

Social Capital for Korean Immigrant Children's Education in the U.S.

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미국 내 한국 이민자 자녀의 교육을 위한 사회적 자본

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Abstract Social capital is an important resource for Korean immigrant children's successful school life in the U.S. because most immigrants are not familiar to new language and culture. However, immigrant parents and their children have limited ability to join and create social networks freely both inside and outside school. We, the researchers of this study, adopted qualitative research method: open-ended in-depth interview, coding and analysis based on grounded theory. The result of this study reveals that Korean immigrant parents utilize their coethnic networks in getting educational information and English plays important role in educational decision-making process of the parents.

요약 대부분의 이민자들은 새로운 언어와 문화에 익숙하지 않기 때문에 미국의 한국 이민자 자녀들에게는 사회적 자본이 절실하다. 그러나 이민자 부모들과 그 자녀들은 학교 안팎에서 사회 관계망을 형성하는데 제한적인 수밖에 없다. 이 연구를 위해 연구자들은 개방적 심층면담과 근거이론에 기반한 자료의 코딩과 분석과 같은 질적연구 방법을 사용하였다. 연구 결과 한국 이민자 부모들이 동족 관계망을 형성해 교육적 정보를 획득하고 교육적 의사결정을 내린다는 것을, 그리고 영어가 이러한 교육적 의사결정에 중요한 영향을 미치는 것이 밝혀졌다.

Key Words : coethnic network, English education, immigrant, multicultural, social capital, study abroad

1. Introduction

Following the Immigration Act of 1965, Koreans began to immigrate in large numbers to the United States during the 70's. The act abolished the national origins quota system, thereby facilitating the immigration of Korean families who had relatives in the States. This third wave of Korean immigration would become the largest; the majority of Korean-Americans living in the US today came in this wave. Their education level, like that of other Asian immigrants—

Japanese, Chinese, and Filipino—was high [1].

Asian immigrant communities, including Korean, continue to grow fast. The U.S. is home to 13.5 million Asian-Americans, representing 4.7 percent of the total population and 66 percent of the population is foreign born [2]. The traditional portrait of immigration has been depicted as "a one-way escape from hunger, want, and persecution and their arrival on U.S. shores as not too different from that of tired, 'huddled masses' that Emma Lazarus immortalized at the base of the Stature of Liberty" [3: 13]. What's different, however, is

An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Annual Meeting of American Educational Research Association in New Orleans, April, 2011.

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Received March 14, 2014

Revised April 8, 2014

Accepted April 10, 2014

that recent Asian immigrants arrive with wealth and higher levels of education [1,4,5]. Nearly half of Asian-Americans(48%) hold bachelor's degrees or higher, a much higher proportion than the overall American population(27%) [2].

Korean parents know all too well how hard it is to find high quality English instruction in Korea. Many Korean parents dream, whether they are able to make it or not, of immigrating to the U.S. to immerse their children in an English-speaking environment [6]. An increasing number of researchers are studying the phenomenon of early study abroad and of Korean students in the U.S. [6-10]. Some are calling this decade-long trend of Koreans flocking to English-speaking countries an "educational exodus" [11,12]. Some families cannot move themselves whole to another country; they form a new type of immigration. One parent, usually the mother, migrates with her children to the U.S. The spouse remains in Korea, working, to financially support the family. In 2005, researchers estimated these types of family arrangements to number about 40,000 [13]. This form of immigration is necessary for the children because it "is the only way they will learn English enough to survive in the globalized world" [14: 159]. Another researcher reminds us that English is the global language, that economic and cultural globalization is ascendant. English as a language seems to have dominion over the world [15].

Korean immigrants are not only racial minorities but also linguistic and cultural minorities in the U.S. Like other immigrant groups in the U.S., Koreans must assimilate linguistically. Their linguistic range limits their capacities.

We will first review the literature on the heritage language learning of immigrant students in the U.S. as well as their identity. Then using the theoretical frameworks of social capital and English language imperialism, we will attempt to answer the following research questions:

- How do Korean immigrant parents get educational

information for their children?

- To what extent does English affect the educational decision-making process of Korean immigrant parents?

2. Literature Review

One of the central questions of immigrants' social capital research is whether coethnic networks have positive effects on forming the social capital of immigrants. Some studies [16-19] focus more on the positive effects of coethnic networks while other studies [20-22] reveal some concerns about both negative and positive effects of social capital of coethnic networks.

On the other hand, there are some scholars [23-26] who insist that English holds a hegemonic power, effectively oppressing the lives of people who don't speak it natively.

2.1 Immigrants' coethnic Networks as a Form of Social Capital

"Social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to membership in a group" [27: 102-103], and the ability of actors "to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks or other structures" [28: 6]. Even though social capital is praised more and more for its novelty and heuristic power, Portes concludes that social capital does not have any new idea to define it afresh [28]. Instead, Portes asserts that two things explain its popularity. First, scholars who employ the concept pay attention to its positive consequences. Second, not many "such nonmonetary forms can be important sources of power and influence" [28: 2].

Coleman, on the other hand, stresses the importance of two social structures that facilitate social capital [29]. First, the social structure that facilitates social capital is the closure of social networks. According to Coleman, the closure of social networks is the

foundation of effective norms and trustworthiness in social structures. Second, Coleman notes how social organization can be appropriated. Once a social organization is created, it works for other purposes.

Social capital is especially important to immigrants whose financial capital is relatively low and who have limited social relations in the host country. Some studies [5,16,28] show how ethnic minorities acquire social capital within their closed social networks. Zhou studies how Vietnamese [18], Chinese [19], and Korean [5] students and their parents acquire social capital from their coethnic networks. According to [16], new immigrants get the greatest support from their ethnic enclaves, such as Chinatown and Koreatown.

2.2 English Linguistic Imperialism

Crystal insists that "the present-day world status of English is primarily the result of the expansion of British colonial power, which peaked towards the end of the nineteenth century" [23: 53]. Strevens describes in more detail the process of international adaptation of English after most colonies of Britain became independent states [26]. He explains that "the role and function of English changed from being an instrument of subservience to other, quite different ends, such as a 'window on the world of science and technology,' or as the only language not rejected by one section of the population or another" [26: 30]. Crystal maintains, however, that this latter factor has sustained the position of the English language as a global language [23].

Globