from teachers than

students who attended high-SES schools (see Appendix D-2). The discrepancies in resources that low-SES and high-SES schools had available were also evident in looking at the counselors and counseling programs, which were another form of institutional agents.

Counselors as Institutional Agents

This section examines the ways in which counselors interacted with students regarding their postsecondary planning and decision-making. However, the ways in which counselors interacted with students was often determined by the design of each school's counseling program. Therefore, in this section, I describe the differences in the ways in which the counseling programs differed at the high- and low-SES schools. Then, I illustrate that the design of these programs heavily influenced the ways in which counselors delivered information and guidance for the students.

Academic advising was the primary source of students' contact with counselors. More specifically, students talked to their academic counselors the most when they were determining which courses to take. At the high-SES schools (Wilson and Hoover), academic counselors would help students to maximize their course plan for college eligibility. Some students at these schools explained that the academic counseling staff allowed the students to choose their own classes, which helped them optimally strategize their schedules to be the most competitive. For example, one Wilson student stated:

> [My academic counselor] helps me a lot in scheduling my classes, guiding me where I need to go. And, she lets me do basically whatever I want. I practically make my own schedule rather than them scheduling me.

The high-SES schools (Wilson High and Hoover High) had college counseling programs that provided postsecondary guidance, which were not available at the low-SES schools (Kennedy High and Jackson High) (see Chapter Five). Wilson High had a college office that students used to find college-specific information and guidance with the help of a counseling staff dedicated to college advising. Wilson students felt that the college counseling resources at their school were useful and necessary for providing college information and guidance that helped them in their college planning and decision-making. Hoover High had college-specific resources (such as a scholarship center) that students could tap into for their postsecondary needs. One student said, "I can go to the college counselor and ask questions about the SATs and ACT, and what should I take to better my chances and stuff like that. They're helpful."

At the high-SES schools, students described the college centers as an important source of information about college, particularly because their academic counselors were often busy. Many students said that their academic counselors handled their courses and the college office handled anything that had to do with college. Students described the college office as a place to "talk to counselors and get advice about college" or to "get college information such as booklets and fee waivers." Some students described how they could bring college information they acquired from other sources, such as family members, friends, or the internet, so the counselors could provide input or help the students interpret the information.

College counselors at the high-SES schools would tell students how to strategize to get into different colleges. With the help of counselors, most of the students at the

high-SES schools had developed a list of potential colleges. By having a plan for which colleges they would apply to, many students had confidence that they would get into the best school possible for them based on their grades and experiences. One student explained how his college counselor was involved in helping him create his list of possible colleges to consider. He said:

> My college counselor already made a list of colleges for me. She says that I don't have to do anything else to get into Riverside, Whitman, UC San Diego, UC Riverside, and UC Santa Cruz. But I'm not sure if I'll get into USC or some of the other ones. I don't remember the other ones, but there were only a few public schools and the rest of them were like private schools.

An important role that college counselors provided was that they told students about a range of colleges in which the students should consider, rather than just telling them where to apply. In some cases, students wanted the college counselors to tell them what the best schools were, but the counselors discouraged them from approaching the process that way. Rather, the college counselors wanted students to choose colleges that fit their needs and expectations. One student at a high-SES school explained, "The counselors don't tell you where you should go [to college]. They just want you to go to a college that fits your needs."

At the high-SES schools, college counselors arranged to have college representatives visit the school and talk to students about going to college. These schools also provided students access to other institutional agents such as university outreach programs. Usually, it was the college counselors who arranged this access. In particular, the outreach programs were housed in the college office at Wilson High and had representatives available on-site on a consistent basis.

Unfortunately, the interactions students had with counselors at the low-SES schools (Kennedy High and Jackson High) were very different than at high-SES schools (Wilson High and Hoover High). Students at the low-SES schools indicated that it was very difficult to access college information or guidance from their counselors. Part of the problem could have been that the low-SES schools did not have a college office or college counseling staff (see Chapter Five). Rather, the academic counselors would handle their college advising by visiting classes once a year and talking to students en masse about different requirements for college.

However, outside of these visits, students at low-SES schools indicated that they had to rely on their academic counselors who did not focus on college counseling. Rather, students indicated that the academic counselors were more concerned about getting students to graduate. A Kennedy student said, "Mainly the counselors just focused on graduation requirements, like how many units we needed to graduate. They don't talk to us about college." A Jackson said, "At this school, the counselors don't talk to us about anything beyond high school, but I wish they did." When students directed questions to their academic counselors about college, they said it was hard for them to get specific feedback that addressed their questions. A student at Jefferson explained:

> I've asked my counselors questions about college but they don't tell me what I need to know. One of them was just telling me, "Go on, son, do your job." Yeah, but I'm gonna keep nagging him to give me information because that's their job – to help out the kids.

Students at the low-SES schools indicated that it was difficult to access their counselors. Students indicated that if they wanted information or guidance, it was up to them to take the initiative to talk to counselors. A Jackson student explained, "It seems

that you need to bring your questions to them because they won't go to you. They won't call you in." Usually, they had to make an appointment to see their counselors. One student described how challenging the process was to get an appointment with his counselor. He said:

> Every time I ask for a transcript or something like that because I wanna see how I'm doing, my counselor would say, "Oh, come by after school or come by early in the morning." So, one time, I came by early in the morning, I was there like at 7:15am. And, he didn't come till like 8:10. I'm like, "Come on, dude." I waited almost an hour for him to come. And, then first period came, and he told me to go to class and to come by at lunch. And, when I came by at lunch there was a sign that said, "Office is closed for Lunch." So I went by after school. After school, the office was packed so I was like, "Forget it, there's a line."

Many students at low-SES schools described their interactions with their counselors as being were "very brief" or "impersonal." One student described how his discussions were with his counselor. He said, "When you're able to meet with a counselor, the meeting is always short or the counselor is always in a rush. They sign your slip and say, 'What do you want? A grade change or a class change?' Then they quickly type in your request in the computer, and you're gone. That's it."

Students at the low-SES schools felt that it was hard to trust their counselors because they did not feel like they cared. One student said, "I don't think my counselors care anyway. I mean how could they? There's too many of us for them to care about each and every one of us. Like I don't think they'd be able to keep up anyway." Other students described their feelings of mistrust for their counselors' dispositions. One student said, "I've visited my counselor a couple of times. He's sort of reliable, but he's not as reliable as I thought he would be. I don't really trust him because he's not helping me as much as I need." The lack of a relationship seemed to make students feel like they

weren't taken seriously. One student explained how he brought his concerns about college to his counselor only to be disappointed. He said:

> I talked to my counselor a couple of times, but that didn't really help. He doesn't really know how bad I'm really doing in high school. For example, when I told him that I was having trouble getting into a UC, he said to me, "Oh, don't worry about it." He doesn't take me seriously. I guess because he doesn't really know my background.

Therefore, the design of each school's counseling program had a powerful effect on the type and amount of college information and guidance students received from their counselors. In particular, the high-SES schools had counseling programs that enabled counselors to provide college advising, whereas low-SES schools did not have college counseling programs and the academic counselors seemed to have different priorities and did not advise much with regard to students' futures beyond high school.

However, not specific to any school, nearly all students in this study mentioned that they did not rely solely on school-based agents for college information. In many cases, students had to negotiate all contact with institutional agents through strategic help-seeking behavior in order to navigate the barriers of limited resources, bureaucracy, and negative orientations of their schools. In many cases, students opted to utilize other information vehicles to get the information and guidance they were looking for regarding college. The next section examines other vehicles students' utilized for information and guidance for college planning.

Other Vehicles for Information and Guidance

Many students described other institutionalized information and guidance resources that they tapped into during their pursuit for college. In this section, I discuss

the two most common vehicles for information and guidance, aside from school agents, which include college outreach resources and media-type information sources (such as books, magazines, television, or the internet). In some cases, the information students' gathered from these other information sources enhanced their understanding about college, and in other cases, it was students' only source of information.

In terms of the outreach programs, the most common programs students were involved in were university-based outreach programs, including Early Academic Outreach Program (EAOP) and Upward Bound, among others. Students indicated that these programs provided them information about colleges, visits to college campuses, college counseling, and in some cases, high school guidance counseling. For example, a Hoover student described the guidance he received from an EAOP representative during his sophomore year. Based on the advice of the counselor, the student increased his AP and honors courseload. He explained:

> There was a counselor that I talked to from EAOP who told me if I had any questions about honors or AP classes, or college in general, I should ask him. So I asked him, "Do AP and honors classes matter much to colleges? Do I have a better chance of getting in to college if I take them?" And he said, "Yeah, you should take as many as you can." So I just pursued this honors program further and also took more AP classes.

At each high school, there were also some students who were also able to access financial and proprietary resources through their outreach programs, such as fee waivers and SAT workshops. The fee waivers enabled students to forego college application fees, which were typically $50.00 to $60.00, and examination fees, which were $24.00 for the SAT I and $30.00 for the SAT II. Some outreach programs also arranged for students to take free SAT workshops to help them improve their test scores. One student

explained, "I'm in Kaplan, which is an SAT workshop. I go on Mondays and Tuesdays. Summer Search is paying for it. They pay for a lot of stuff. It's very helpful financially."

Ironically, these types of outreach programs were less accessible for students at the low-SES schools than for the students at the high-SES schools. This was primarily because the school counseling programs were responsible for developing the collaboration or partnership with the universities. In the high-SES schools, the college counselors actively developed the partnership with the outreach programs.

There were, however, a few low-SES students who indicated that they utilized proprietary resources, such as college fairs. Interestingly, in each of these cases, it was the proprietary resources who sought out the families, rather than the families who sought out the resources. However, the students who utilized these services said they were not very informative and they were quite costly. One student explained:

> I went to this convention called The College Resource Program. I went with my mom. We heard about it through a form in the mail. We went all the way down to some place down south, and they helped me select what colleges I want. But, I don't know if I'm gonna plan to even go to any of the colleges at the convention. So, I think that was kinda like a waste.

In some cases, low-income students were approached by representatives or recruiters from proprietary or certificate programs. One student explained:

> [Representatives] from a technical school actually came to my house. They just called my house and said they were gonna come over. At first I thought it was intrusive, but then I actually because I learned a lot about the program. It's only a three-year program and three semesters in each year. They mix your general ed. classes with your major classes so you work on your major in your first year already.

Therefore, students at lower-income schools tended to have a lot of contact with representatives and recruiters from proprietary schools. Inversely, students at the high-

SES schools had more access to university-based outreach programs that provided them with information about public colleges and universities, as well as free financial assistance to help them prepare for college. These findings suggest that there were differences in how students from different types of schools were able to access and utilize outreach programs. Yet, I found that students who had the least access to college information from their protective agents and school agents also had the least access to institutionally-based outreach programs.

Nearly all students discussed their use of some form of public information sources on college, including the internet, books, magazines, and television. Many students said that they used these resources because they were readily available, and that these resources allowed them to find information on their own, rather than having to rely on someone else. The students also felt that the information derived from these resources were more accurate and trustworthy because it came directly from colleges. Students said that some of these resources were useful methods for getting information about colleges and other resources gave them an idea of what college would be like for them.

The internet, in particular, was used by nearly all of the students. However, some students had better access to the internet than others. High-SES students often had computers at home, while low-SES students had to rely on computers at school or their friends' or relatives' houses. Whatever the case, most students found ways to tap into this resource to search for information about college. However, students' ability to interpret and utilize the information they encountered was dependent on guidance they received from other network resources such as protective or institutional agents.

The primary problem with media-type resources was that they do not enable interaction with students or tailor the delivery of information to students in a way that suited each student's needs. In other words, the information was static and unidimensional. Therefore, students who knew how to utilize this information were usually students who were looking for information that would enhance what they already learned from their social relationships with their protective or institutional agents. The students who seemed to be in a better position to manage and utilize this information were at the high-SES schools. In other words, knowing how to get information did not equated knowing what to do with it once the information was acquired.

Institutional Agents as Gatekeepers

Because institutional agents played such a key role in determining the information and knowledge that students had access to, they can be considered gatekeepers to college opportunities. School agents, in particular, had the responsibility of making decisions about the distribution of scarce resources and unequal distributions of opportunities. Furthermore, the social and institutional contexts were instrumental in creating social capital that provided students with differential opportunities. In this section, I discuss how institutional contexts created or undermined social mobility for students, and how students and families reacted to their opportunities.

Students indicated that the culture of their schools established the norms or expectations of students, faculty, and staff. Students often discussed how the disposition of the school personnel shaped the quality of information, guidance, and support they would receive from the schools. Students at the high-SES schools tended to find the

culture of their schools to be more conducive to obtaining postsecondary education. They described their schools as being more challenging, and better oriented to the academic rigor of college-level coursework as opposed to schools that were not as college preparatory. A student at a high-SES school explained the importance of how high schools challenged and prepared students for college. He said:

> College is gonna work you hard and you're probably not gonna make it if you're not accustomed to this workload. There's a big difference between college and high school, and if you send a person from [a poor-performing high school] to [a university], they won't survive. They can, but they'll have to work fifty times harder than any other person there.

The orientation of schools was also evident in their ability to provide access to other resources, such as university-based outreach programs. Another resource that existed in high-SES schools, but was nearly non-existent in low-SES schools was the presence of non-academic activities and resources such as clubs or after school activities. Students at the high-SES schools indicated that they were involved in these activities to gain a broader educational experience and to improve their chances of getting into college. A Chinese student at Wilson High explained:

> I'm involved in a lot of school sponsored extra-curricular activities: General Service Society, tutoring after school, Board Director for the Chinese American Club, volunteering at the YMCA, and I took a non-credit leadership class at UC Berkeley during the academic year. I really wanted to get involved to have fun, learn about myself, explore other horizons, and communicate with other people. However, I also knew that getting involved would help my chances of getting into college.

The culture of the low-SES schools was often very different than at high-SES schools. A student at a low-SES school explained that his school is considered the "hard core" school that had the toughest gangs and least successful students in the city. The

student explained that his school was concerned with keeping kids in school, rather than getting them into college.

> The atmosphere [at this high school] is just to get the students to graduate rather than get into college. [Here], we just hope we'll get into college, but half the time, it doesn't even work that way. We don't have these honors classes and the competition for grades. We just have people who want to get through the school year to get past that last day. We lack the teachers and the support. The orientation of the whole school is to finish your high school education rather than progress to your college education.

The students believed that the culture of the school was often driven by the attitudes and orientation of its faculty and staff. Students at the low-income schools talked about their belief that the teachers and counselors in their schools did not care about them or talked down to them as failures. Some students felt that faculty and staff did not have time for them because they were too busy dealing with issues that were more important to the school, such as getting students to graduate. These students often acknowledged the problems in the community and the school but wanted a chance to prove themselves. One student explained:

> I guess some teachers don't really care. They're just here for the paycheck. That's why sometimes I wanna be a teacher too. I wanna show 'em like this is the correct way to be a teacher.

Students had a clear sense of which high schools were, and were not conducive to postsecondary educational opportunities, based on the schools' resources, priorities, and values. The culmination of these factors established a culture, which were sources of privilege for some students and barriers for others. School culture operated in a way that determined the social and institutional contexts by which students formed and realized their postsecondary plans. As a result, students at low- and high-SES schools had

differential access to resources dedicated to providing college information, knowledge, and guidance. Consequently, the culture and orientation of schools determined the ways in which their institutional agents provided encouragement and guidance for students in their schools.

Students who were privileged enough to be in the college preparatory courses had college information and guidance that was more accessible. The courses were oriented for this purpose. However, students who were not in these courses needed to negotiate access to information and guidance at school through their own initiative. Among lower-tracked students, this often resulted in access to vague, discouraging, and sometimes, conflicting guidance.

In most cases, students had to rely on their teachers and counselors as their primary information and guidance sources. They used the guidance from institutional agents to gauge their preparedness and qualifications for college to determine where to go to college. The significance of institutional agents is heightened by the lack of experiential information and knowledge that their protective agents were able to offer (as discussed in the previous chapter). The conclusion to this study examines processes by which students accumulated information and negotiated their different social worlds (protective agents and institutional agents) as they developed and pursued their aspirations and decisions regarding college. I examine the process by which the desired outcomes of students were contingent upon their ability to be highly resilient and resourceful to navigate and negotiate conflicting social worlds.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION

Asian Pacific Americans represent a sizeable student population in a number of colleges and universities in California. In some institutions, APAs represent the largest proportion of any single racial group, as in the case of four of the eight undergraduate-serving UC campuses (see Chapter Two). APAs also constitute one-fifth of all students in the CSU system, and one-sixth of the students in the California Community College System. In theory, these institutions have truly become what I call Asian Pacific American Serving Institutions (APASI).

But the reality remains that APAs have been excluded from racial discourse pertaining to educational services because of a lack of belief that there is need to address the educational needs of this population. The APA population has also been misrepresented by way of categorization and treatment as a single, homogeneous racial group when, in fact, the APA population is quite diverse with ethnic sub-groups that encounter different social and institutional experiences. Using Critical Race Theory as a guiding framework with the structural elements of Social Capital Theory, this study explores one aspect of APA students' educational process – how students prepared for and pursued educational opportunities beyond high school.

The objective of this study was to examine how students from different APA ethnic sub-groups and social class backgrounds described the process by which they navigated their college-choice process. More specifically, how social networks (i.e.

family, friends, and school personnel) informed and shaped students' planning and decisions about college.

This chapter highlights and discusses the most important findings from this study. First, I discuss who the participants indicated as their most reliable information sources. Then I examine how the different social networks (protective and institutional agents) affected the students postsecondary aspirations, decisions, and outcomes. I also provide a model by which to conceptualize how the social and institutional context of the social networks affected the college-choice process of the participants. I conclude by discussing the implications of this study for theory and practice and possible directions for future research.

Participants' Most Reliable College Information Sources

I begin this chapter by demonstrating that, consistent with the theoretical framework used in this study, the participants utilized protective agents and institutional agents during their college-choice process. However, the participants indicated that certain information sources were more reliable than others (see Table 5.3).

Table 9.1: Participants' Most Reliable College Information Sources

	Number and/or Percentage Among			
	Chinese Schools		Filipino Schools	
	Wilson HS *(High-SES)* (n=20)	Kennedy HS *(Low-SES)* (n=20)	Hoover HS *(High-SES)* (n=20)	Jackson HS *(Low-SES)* (n=20)
Protective Agents				
Parents	**2** (10%)	**0** (0%)	**2** (10%)	**0** (0%)
Siblings, other relatives, and friends	**11** (55%)	**11** (55%)	**8** (50%)	**9** (50%)
Institutional Agents				
Teachers, counselors, and outreach	**2** (10%)	**8** (40%)	**6** (30%)	**10** (50%)
Internet	**6** (30%)	**1** (5%)	**4** (20%)	**1** (5%)

With regard to protective agents, the participants' were more likely to indicate that their siblings, other relatives, and friends were more reliable information sources than their parents. This trend was fairly consistent across the participants from each high school.

Students also indicated certain institutional agents as their most reliable college information sources. However, interestingly, among each ethnic group, the study participants at the low-SES schools were much more likely to indicate that teachers, counselors, or outreach programs were their most reliable information sources than the participants from the high-SES schools. Inversely, participants at the high-SES schools were more likely to utilize the internet than participants from the low-SES schools.

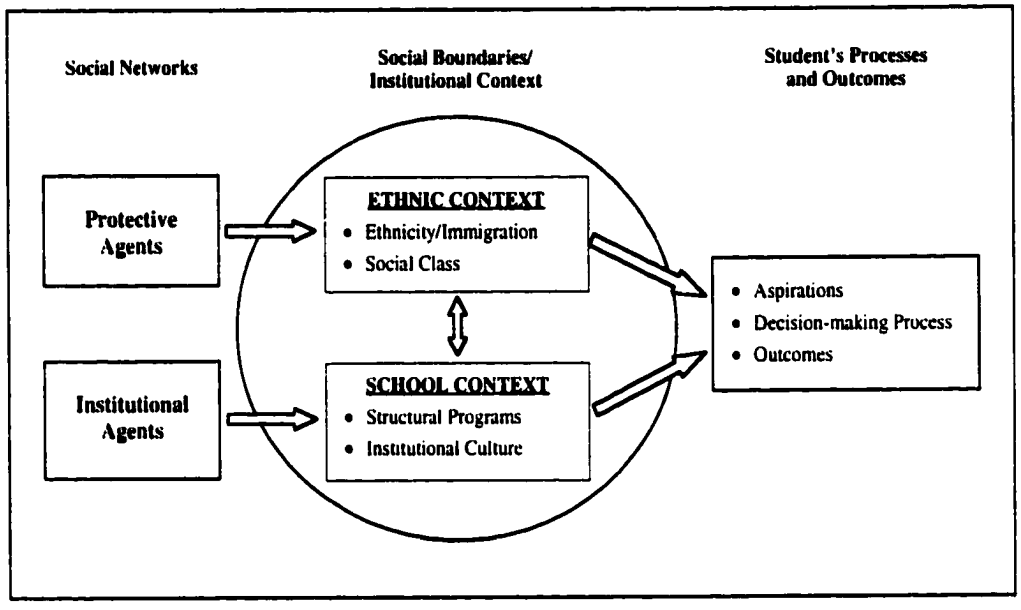
The social spheres (protective agents or institutional agents) students chose to utilize in their college decision-making process affected the postsecondary aspirations and outcomes of the participants. This influence happened because the ways in which protective agents and institutional agents provided information and guidance for students was determined by the social and/or institutional context in which they were situated. In other words, forms of social capital (information, knowledge, or guidance) that play a significant role in students' educational processes and outcomes were affected by mediating factors such as the ethnic context of protective agents and the institutional context for institutional agents. These findings are discussed further below.

Social Capital, Ethnic Boundaries, and Institutional Contexts

As portrayed in the model in Figure 9.1, social and contextual factors affected the ways in which protective agents and institutional agents provided college information,

knowledge, and guidance for Chinese and Filipino youth. The model is discussed more in-depth in the following discussion of the roles of protective and institutional agents.

Chart 9.1: Mediating Factors in Social Capital that Affect the College-Choice Process



Protective Agents

The transmission and content of social capital from protective agents was bounded by the context of: 1) ethnicity and culture, 2) immigration, and 3) social class. Ethnicity created a context of a close-knit network of cooperating membership in the students' ethnic communities who had similar values, beliefs, and goals. I identify this form of capital as *ethnic social capital* (Zhou & Bankston, 1998), whereby family and kinship members mobilized to form local or micro-scaled coalitions to help the members of their ethnic community. Ethnic communities seemed to shape the students' and parents' values and expectations because most of the information and knowledge that they were able to gain about college came from their neighborhoods.

A common theme among Chinese and Filipino youth was the general expectation for students to pursue some form of postsecondary education after high school. Most families seemed to believe that education was the only means to social mobility. However, the Filipino parents were more general about their postsecondary expectations and most just wanted to see their children continue their education after high school. Chinese parents tended to have more specific postsecondary goals for their children than Filipino parents. Many Chinese parents expected their children to attend an elite university, which they believed would lead a high-paying occupation, happiness, and stability in life.

Ethnic social capital, transmitted by relatives and friends, often provided tangible guidance and support that helped students realize their postsecondary aspirations. In their network of relatives and friends (either in the home or in their communities), nearly all of the respondents said they knew at least one family member or friend who had some experience with college. This web of social relationships often ensured that there were some protective agents who could talk to the students about college.

However, although relatives and friends had the potential to provide rich information, knowledge, and guidance for students about college, it was nearly always derived from their own experiences. Therefore, if a student was situated in a network of individuals who were typically older and experienced in college, the information and guidance was quite resourceful. However, if a student was not exposed to individuals who had experience with college, the student was typically provided information, guidance, and support that was generally more vague, derived from second-hand sources,

or, in some cases, inaccurate. Therefore, while the students' network of protective agents were accessible and often rich sources of information and guidance, the landscapes of students' network orientations were instrumental in shaping their social distributions of possibilities.

Particularly, it was the social context (immigration and social class status) in which protective agents were situated that affected the ways in which they provided information and guidance about college for students. For example, many first-generation Chinese and Filipino students talked about how their immigration to the U.S. created many challenges for their families. Especially for immigrant youth who were older when their families immigrated, the immediate challenges of settlement and adjustment for their families took precedence over the students' day-to-day educational needs.

With regard to social class, the information, guidance, and perspectives on college that students were able to gain from their protective agents tended to be limited to what experience they had with education in the U.S. For both the Chinese and Filipino students, most of their parents did not have any educational experience in the U.S. and did not provide specific guidance or support and were not involved in their child's college planning. Therefore, whereas parents provided the expectations and encouragement to pursue postsecondary education, students often had to turn to other sources, such as relatives, friends, and school personnel, for information and guidance to navigate their pursuit for higher education.

Many Filipino students indicated that their relatives encouraged them to attend community colleges and state colleges because that was what their relatives' own goals

and outcomes were for themselves. On the other hand, the advice the Chinese students were able to receive from their relatives tended to have wider-boundaries that were more inclusive of strategic ways of getting into four-year colleges and universities.

Institutional Agents

Many students would resort to other resources in their social networks (primarily at school) to seek help in their college decision-making process. However, in each school, teachers were affected by the context of academic programs and counselors were affected by the context of counseling programs. Moreover, the institutional culture of each school also affected the ways in which institutional agents provided social capital.

With regard to teachers, students had most of their contact with teachers in their courses. Therefore, ways in which teachers provided information and guidance for students was often determined by the types of courses in which the students were enrolled. The teachers in the college preparatory programs often gave specific advice about college, such as which colleges they should consider or what they needed to do to get into different types of colleges. When teachers in vocational courses provided advice for students, they often did not give the wide range of postsecondary options that was provided in the college preparatory courses. In many cases, students felt that the information that their vocational teachers would provide them was limited and vague.

Unfortunately, the range of college preparatory courses and vocational courses that schools offered was not equally distributed within low- and high-SES schools. The high-SES schools tended to have more college preparatory programs, such as AP and

honors, than the low-SES schools. Inversely, the low-SES schools had more vocational programs, such as ROP and work experience.

The different high schools also had different types of counseling programs that affected the accessibility of the counselors for students, as well as the quality, amount, and type of interaction students had with counselors. Most of the students at the high-SES schools had a list of colleges they were considering that they were able to develop with the help of their counselors. Many students felt that this would help them get into the best school possible for them based on their grades and experiences.

When students at low-SES schools were able to access their counselors, counselors did not focus on college counseling. Rather, counselors were more concerned about getting the students to graduate. When students would direct questions to their counselors about college, they said it was hard for them to get specific feedback that addressed their questions. The lack of a relationship seemed to make students feel like they were not taken seriously. Therefore, counselors at high-SES schools had programs that were orientated toward college advising, whereas counselors at low-SES schools had different priorities and did not advise much with regards to students' futures beyond high school.

Students had a clear sense of which high schools were, and were not conducive to postsecondary opportunities, which were based on factors related to schools' resources, priorities, and values. In a sense the culmination of these factors established a culture, which were sources of privilege for some students and barriers for others. School culture

operated in a way that determined the social and institutional contexts by which students formed and realized their postsecondary plans.

Students at the high-SES schools tended to find the culture of their schools to be more conducive to postsecondary education. They described their schools as being more challenging, and better oriented to the academic rigor of college-level coursework as opposed to schools that were not college preparatory. The college culture of the high-SES schools was also evident in their ability to provide access to other resources, such as university-based outreach programs and non-academic activities and resources (clubs or after school activities).

The culture of the low-SES schools was often very different than at high-SES schools. Some students at the low-SES schools felt that the faculty and staff did not care about them or talked down to them as failures. Some students felt that faculty and staff did not have time for them because they were too busy dealing with issues that were more important to the school. These students often acknowledged the problems in the community and the school, but wanted a chance to prove themselves.

As a result, students at low- and high-SES schools had differential access to resources dedicated to providing college information, knowledge, and guidance. Unfortunately, in most cases, students had to rely on their teachers and counselors as a primary source of information and guidance. They used the guidance from institutional agents to gauge their preparedness and qualifications for college to determine where to aspire to college. The significance of institutional agents was heightened by the lack of experiential information and knowledge that their protective agents were able to offer. In

many cases, students opted to utilize other information vehicles (such as the internet) to get the information and guidance they were looking for regarding college.

Negotiating Multiple Social Worlds

In many ways, students' social relationships structured differential access to different amounts and types of information, guidance, support, and opportunities. More specifically, the social networks of Chinese and Filipino high school students were situated in different contexts that fostered mobility for some students and undermined the pursuits of others. Social networks were situated in distinct and sometimes contradicting social and institutional contexts (or worlds), which often differed for the different APA populations in this study. Some students had social worlds, comprised of protective and institutional agents, that had goals and values that were in agreement. Other students had to negotiate conflicting social worlds through resistance and resiliency.

A good example of alignment between students' social worlds was found among Chinese students. What some, but not all, Chinese parents were aware of was that where a student attends high school could determine a student's educational outcome. Some Chinese parents would strategically place their children in schools that would provide them with the best opportunities. More specifically, the students at Wilson High often described how their parents preferred for them to attend Wilson, rather than a school in or near Chinatown, which tended to be poorer-performing and offered fewer college opportunities. However, for most Chinese and Filipino immigrants in general, the strategy of moving to the U.S. to optimize their child's educational opportunities was also a common reason for why families emigrated from their homelands.

From a CRT perspective, this study challenges the dominant culture by deconstructing "traditional" notions of the APA educational experience by demonstrating ethnic, immigration, and social class differences among the APA population. Specifically, I illustrate that APA students from different ethnic and social class backgrounds experience different historical, social, and institutional realities, which result in differences in the educational experiences and opportunities of students from different APA sub-populations.

Particularly, through the use of social capital theory, I illustrate the ways in which the Chinese and Filipino students lived among and were influenced by a network of individuals that shaped the ways in which students' formed and negotiated their college aspirations, plans, and decisions. More specifically, I demonstrate how the expectations, involvement, guidance, and support from socializing agents (protective and institutional agents) determined where a student applied to college, or whether the student decided to go to college at all.

Implications for Theory and Practice

There are implications for theory and practice that emerged from this study. In terms of theory and scholarship, CRT allowed me to demonstrate that within the APA population, there is diversity with regard to ethnicity, social class, and immigration status. APA sub-populations experience different educational and social conditions, which create different contexts in which students negotiated their educational processes and outcomes. Studies of race and ethnicity in education must acknowledge the diversity of

the APA population as well as the social and institutional realities in order to best understand the educational experiences and outcomes of the APA population.

The findings from this study have implications for how race and ethnicity is examined in college choice research. This study demonstrates that although APAs do share some similarities with other racial and ethnic populations in how they pursue the college-choice process, the diversity of the APA population yields attention to the range of experiences and conditions in which they pursue higher education. I would also posit that when scholars examine college choice nationally or in certain states that have been experiencing sizeable growth in the number and proportion of APAs (California, New York, Hawaii, Texas, New Jersey, etc.), acknowledgment of the APA population is critical.

In addition, only a few college-choice studies have captured the process by which students use social networks in their postsecondary pursuit (Hossler, Schmit, & Vesper, 1999; McDonough, 1997; Teranishi, 1998). However, this study adds to these perspectives by demonstrating that students' social networks were a source of opportunity for some students and barriers for others. Scholars must acknowledge the social boundaries and institutional contexts that affected the ability for protective agents and institutional agents to provide expectations, guidance, and support for students in their postsecondary educational pursuit. In this connection, I posit that the postsecondary opportunities that are available for students need to be conceptualized in the larger context in which students and families exist.

The findings from this study also had implications for the methodological approach to the study of APAs in education. By disaggregating the APA population in my methodological approach, I was able to identify the differences that exist between ethnic, social class, and immigrant APA populations. Similar approaches using quantitative designs should also be considered (see Teranishi, et. al, 2000). However, although the methods in this study were qualitative, the analysis was designed to be more comparative across APA ethnic sub-populations, rather than in-depth on either one of them. Qualitative studies should look more closely within sub-populations to examine experiences that may be even more subtle than what I was able to capture.

For example, this study only examined the male students. Future research should examine the experiences of female students from similar ethnic and social class backgrounds as well as to compare to the male experience. Also, in my sample, among the Chinese American participants who were immigrants, there was a great deal of variation as to their national origin before coming to the U.S. For example, nearly three-quarters of the immigrants (72%) were born outside of China. Rather, 33 percent were born in Hong Kong, 22 percent in Taiwan, six percent in Southeast Asian, and another six percent in South America. The social conditions and lifestyles that families experience across these different nations may produce differences in the educational experiences of youth when they arrive in the U.S.

The findings from this study also have implications for educational policy and practice. First, educational policies in all sectors of the educational spectrum need to recognize that APA students do not necessarily have the same educational experiences

and outcomes. Rather, policies need to re-evaluate how they include and treat APAs because of the great deal of diversity that has been masked by aggregated racial perspectives, which has been used to make policy decisions. For example, Takagi (1992) illustrates how admission policies at universities have been inconsistent in their treatment of the APA population because of misunderstandings about the population.

Policymakers should also recognize the uneven distribution of resources that exist across schools. Academic and counseling programs were not equally available or accessible for all students across different schools in this study creating inequitable conditions in which students learned and different contexts in which teachers and counselors were expected to provide college information and guidance. As a result, in the low-SES schools, regardless of a student's academic performance or will to succeed, they rarely seemed to be as prepared or confident about their choices related to college as well as their ability to adjustment to a new college environment, as students at the high-SES schools.

Policymakers should also recognize the uneven distribution of resources that exist within APA families. In particular, the ways in which social capital is transmitted to students from family members is bounded by social and institutional contexts. Schools should reach out to the family members of their students in order to better understand the ability and inability of these protective agents to foster strong values and aspirations among their children. In addition, schools should utilize protective agents as institutional agents for the surrounding community in order to provide resources and opportunities that have otherwise been locked in the confines of the school.

Having protective agents serve the surrounding community as institutional agents can make school resources and opportunities more available and equally distributed, reducing the bifurcation of opportunity that exists in many schools today. In addition, by developing communication between schools, families, and other community members, students can create better alignment of their social worlds, which was found to be optimal for students to gain confidence and have security during their pursuit of their dreams.

In conclusion, as much as educational theory and practice continues to treat the APA population as the "invisible Americans," their size and growth in many colleges and universities across the nation demands closer attention. However, scholars and policymakers must be precise in their attempts to conceptualize the educational experiences and opportunities that exist for APAs. In particular, educational theory and practice should be aware of the social and institutional realities that affect APA students and yield differences in the educational experiences and outcomes of ethnic, social class, and immigrant populations among APAs.

APPENDIX A

DATA COLLECTION LOGISTICS

APPENDIX A-1

LETTER OF INQUIRY

[Date]

[High School]
[Street Address]
[City], CA [zip]

Dear [principal],

This letter is in reference to your participation in the California Asian Postsecondary Access (CAPA) Study at University of California Los Angeles. I am formally requesting the participation of twenty Filipino/Chinese male students from your high school. All participants should be beginning their senior year Fall, 2000. As discussed last week, the participation of these students will entail a brief survey and a short interview (approximately 45 minutes). In sum, the criteria I am using to select students are as follows:

- 20 Males
- Seniors by Fall, 2000
- Filipino/Chinese

In the future, I will be discussing with you further logistics regarding the selection of these students as well as the development of an interview schedule that can accommodate the schedules of the students, the school, and the interviewer.

As per our earlier conversation, I would like to extend that I will also be providing incentives for the participating students and your school. At the end of each individual interview, I will provide the students with packets of information about college admissions. Also, I will have resources to donate to the school's college office or counselors such as CD-ROMs, books, brochures, etc. Finally, each participating school will receive a compiled report of their students that participated in the study.

Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any further questions regarding this study. Thank you for your time and assistance.

Sincerely,

Robert T. Teranishi

Research Analyst
Higher Education and Organizational Change
Graduate School of Education and Information Studies, Box 951521
Los Angeles, CA 90095-1521

APPENDIX A-2

STUDENT INFORMATION SHEET

Dear Student:

I am a graduate student at the University of California, Los Angeles in the Graduate School of Education & Information Studies and I am asking you to participate in a research study I am conducting. I am interviewing students about how they make their college choices. I would like to ask you questions about your high school's college preparatory environment, how affordable you perceive colleges to be, and what sources of information you rely on for knowing current admission requirements.

I would like to interview you on this topic and anticipate the interview will take one hour. Although this interview will be tape-recorded, the information I gather will be kept confidential. Your participation is totally voluntary. An alternative to your participation is not to participate in this study. You may choose to change your mind about your participation in this interview and you may refuse to answer any particular question during the interview with no adverse effects. Your participation in this study would have no impact on your current high school academic progress or on any college application you make.

I cannot imagine any foreseeable risks to your participation in this research. In fact, I am hopeful that the information I gather would lead to better admissions information or interventions in the future.

You are not waiving any legal claims, rights, or remedies because of your participation in this study. If you have any 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.

If you have any questions you can call me at (310) 753-8921. And above else, thank you for your help.

Sincerely,

Robert Teranishi
Research Analyst
Graduate School of Education & Information Studies
Higher Education and Organizational Change Division
University of California, Los Angeles
Los Angeles, CA 90095-1521

APPENDIX A-3

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

15. Please select an interview date and time that works best with your schedule by writing your name, the class(es) you would be in at that time period, and the room number(s).
16. Each interview is expected to last **30 mins. to 45 mins.**
17. Please report to the assigned classroom at your scheduled interview time.

Monday, [Date]

8:38am – 9:42am (Period 2)

Name_____ Class_____ Room #____

10:56am – 11:54am (Period 4)

Name_____ Class_____ Room #____

12:40pm – 1:38pm (Period 5)

Name_____ Class_____ Room #____

1:44pm – 2:42pm (Period 6)

Name_____ Class_____ Room #____

Tuesday, [Date]

8:38am – 9:42am (Period 2)

Name_____ Class_____ Room #____

10:56am – 11:54am (Period 4)

Name_____ Class_____ Room #____

12:40pm – 1:38pm (Period 5)

Name_____ Class_____ Room #____

1:44pm – 2:42pm (Period 6)

Name_____ Class_____ Room #____

Wednesday, [Date]

8:38am – 9:42am (Period 2)

Name_____ Class_____ Room #____

10:56am – 11:54am (Period 4)

Name_____ Class_____ Room #____

12:40pm – 1:38pm (Period 5)

Name_____ Class_____ Room #____

1:44pm – 2:42pm (Period 6)

Name_____ Class_____ Room #____

Thursday, [Date]

8:38am – 9:42am (Period 2)

Name_____ Class_____ Room #____

10:56am – 11:54am (Period 4)

Name_____ Class_____ Room #____

12:40pm – 1:38pm (Period 5)

Name_____ Class_____ Room #____

1:44pm – 2:42pm (Period 6)

Name_____ Class_____ Room #____

APPENDIX A-4

STUDENT CONSENT FORM

University of California, Los Angeles

ASIAN AMERICAN COLLEGE CHOICE STUDY: STUDENT CONSENT FORM

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by Robert Teranishi at the University of California, Los Angeles. You were selected as a possible participant in this study because of your grade level and ethnic background as a [Chinese American or Filipino American]. Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. Your decision to participate or not will not affect your grades or relationship with your teachers or your school.

- **PURPOSE OF THE STUDY**

The goal of this study is to understand how [Chinese or Filipino] Americans make decisions about college through interviews with [Chinese and Filipino] students at your high school. More specifically, I would like to ask you questions about your college preparation, how affordable you perceive colleges to be, and what sources of information you rely on for knowing current admission requirements.

- **PROCEDURES**

If you volunteer to participate in this study, I will interview you for about 30 to 45 minutes during the week. At the beginning of the interview session, I will first have you complete a 5 to 7 minute survey that asks about your general background (i.e. your academic progress, parents, and sources of college information). Immediately following the survey, I will then begin the interview. The interviews will be audiotaped and you have the right to review the audiotapes to determine whether it should be edited or erased in whole or in part.

- **POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS**

I cannot imagine any foreseeable risks to your participation in this research.

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

I am hopeful that the information I gather would lead to better admission information or interventions in the future. As the results of this study are completed, I will offer the opportunity to share my findings with any participants who are interested and verbally request it.

- **CONFIDENTIALITY**

Your name will not be connected with any of the information obtained during the course of this interview. The data collected will be assigned a code to protect the confidentiality of the subjects. This code will be used to label the transcripts and the tapes will be destroyed after being transcribed. The data will be stored in a locked cabinet in my office. The data may be used for additional studies at a later date. However, any information that is obtained in connection with this study will remain confidential.

- **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. The investigator may withdraw you from this research if circumstances arise which warrant doing so.

- **IDENTIFICATION OF INVESTIGATOR**

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact me at (310) 753-8921 or by email (takumi@ucla.edu).

- **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

APPENDIX A-5

STUDENT ASSENT FORM

University of California, Los Angeles

ASIAN AMERICAN COLLEGE CHOICE STUDY: STUDENT ASSENT FORM

ASSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by Robert Teranishi at the University of California, Los Angeles. You were selected as a possible participant in this study because of your grade level and ethnic background as a [Chinese American or Filipino American]. Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. Your decision to participate or not will not affect your grades or relationship with your teachers or your school.

- **PURPOSE OF THE STUDY**

The goal of this study is to understand how [Chinese or Filipino] Americans make decisions about college through interviews with [Chinese and Filipino] students at your high school. More specifically, I would like to ask you questions about your college preparation, how affordable you perceive colleges to be, and what sources of information you rely on for knowing current admission requirements.

- **PROCEDURES**

If you volunteer to participate in this study, I will interview you for about 30 to 45 minutes during the week. At the beginning of the interview session, I will first have you complete a 5 to 7 minute survey that asks about your general background (i.e. your academic progress, parents, and sources of college information). Immediately following the survey, I will then begin the interview. The interviews will be audiotaped and you have the right to review the audiotapes to determine whether it should be edited or erased in whole or in part.

- **POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS**

I cannot imagine any foreseeable risks to your participation in this research.

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

I am hopeful that the information I gather would lead to better admission information or interventions in the future. As the results of this study are completed, I will offer the opportunity to share my findings with any participants who are interested and verbally request it.

- **CONFIDENTIALITY**

Your name will not be connected with any of the information obtained during the course of this interview. The data collected will be assigned a code to protect the confidentiality of the subjects. This code will be used to label the transcripts and the tapes will be destroyed after being transcribed. The data will be stored in a locked cabinet in my office. The data may be used for additional studies at a later date. However, any information that is obtained in connection with this study will remain confidential.

- **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. The investigator may withdraw you from this research if circumstances arise which warrant doing so.

- **IDENTIFICATION OF INVESTIGATOR**

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact me at (310) 753-8921 or by email (takumi@ucla.edu).

- **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.

_____ _____

Name of Subject Date

APPENDIX A-6

PARENT CONSENT FORM

University of California, Los Angeles

ASIAN AMERICAN COLLEGE CHOICE STUDY: PARENT CONSENT FORM

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Your child has been asked to participate in a study conducted by Robert Teranishi at the University of California, Los Angeles. Your child was selected as a possible participant in this study because of his grade level and ethnic background as a [Chinese American or Filipino American]. Your child's participation in this study is completely voluntary.

- **PURPOSE OF THE STUDY**

The goal of this study is to understand how [Chinese or Filipino] Americans make decisions about college through interviews with [Chinese and Filipino] students at your son's high school. More specifically, I would like to ask your child questions about his college preparation, how affordable he perceive colleges to be, and what sources of information he relies on for knowing current admission requirements.

- **PROCEDURES**

If you child volunteers to participate in this study, I will interview him for about 30 to 45 minutes during the week. At the beginning of the interview session, I will first have him complete a 5 to 7 minute survey that asks about his general background. Immediately following the survey, I will then begin the interview. The interviews will be audiotaped and your child has the right to review the audiotapes to determine whether it should be edited or erased in whole or in part.

- **POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS**

I cannot imagine any foreseeable risks to your child's participation in this research.

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

I am hopeful that the information I gather would lead to better admission information or interventions in the future. As the results of this study are completed, I will offer the opportunity to share my findings with any participants who are interested.

- **CONFIDENTIALITY**

Your child's name will not be connected with any of the information obtained during the course of this interview. The data collected will be assigned a code to protect the confidentiality of the subjects. This code will be used to label the transcripts and the

tapes will be destroyed after being transcribed. The data will be stored in a locked cabinet in my office. Any information that is obtained in connection with this study will remain confidential.

- **PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL**

You and your child can choose whether to be in this study or not. If you and your child volunteer to be in this study, he may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. Your child 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 me at (310) 753-8921 or by email (takumi@ucla.edu).

- **RIGHTS OF RESEARCH SUBJECTS**

You and your child may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. Both you and your child are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of your participation in this research study. If either you or your child has any 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 PARENT

I understand the procedures described above. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to allow my child to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

_____

Name of Subject (your child)

_____

Name of Parent or Legal Representative (your name)

_____ _____

Signature of Parent or Legal Representative (your signature) 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

APPENDIX B

DATA INSTRUMENTS

APPENDIX B-1

STUDENT SURVEY

For Official Use Only
ID: _____
GG RT

ASIAN AMERICAN COLLEGE CHOICE STUDY

Part I. Student Information

1a. What is your gender? **Circle**: 1) Male or 2) Female

1b. Please state your ethnic identification: _____

2. What is your citizenship status? **Circle**: 1) Not US Citizen or 2) US Citizen

3. What was your birthplace? (indicate city and state) _____
If born in the U.S., go to question 5. If born in another country, go to question 4.

4. If born outside of U.S., are you presently living in the same city since the day you arrived in U.S.?
Circle: NO or YES

Part II. Education

5. Circle the answer that best describes your overall high school grade point average.

1) D+ or below	4) C+	7) B+
2) C-	5) B-	8) A-
3) C	6) B	9) A or A+

6. Have you taken the following standardized exams? (If the answer is "YES" to any of these questions, please list your highest score)

a.) SATI **Circle**: NO or YES Math:_____ Verbal:_____

b.) SATII **Circle**: NO or YES Math:_____ English:_____ Elective:_____

c.) ACT **Circle**: NO or YES _____

d.) If you have not taken either of these exams, do you plan on taking these in the future?
Circle: NO or YES

7. Please circle the total number of College Advance Placement (A.P.) courses you expect to have taken by the end of your senior year of high school (June 2001):

1.) None	4.) 3	7.) More than 5 (please specify _____)
2.) 1	5.) 4	
3.) 2	6.) 5	

8. Please circle the total number of honor courses (***excluding*** A.P. courses) you will have taken by the end of your senior year of high school (June 2001):

1.) None	4.) 3	7.) More than 5 (please specify _____)
2.) 1	5.) 4	
3.) 2	6.) 5	

(CONTINUE TO THE NEXT PAGE)

9. How well do you feel your high school has prepared you academically for college?
   1) Not at all
   2) Not too well
   3) Somewhat
   4) Fairly well
   5) Extremely well

10. What is the highest academic degree you plan to obtain?
   1) Some college
   2) B.A. or B.S. degree
   3) M.A. (Masters of Arts) or M.S. (Masters of Science) degree
   4) M.S.W. (Masters in Social Work), M.P.H. or M.B.A. (Masters in Business)
   5) M.D., D.D.S. or J.D. degree
   6) Ph.D. or Ed.D. degree
   7) Other (Specify): _____

11. How certain are you that you will get your undergraduate bachelor's degree?
   1) Not completely certain I will get my degree.
   2) Completely certain I will get my degree, but not necessarily from the college I will attend first.
   3) Completely certain I will get my degree.

Part III. Parent Information

12. Please circle the number corresponding to the highest level of education completed by each of your parents/guardians (answer columns A and B).

	A.	B.
Years of School Completed	Father or Guardian	Mother or Guardian
Less than high school	1	1
Some high school	2	2
High school graduate	3	3
Some college	4	4
B.A., B.S. degree	5	5
Graduate or professional degree	6	6
Not sure	7	7

13. Please state your father's job: _____

14. Please state your mother's job: _____

18. Please circle either yes or no to each question regarding your parents'/guardians' education (answer columns A and B).

	A.	B.
Did either of your parent/guardian receive his/her education in:	Father or Guardian	Mother or Guardian
a.) the U.S.?	NO or YES	NO or YES
b.) his/her homeland/birthplace ?	NO or YES	NO or YES
c.) another country other than U.S. or country of birth?	NO or YES	NO or YES

(CONTINUE TO THE NEXT PAGE)

16. Please circle how well your parents speak English.
    1.) Not very fluent
    2.) Somewhat fluent
    3.) Very fluent

17. Are either of your parents active/inactive in the U.S. military? **Circle:** NO or YES

    If "YES", please also answer questions 18 and 19. If "NO", go to question 20.

18. Which parent is/was in the U.S. military service? **Circle:** FATHER or MOTHER

19. How long (in years) is/was your parent in the U.S. military service? _____

Part IV. Student Opinion

20. Please check the box that best describes the racial composition of the following:

	All another ethnicity	Mostly another ethnicity	Half your ethnicity and half another ethnicity	Mostly your ethnicity	All your ethnicity
A. The neighborhood where you are living in					
B. The general composition of your high school					
C. Your friends at your high School					
D. Your friends in general					

Part V. College Information

21. We are interested in learning more about where you get information about college. Please check the box that best indicates the extent to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Not Applicable
A. When I need information about college, I talk with my PARENTS.					
B. When I need information about college, I talk with my SIBLING(S).					
C. When I need information about college, I talk with my FRIENDS.					
D. When I need information about college, I talk with my COUNSELOR					
E. When I need information about college, I talk with my TEACHER(S).					
F. When I need information about college, I talk with a ROLE MODEL.					
G. When I need information about college, I look on the INTERNET.					

(CONTINUE TO THE NEXT PAGE)

22. a.) Who do you go to get the **MOST** information about colleges and universities (e.g. mother, father, brother, sister, high school counselor, high school teacher, friend, internet etc.)? _____

22. b.) Why do you believe that this is the best source of college information for you?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

This is the end of the survey.
Please hand in the survey to your interviewer when you are finished.

THANK YOU.

APPENDIX B-2

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

INTRODUCTION

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study. Basically, I will be asking you questions about how you are planning for and making decisions about college. I anticipate the interview will take less than an hour. Although this interview will be tape-recorded, the information I gather will be kept confidential. Your participation is totally voluntary. An alternative to your participation is not to participate in this study. You may choose to change your mind about your participation in this interview and you may refuse to answer any particular question during the interview with no adverse effects. Your participation in this study would have no impact on your current high school academic progress or on any college application you make.

POSTSECONDARY ASPIRATIONS

What are your college plans?
Probe: types of colleges (UC, CSU, CC, out of state, private, etc.)

How did you decide on these colleges?
Probe: reputation of campus, academic preparedness of student
Probe: proximity to home, public, private; two-year, four-year; costs

ACADEMIC/SCHOOL-RELATED STRATEGIES

How do you decide on what courses to take at school?
Probe: honors/AP courses, tracking, use of counselors, teachers, role models, friends.

What kinds of things are you involved in outside of class?
Probe: school sponsored events or activities, clubs, sports

SOCIAL NETWORKS AND INFORMATION SOURCES

How have your parents or other family members influenced your decisions about college?

Probe: pressure/expectations vs. support/guidance
Probe: educational experience, work commitments, congruency

How have teachers, counselors, programs, or other people who work in your school influenced you?

Probe: college office, academic counseling, college culture of school, tracking

How have friends influenced your decisions about college?

Probe: friends at school vs. friends at home (similarities/differences); significant other
Probe: racial/ethnic make-up of friends
Probe: competition

Are there resources in the community that have helped you with your college decisions?

Probe: church, Saturday language schools, prayer groups

Is there anyone or anything else informing your process to go to college?

Probe: books, rankings magazines, TV, Internet, CD-ROMS, SAT preparation course(s)

RACE/ETHNICITY

Do you think that being Chinese/Filipino will limit your chances of getting into college?

Probe: Why?
Probe: advantages/disadvantages in terms of getting into different types of college(s)?

Do you think Chinese/Filipinos are treated differently than students from another racial group?

Probe: versus other APAs and/or other racial groups
Probe: social context vs. academic context
Probe: model minority, affirmative action

Do you think you would feel welcome at a UC campus?

Probe: stereotypes, campus racial climate, Prop 209, Affirmative Action.

GENDER

Are there any expectations of you by parents because you are a male/female?
Probe: ethnic culture, values, beliefs, etc.
Probe: are your parents traditional, religious?
Probe: sister, female peers and/or relatives

Do you think women have a better chance of getting in to college than men? Why?
Probe: Do you feel you are more at a disadvantage/advantage over the other applicants?

Who do you think are more prepared for college at this high school - males or females?
Probe: Why?
Probe: Support, guidance, encouragement from teachers, parents, friends, etc.

Are male and female students treated differently by teachers, staff, or other students?
Probe: Procedures, instructions, and communication with male vs. female students

PERCEPTIONS OF OPPORTUNITY

How much is tuition at the college(s) you want to attend?
Probe: Does this influence decision to attend or not attend one college over the other?

Do you think you will need financial aid when you go to college?
Probe: What do you know about financial aid?

What do you think college will be like for you?
Probe: Academic and social environment
Probe: What are your biggest concerns? Who do you talked to about these issues?

CLOSURE

Do you have anything else you would like to add?

Do you have any questions that you would like to ask of me?

May we contact you later this year to follow up with you?

Thank you again for your participation.

APPENDIX C

DATA MANAGEMENT

APPENDIX C-1

INTERVIEW AND TRANSCRIPT MANAGEMENT

Interview and Transcript Label Scheme

Each interview and transcript will be labeled with a unique identification number to assist in the identification and organization of the data. Each label consists of a sequence of codes that will indicate the type of interview and an identification number.

19. Interview Type: (Individual Interviews – [II] or Focus Groups – [FG])
20. Identification number: numerical code
21. The ethnicity of the respondent(s): (Chinese American – C; Filipino – F)
22. Example: II9C, FG12F

Interview and Transcript Tracking Information

Each tape and transcription will contain transcript tracking information to retain key information about each interview and respondent(s). The tapes and transcript headers consist of the transcript label, date of the interview, school name, number of respondents by ethnicity, interviewer's name, and transcriber's name.

Example:

* FG8F
* 4/1/00
* Jackson High School
* 4 Filipinos
* Robert
* Written Communications

APPENDIX C-2

GLOSSARY OF QUALITATIVE CODES

INTERSECT VARIABLES

Field Site

(1)	/Field Site
(1 1)	/Field Site/Wilson
(1 2)	/Field Site/Jackson
(1 3)	/Field Site/Kennedy
(1 4)	/Field Site/Hoover

Student Characteristics

(2)	/Student Characteristics
(2 2)	/Student Characteristics/Ethnicity
(2 3)	/Student Characteristics/Citizenship
(2 4)	/Student Characteristics/Birthplace
(2 5)	/Student Characteristics/Academic Performance
(2 5 1)	/Student Characteristics/Academic Performance/GPA
(2 5 2)	/Student Characteristics/Academic Performance/SAT
(2 5 3)	/Student Characteristics/Academic Performance/AP Courses
(2 6)	/Student Characteristics/Degree aspirations

Parent Characteristics

(3)	/Parent Characteristics
(3 1)	/Parent Characteristics/Education Level
(3 1 1)	/Parent Characteristics/Education Level/Mother
(3 1 2)	/Parent Characteristics/Education Level/Father
(3 2)	/Parent Characteristics/Occupation
(3 2 1)	/Parent Characteristics/Occupation/Mother
(3 2 2)	/Parent Characteristics/Occupation/Father
(3 3)	/Parent Characteristics/Language Ability

Neighborhood Characteristics

(4)	/Neighborhood Characteristics

Peer Characteristics

(5)	/Peer Characteristics

QUALITATIVE VARIABLES

Postsecondary Aspirations

(6)	/Postsecondary Aspirations

Information Sources

(7)	/Information Sources
(7 1)	/Information Sources/Parents
(7 2)	/Information Sources/Siblings
(7 3)	/Information Sources/Other Relatives
(7 4)	/Information Sources/Friends
(7 5)	/Information Sources/High School Personnel
(7 5 1)	/Information Sources/High School Personnel/Teachers
(7 5 2)	/Information Sources/High School Personnel/Counselors
(7 5 3)	/Information Sources/High School Personnel/College Office
(7 6)	/Information Sources/Community Resources
(7 6 1)	/Information Sources/Community Resources/Church
(7 6 2)	/Information Sources/Community Resources/Community Org
(7 7)	/Information Sources/Computers or Internet
(7 8)	/Information Sources/Books, Mags, TV
(7 9)	/Information Sources/Outreach Program

Decision Criteria

(8)	/Decision Criteria
(8 1)	/Decision Criteria/Reputation
(8 2)	/Decision Criteria/Location
(8 3)	/Decision Criteria/Cost
(8 4)	/Decision Criteria/Academics
(8 5)	/Decision Criteria/Congruency

Perceptions of Opportunity

(9)	/Perceptions of Opportunity
(9 1)	/Perceptions of Opportunity/Race or Ethnicity
(9 2)	/Perceptions of Opportunity/Gender
(9 3)	/Perceptions of Opportunity/Social Class
(9 4)	/Perceptions of Opportunity/Immigration Status
(9 5)	/Perceptions of Opportunity/Language
(9 6)	/Perceptions of Opportunity/Religion

Extracurricular Activities

(10)	/Extracurricular Activities

Admissions Strategies

(11)	/Admissions Strategies

APPENDIX C-3

SURVEY DATA - FILE DOCUMENTATION

Number of Cases: 80

IDNUM: Identification number

Char1: school name
Char2: ethnicity of respondent
Char3-4: numerical sequence of respondents at each school

99 = missing/no response

HIGHSCH: High School

1 = Kennedy
2 = Wilson
3 = Jackson
4 = Hoover
5 = Pilot

9 = missing/no response

Note: Pseudonyms, use X-files to match with actual school names

---

CDECODE: County District School Code

Numerical code

9 = missing/no response

Note: Use to merge with CDE data

SCHZIP: High school zip code

Open code

9 = missing/no response

Note: Use to merge with census file/GIS

STUZIP: Student's home zip code

Open code

9 = missing/no response

Note: Use to merge with census file/GIS

ETHNIC: Self-Reported Ethnicity of Respondent

1 = Chinese
2 = Filipino
3 = Other Asian

9 = missing/no response

CITIZEN: Citizenship Status

1 = Not US Citizen
2 = US Citizen

9 = missing/no response

BIRTHPL: Place of Birth

1 = US - in California
2 = US - outside California
3 = China (Mainland)
4 = Hong Kong
5 = Taiwan
6 = Vietnam/Southeast Asia
7 = South/Central America
8 = Philippines

99 = missing/no response

SETLMNT = Current Residence Same as Place of Settlement When Immigrated

1 = NO
2 = YES

9 = missing/no response

GPA = Overall High School GPA

1 = D+ or below
2 = C-
3 = C
4 = C+
5 = B-
6 = B
7 = B+
8 = A-
9 = A/A+

99 = missing/no response

NOTES: Some GPAs were weighted by enrollment in AP or honor courses

SAT1: SAT1 Taken SAT 1

1 = NO
2 = YES

9 = missing/no response

SAT1M: SAT1 Math Score

Open coding

999 = missing/no response

SAT1V: SAT1 Verbal Score

Open coding

999 = missing/no response

SAT1TOT: SAT1 Total Score (V + M)

Open coding

999 = missing/no response

SAT2: Take SAT 2

1 = NO
2 = YES

9 = missing/no response

SAT2M: SAT2 Math Score

Open coding

999 = missing/no response

SAT2W: SAT2 Writing Score

Open coding

999 = missing/no response

SAT2ELEC: SAT2 Elective Score

Open coding

999 = missing/no response

ACT: Taken ACT

1 = NO
2 = YES

9 = missing/no response

ACTSCORE: ACT Score

Open coding

999 = missing/no response

FUTEXAMS: Plan to take the exams again or for the first time in the future?

1 = No
2 = Yes

9 = missing/no response

APCOURSE: Total number AP courses taken

1 = None
2 = One
3 = Two
4 = Three
5 = Four
6 = Five
7 = Six
8 = Seven
9 = Eight
10 = Nine
11 = Ten
12 = More than ten

99 = missing/no response

HNCOURSE: Total number of honor courses taken

1 = None
2 = One
3 = Two
4 = Three
5 = Four
6 = Five
7 = Six
8 = Seven
9 = Eight
10 = Nine
11 = Ten
12 = More than ten

99 = missing/no response

HSPREP: Student's opinion on how well high school has prepared them for college

1 = Not at all
2 = Not too well
3 = Somewhat
4 = Fairly well
5 = Extremely well

9 = missing/no response

DEGREASP: Highest degree aspiration

1 = Some College
2 = B.A./B.S.
3 = M.A./M.S.
4 = M.S.W./M.P.H./M.B.A.
5 = M.D./D.D.S./J.D.
6 = Ph.D./Ed.D.
7 = Other

9 = missing/no response

DEGCERT: Certainty to attain BA degree

1 = Not completely certain I will get my degree
2 = Completely certain, but not necessarily from the college I will attend next year
3 = Completely certain I will get my degree

9 = missing/no response

FAEDUC: Father's highest education level

1 = Less than high school
2 = Some high school
3 = High school graduate
4 = Some college
5 = B.A., B.S. Degree
6 = Graduate or professional degree

9 = missing/no response/not sure

MOEDUC: Mother's highest education level

1 = Less than high school
2 = Some high school
3 = High school graduate
4 = Some college
5 = B.A., B.S. Degree
6 = Graduate or professional degree

9 = missing/no response/not sure

FAOCC: Father's Occupation

Open

99 = missing/no response/not sure

MOOCC: Mother's Occupation

Open

99 = missing/no response/not sure

FAEDUS: Father Educated in the US

1 = NO
2 = YES

9 = missing/no response/not sure

FAEDBP: Father Educated at His Birthplace

1 = NO
2 = YES

9 = missing/no response/not sure

FAEDOC: Father Educated in Other Country from Birthplace and/or US

1 = NO
2 = YES

9 = missing/no response/not sure

MOEDUS: Mother Educated in the US

1 = NO
2 = YES

9 = missing/no response/not sure

MOEDBP: Mother Educated at Her Birthplace

1 = NO
2 = YES

9 = missing/no response/not sure

MOEDOC: Mother Educated in Other Country from Birthplace and/or US

1 = NO
2 = YES

9 = missing/no response/not sure

LANGABIL: How Fluent Does Your Parents Speak English?

1 = Not very well
2 = Somewhat well
3 = Very Fluent

9 = missing/no response

MILTARY1: Are either of your parents active/inactive in the military?

1 = NO
2 = YES

9 = missing/no response/not sure

MILTARY2: Which parent is in military?

1 = Father
2 = Mother

9 = missing/no response/not sure

MILTARY3: How long in the military?

Open

99 = missing/no response/not sure

RCOMP1: Racial composition of neighborhood where student lives

1 = All another ethnicity (than respondents)
2 = Mostly another ethnicity (than respondents)
3 = Half ethnicity of respondent, half another ethnicity (than respondents)
4 = Mostly ethnicity of respondent
5 = All of ethnicity of respondent

9 = missing/no response/not sure

RCOMP2: Racial composition of high school that student attends

1 = All another ethnicity (than respondents)
2 = Mostly another ethnicity (than respondents)
3 = Half ethnicity of respondent, half another ethnicity (than respondents)
4 = Mostly ethnicity of respondent
5 = All of ethnicity of respondent

9 = missing/no response/not sure

RCOMP3: Racial composition of friends at school

1 = All another ethnicity (than respondents)
2 = Mostly another ethnicity (than respondents)
3 = Half ethnicity of respondent, half another ethnicity (than respondents)
4 = Mostly ethnicity of respondent
5 = All of ethnicity of respondent

9 = missing/no response/not sure

RCOMPFND: Racial composition of friends at home (if different than friends at school)

1 = All another ethnicity (than respondents)
2 = Mostly another ethnicity (than respondents)
3 = Half ethnicity of respondent, half another ethnicity (than respondents)
4 = Mostly ethnicity of respondent
5 = All of ethnicity of respondent

9 = missing/no response/not sure

INFOSRC1: When I need information about college, I talk with my PARENT(S)

1 = Strongly disagree
2 = Disagree
3 = Agree
4 = Strongly Agree

9 = missing/no response/not sure/not applicable

INFOSRC2: When I need information about college, I talk with my SIBLING(S)

1 = Strongly disagree
2 = Disagree
3 = Agree
4 = Strongly Agree

9 = missing/no response/not sure/not applicable

INFOSRC3: When I need information about college, I talk with my FRIEND(S)

1 = Strongly disagree
2 = Disagree
3 = Agree
4 = Strongly Agree

9 = missing/no response/not sure/not applicable

INFOSRC4: When I need information about college, I talk with my COUNSELOR(S)

1 = Strongly disagree
2 = Disagree
3 = Agree
4 = Strongly Agree

9 = missing/no response/not sure/not applicable

INFOSRC5: When I need information about college, I talk with my TEACHER(S)

1 = Strongly disagree
2 = Disagree
3 = Agree
4 = Strongly Agree

9 = missing/no response/not sure/not applicable

INFOSRC6: When I need information about college, I talk with a ROLE MODEL

1 = Strongly disagree
2 = Disagree
3 = Agree
4 = Strongly Agree

9 = missing/no response/not sure/not applicable

INFOSRC7: When I need information about college, I look on the WORLD WIDE WEB

1 = Strongly disagree
2 = Disagree
3 = Agree
4 = Strongly Agree

9 = missing/no response/not sure/not applicable

BSTINFO1: Student most reliable information source about college

1 = Parent(s)
2 = Sibling(s)
3 = Other Relative (than immediate family)
4 = Friend(s)
5 = Counselor(s)
6 = Teacher(s)
7 = Internet
8 = College/Career Center
9 = Books/Magazines
10 = Programs (i.e. EAOP, Search, Summer Bridge, or any college or community outreach programs)

99 = Missing/No Response

BSTINFO2: Why response to BSTINFO1 is the best information source

Open

9 = Missing/No Response

APPENDIX D

FIELDSITES AND PARTICIPANTS

APPENDIX D-1

FIELDSITE DESCRIPTIONS

School Characteristics, Enrollment Rates, and Social Class Indicators, 1999

	Number and/or Percentage Among			
	Chinese Schools		Filipino Schools	
	Wilson High *(High-SES)*	Kennedy High *(Low-SES)*	Hoover High *(High-SES)*	Jackson High *(Low-SES)*
School Characteristics				
City Location	San Francisco	Monterey Park	Vallejo	Daly City
County Location	San Francisco	Los Angeles	Solano	San Mateo
Zip Code	94121	91803	94590	94014
Academic Track	traditional	traditional	traditional	traditional
Total Enrollment by Ethnicity				
Native American	11	2	25	2
Asian American	1,552	1,488	88	58
Filipino American	68	23	577	609
African American	209	10	474	127
Chicano/Latino	101	547	262	534
White/Caucasian	451	103	461	32
Total	2,392	2,173	1,884	1,362
Grade 12 Enrollment by Ethnicity				
Native American	0	0	0	0
Asian American	348	332	31	10
Filipino American	17	3	185	121
African American	42	0	104	18
Chicano/Latino	21	94	50	91
White/Caucasian	112	20	108	9
Total	540	449	478	249
Social Class Indicators				
AFDC	14%	35%	5%	6%
Federal Free Meal Eligibility	11%	30%	4%	22%
Parent Ed: No HS Diploma	19%	26%	7%	19%
Parent Ed: HS Diploma	19%	25%	20%	24%
Parent Ed: Some College	19%	17%	31%	23%
Parent Ed: College Grad	32%	24%	36%	31%
Parent Ed: Grad School	12%	8%	6%	3%
Parent Ed: Average	2.98:5	2.63:5	3.14:5	2.75:5

Data Source: California Department of Education, Academic Performance Indicators and the Educational Demographics Unit.

Teacher Characteristics, 1999

	Number and/or Percentage Among			
	Chinese Schools		Filipino Schools	
	Wilson High *(High-SES)*	Kennedy High *(Low-SES)*	Hoover High *(High-SES)*	Jackson High *(Low-SES)*
Total Number of Teachers	103	91	91	58
Average Num. Years Teaching	17	18	13	15
In First 2 Years Teaching (n)	9	11	29	9
In First 2 Years Teaching (%)	9%	12%	32%	16%
Full Credentials (n)	96	83	78	51
Full Credentials (%) *	93%	91%	85%	88%
University Interns (n)	0	0	0	0
University Interns (%)	0%	0%	0%	0%
District Interns (n)	0	0	0	0
District Interns (%)	0%	0%	0%	0%
Emergency Credentials (n)	4	8	11	5
Emergency Credentials (%)	4%	9%	12%	9%
Waivers (n)	2	0	3	2
Waivers (%)	2%	0%	3%	3%

Data Source: California Department of Education, Educational Demographics Unit.
Note: * Teacher credential data may not have been submitted or a teacher may hold one or more types of credential. As a result, percentages on this report may not add up to 100%.

Number of UC/CSU Courses by Type, 1999 *

	Number and/or Percentage Among			
	Chinese Schools		Filipino Schools	
	Wilson High *(High-SES)*	Kennedy High *(Low-SES)*	Hoover High *(High-SES)*	Jackson High *(Low-SES)*
English	87	75	38	49
Math	45	59	57	44
Science	67	40	36	35
Social Science	53	43	49	34
Foreign Language	55	41	35	10
Fine Arts	34	21	22	12
Health/Physical Education	45	47	43	36

Data Source: California Department of Education, Educational Demographics Unit.
Note: * Does include Advanced Placement (AP) and International Baccalaureate (IB) courses (if applicable).

AP Course Availability and Characteristics, 1999

	Number and/or Percentage Among			
	Chinese Schools		Filipino Schools	
	Wilson High *(High-SES)*	Kennedy High *(Low-SES)*	Hoover High *(High-SES)*	Jackson High *(Low-SES)*
AP English Courses	0	2	n/a *	1
Total Enrollment	--	43	--	30
Average Class Size	--	21.5	--	30.0
Number of FTE Teachers	--	0.4	--	0.2
AP Foreign Language Courses	1	1	n/a	0
Total Enrollment	3	24	--	--
Average Class Size	3.0	24.0	--	--
Number of FTE Teachers	0.1	0.2	--	--
AP Mathematics Courses	3	5	n/a	0
Total Enrollment	99	151	--	--
Average Class Size	33.0	30.3	--	--
Number of FTE Teachers	0.7	1.0	--	--
AP Science Courses	4	5	n/a	1
Total Enrollment	106	138	--	32
Average Class Size	26.5	27.6	--	32.0
Number of FTE Teachers	0.7	1	--	0.2
AP Social Science Courses	5	4	n/a	0
Total Enrollment	168	99	--	--
Average Class Size	33.6	24.8	--	--
Number of FTE Teachers	0.9	0.8	--	--
All AP Courses	13	17	n/a	2
Total Enrollment	376	455	--	62
Average Class Size	28.9	26.8	--	31.0
Number of FTE Teachers	2.5	3.4	--	0.4

Data Source: California Department of Education, Educational Demographics Unit.
Note: * Data was found to be erroneous for Hoover High School.

Vocational Course Availability and Characteristics, 1999

	Number and/or Percentage Among			
	Chinese Schools		Filipino Schools	
	Wilson High *(High-SES)*	Kennedy High *(Low-SES)*	Hoover High *(High-SES)*	Jackson High *(Low-SES)*
Marketing/Finance/Accounting	3	7	2	2
Total Enrollment	31	226	49	54
Average Class Size	10.3	32.3	24.5	27.0
Number of FTE Teachers	1.2	1.4	0.3	0.5
Word Processing/Computers	6	9	11	8
Total Enrollment	121	306	251	173
Average Class Size	20.2	34	22.8	21.6
Number of FTE Teachers	1.5	1.8	2.2	1.0
Home Economics/Nutrition	2	4	5	5
Total Enrollment	23	111	139	91
Average Class Size	11.5	27.8	27.8	36.4
Number of FTE Teachers	0.3	0.8	1	0.8
Woodshop	0	0	3	2
Total Enrollment	--	--	83	63
Average Class Size	--	--	27.7	31.5
Number of FTE Teachers	--	--	0.6	0.4
Automotives	4	5	0	3
Total Enrollment	100	101	--	88
Average Class Size	25.0	20.2	--	29.3
Number of FTE Teachers	0.8	1.0	--	0.6
Drafting/Graphics	2	10	5	2
Total Enrollment	33	227	138	64
Average Class Size	16.5	22.7	27.6	32.0
Number of FTE Teachers	0.3	2.0	1.0	0.4
Work Experience	0	1	4	4
Total Enrollment	--	34	72	111
Average Class Size	--	34	18.0	18.5
Number of FTE Teachers		1.0	0.6	2.3
All Vocational Courses	17	36	30	26
Total Enrollment	308	1,005	732	644
Average Class Size	18.1	27.9	24.4	24.7
Number of FTE Teachers	4.1	8.0	5.7	6.0

Data Source: California Department of Education, Educational Demographics Unit.

SAT and AP Examination Outcomes, 1999 *

	Number and/or Percentage Among			
	Chinese Schools		Filipino Schools	
	Wilson High *(High-SES)*	Kennedy High *(Low-SES)*	Hoover High *(High-SES)*	Jackson High *(Low-SES)*
SAT Indicators				
Number of SAT Exams	370	242	144	100
Average SAT Verbal Score	451	478	469	434
Average SAT Math Score	521	573	495	435
Average SAT V+M Score	972	1,051	964	869
AP Exam Indicators				
Number of AP Exam Takers	308	256	76	34
Number of Exams	815	463	110	34
Grade 1	145	34	25	8
Grade 2	215	77	31	17
Grade 3	212	117	28	7
Grade 4	183	132	16	2
Grade 5	60	103	10	0
Passing Grade (3 or higher)	455	352	54	9
Passing Rate (G3/Exams)	56%	76%	49%	26%

Data Source: California Department of Education, Educational Demographics Unit; UC Corporate Data Systems; College Board.
Note: * Test-taking rates and scores are for all students, not any particular grade level.

Public Postsecondary Educational Outcomes of Graduates, 1999

	Number and/or Percentage Among			
	Chinese Schools		Filipino Schools	
	Wilson High (Total: n=540) (Chinese: n=348)	Kennedy High (Total: n=449) (Chinese: n=332)	Hoover High (Total: n=478) (Filipinos: n=185)	Jackson High (Total: n=249) (Filipinos: n=121)
Grade 12 Enrollment by Ethnicity				
All students	540	449	478	249
Chinese Americans	348	332	31	10
Filipino Americans	17	3	185	121
UC Eligibility by Ethnicity				
All students	160 (30%)	133 (30%)	72 (15%)	20 (8%)
Chinese Americans	123 (35%)	128 (39%)	--	--
Filipino Americans	--	--	65 (35%)	12 (10%)
UC Mod. Eligibility by Ethnicity				
All students	29 (5%)	32 (7%)	10 (2%)	5 (2%)
Chinese Americans	23 (7%)	32 (10%)	--	--
Filipino Americans	--	--	1 (<1%)	0 (0%)
UC Comp. Eligibility by Ethnicity				
All students	13 (2%)	24 (5%)	4 (1%)	0 (0%)
Chinese Americans	7 (2%)	23 (7%)	--	--
Filipino Americans	--	--	2 (1%)	0 (0%)
UC Applicants by Ethnicity				
All students	160 (30%)	125 (28%)	65 (14%)	21 (8%)
Chinese Americans	115 (33%)	114 (34%)	--	--
Filipino Americans	--	--	38 (21%)	13 (11%)
UC Admits by Ethnicity				
All students	137 (25%)	104 (23%)	47 (10%)	15 (6%)
Chinese Americans	100 (29%)	93 (28%)	--	--
Filipino Americans	--	--	28 (15%)	9 (7%)
UC Enrollment by Ethnicity				
All students	102 (19%)	75 (17%)	29 (6%)	8 (3%)
Chinese Americans	80 (23%)	67 (20%)	--	--
Filipino Americans	--	--	16 (9%)	4 (3%)
CSU Enrollment by Ethnicity				
All students	91 (17%)	87 (19%)	48 (10%)	41 (16%)
Chinese Americans	60 (17%)	71 (21%)	--	--
Filipino Americans	--	--	32 (17%)	24 (20%)
CCC Enrollment by Ethnicity				
All students	273 (51%)	247 (55%)	214 (45%)	156 (63%)
Chinese Americans	181 (52%)	174 (52%)	--	--
Filipino Americans	--	--	83 (45%)	91 (76%)

Data Source: California Department of Education, Educational Demographics Unit.

APPENDIX D-2

PARTICIPANT DESCRIPTIONS

Background Characteristics of the Participant (and their Parents)

	Number and/or Percentage Among			
	Chinese Schools		Filipino Schools	
	Wilson HS *(High-SES)* (n=20)	Kennedy HS *(Low-SES)* (n=20)	Hoover HS *(High-SES)* (n=20)	Jackson HS *(Low-SES)* (n=20)
Citizenship				
U.S. citizen	15 (75%)	15 (75%)	18 (90%)	14 (70%)
Not U.S. citizen	5 (25%)	5 (25%)	2 (10%)	6 (30%)
Students' Birthplace				
U.S.	10 (50%)	12 (60%)	16 (80%)	10 (50%)
Philippines	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	4 (20%)	10 (50%)
China	3 (15%)	2 (10%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Hong Kong	4 (20%)	2 (10%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Taiwan	1 (5%)	3 (15%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Southeast Asian	1 (5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
South/Central America	1 (5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Parents' Educational Level				
Father –High school diploma or less	12 (60%)	14 (70%)	3 (15%)	4 (20%)
Mother – High school diploma or less	14 (70%)	12 (60%)	1 (5%)	5 (25%)
Father – Some college or more	8 (40%)	6 (30%)	17 (85%)	16 (80%)
Mother – Some college or more	6 (30%)	8 (40%)	19 (95%)	15 (75%)
Parents' Education Origins				
Father educated outside of U.S.	19 (95%)	17 (85%)	19 (95%)	20 (100%)
Mother educated outside of U.S.	19 (95%)	18 (90%)	17 (85%)	20 (100%)
Parents' English Proficiency				
Not very/Somewhat fluent	n/a *	13 (65%)	5 (25%)	9 (45%)
Very fluent	n/a	7 (35%)	15 (75%)	11 (55%)
Parents' Active/Inactive in U.S. Military				
Yes	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	6 (30%)	3 (15%)

Note: * Question not available on survey at the time of data collection at this school.

High School Achievement and Experiences

	Number and/or Percentage Among			
	Chinese Schools		Filipino Schools	
	Wilson HS *(High-SES)* (n=20)	Kennedy HS *(Low-SES)* (n=20)	Hoover HS *(High-SES)* (n=20)	Jackson HS *(Low-SES)* (n=20)
GPA				
A range (A+, A, A-)	7 (35%)	2 (10%)	3 (15%)	2 (10%)
B range (B+, B, B-)	12 (60%)	11 (55%)	10 (50%)	10 (50%)
C range (C+, C, C-)	1 (5%)	5 (35%)	7 (35%)	8 (40%)
AP Courses				
5 or more	13 (65%)	1 (5%)	1 (3%)	0 (0%)
3 to 4	4 (20%)	1 (5%)	3 (15%)	3 (15%)
1 to 2	3 (15%)	8 (40%)	7 (35%)	4 (20%)
None	0 (0%)	10 (50%)	9 (45%)	13 (65%)
Honor Courses				
5 or more	n/a *	2 (10%)	4 (20%)	0 (0%)
3 to 4	n/a	2 (10%)	3 (15%)	3 (15%)
1 to 2	n/a	5 (25%)	8 (40%)	5 (25%)
None	n/a	11 (55%)	5 (25%)	12 (60%)

Note: * Question not available on survey at the time of data collection at this school.

Performance on Standardized Exams

	Number and/or Percentage Among			
	Chinese Schools		Filipino Schools	
	Wilson HS *(High-SES)* (n=20)	Kennedy HS *(Low-SES)* (n=20)	Hoover HS *(High-SES)* (n=20)	Jackson HS *(Low-SES)* (n=20)
SAT I				
Taken the SAT I exam	18 (90%)	6 (30%)	14 (70%)	6 (30%)
SAT I – Average verbal score	498.33	518.33	438.21	430.00
SAT I – Average math score	609.44	606.67	543.93	410.00
SAT I – Average total score (V + M)	1107.78	1125.00	1052.86	840.00
SAT II				
Taken the SAT II exam	12 (60%)	5 (25%)	7 (35%)	0 (0%)
SAT II –Writing average	501.43	565.00	575.00	--
SAT II – Math average	650.00	657.50	609.00	--
SAT II – Elective average	613.75	722.00	582.50	--
ACT				
Taken the ACT exam	1 (5%)	0 (0%)	1 (5%)	0 (0%)
ACT – Average score	24.00	--	27.00	--
Future Exams				
Plan to take an exam in the future	14 (70%)	14 (70%)	7 (35%)	14 (70%)

Degree Aspirations and Expectations

	Number and/or Percentage Among			
	Chinese Schools		Filipino Schools	
	Wilson HS *(High-SES)* (n=20)	Kennedy HS *(Low-SES)* (n=20)	Hoover HS *(High-SES)* (n=20)	Jackson HS *(Low-SES)* (n=20)
Degree Aspirations				
Some college	0 (0%)	2 (10%)	3 (15%)	4 (20%)
B.A./B.S.	7 (35%)	8 (40%)	8 (40%)	4 (20%)
M.A./M.S./M.S.W./M.P.H./M.B.A	10 (50%)	9 (45%)	6 (30%)	7 (35%)
M.D./D.D.S./J.D./Ph.D.	3 (15%)	1 (5%)	3 (15%)	5 (25%)
B.A. Certainty				
Not completely certain	2 (10%)	2 (10%)	2 (10%)	7 (35%)
Will get it, but not from first college	4 (20%)	7 (35%)	13 (65%)	5 (25%)
Completely certain will get it	14 (70%)	11 (55%)	5 (25%)	8 (40%)

Racial Composition of Neighborhood, High School, and Friends

	Number and/or Percentage Among			
	Chinese Schools		Filipino Schools	
	Wilson HS *(High-SES)* (n=20)	Kennedy HS *(Low-SES)* (n=20)	Hoover HS *(High-SES)* (n=20)	Jackson HS *(Low-SES)* (n=20)
Neighborhood Racial Composition				
All/Mostly student's ethnicity	4 (20%)	8 (40%)	2 (10%)	8 (40%)
Half other/Half student's	14 (70%)	9 (45%)	7 (35%)	9 (45%)
All/Mostly another ethnicity	2 (10%)	3 (15%)	11 (55%)	3 (15%)
High School Racial Composition				
All/Mostly student's ethnicity	14 (70%)	6 (30%)	0 (0%)	6 (30%)
Half other/Half student's	6 (30%)	12 (60%)	10 (50%)	13 (65%)
All/Mostly another ethnicity	0 (0%)	2 (10%)	10 (50%)	1 (5%)
School Friends Racial Composition				
All/Mostly student's ethnicity	14 (70%)	15 (75%)	13 (65%)	13 (65%)
Half other/Half student's	6 (30%)	3 (15%)	5 (25%)	6 (30%)
All/Mostly another ethnicity	0 (0%)	2 (10%)	2 (10%)	1 (5%)
Home Friends Racial Composition				
All/Mostly student's ethnicity	12 (60%)	15 (65%)	17 (85%)	16 (80%)
Half other/Half student's	8 (40%)	4 (20%)	3 (15%)	3 (15%)
All/Mostly another ethnicity	0 (0%)	3 (15%)	0 (0%)	1 (5%)

College Information Sources

	Number and/or Percentage Among			
	Chinese Schools		Filipino Schools	
	Wilson HS *(High-SES)* (n=20)	Kennedy HS *(Low-SES)* (n=20)	Hoover HS *(High-SES)* (n=20)	Jackson HS *(Low-SES)* (n=20)
Use of Info. Sources (Agree/Strongly Agree)				
Parents	6 (30%)	12 (60%)	12 (60%)	11 (55%)
Siblings	9 (45%)	9 (45%)	10 (50%)	10 (50%)
Friends	16 (80%)	18 (90%)	19 (95%)	16 (80%)
Counselors	17 (85%)	18 (90%)	15 (75%)	16 (80%)
Teachers	12 (60%)	17 (85%)	17 (85%)	16 (80%)
Role models	19 (95%)	11 (55%)	11 (55%)	10 (50%)
Internet	19 (95%)	18 (90%)	17 (85%)	10 (50%)
Most Reliable Info. Source				
Parents	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (10%)	0 (0%)
Siblings	3 (15%)	1 (5%)	6 (30%)	4 (20%)
Other relative	1 (5%)	4 (20%)	1 (5%)	3 (15%)
Friends	8 (40%)	6 (30%)	3 (15%)	4 (20%)
Counselor	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	4 (20%)	5 (25%)
Teacher	0 (0%)	5 (25%)	1 (5%)	2 (10%)
Internet	6 (30%)	0 (0%)	3 (15%)	1 (5%)
College/Career center	1 (5%)	1 (5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Outreach programs	1 (5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (5%)

APPENDIX E

STUDENT ASPIRATIONS

APPENDIX E-1

MATRIX OF STUDENTS' FIELDS OF KNOWLEDGE *

	Number of Mentions **			
	Chinese Schools		Filipino Schools	
	Wilson HS (High-SES)	Kennedy HS (Low-SES)	Hoover HS (High-SES)	Jackson HS (Low-SES)
Institutional Type				
Community college	2	9	9	13
Trade school	0	3	4	3
Cal. State University	8	11	13	11
University of California	19	10	11	4
Institutional Control				
Public	20	20	17	17
Private	7	5	2	0
Institutional Location				
In state	20	20	19	20
Out of state	6	0	1	0
Other Options				
Military	0	0	4	3
Take time off	0	0	1	2
Undecided	0	8	2	3
Major Aspirations				
Art/Music	0	0	2	0
Computers	9	10	7	14
Business	4	3	0	0
Biology	1	0	0	0
Physics	1	0	0	0
Engineering	3	3	4	2
Pre-med.	0	0	2	2
Social science	2	1	2	1
Trade	0	0	1	4
Undecided	1	8	9	8
Occupational Aspirations				
Computers	9	10	7	14
Business	3	3	0	0
Biology	1	0	0	0
Engineering	4	1	4	2
Medical field	0	0	2	2
Performance art	0	0	2	0
Vocational	0	0	1	4
Undecided	2	8	9	8

Note: * Fields of knowledge are the set information that bounds the students' distributions of possible aspirations.

** Counts were applied to any mention of these codes therefore a single student could mention more than one aspiration under each code.

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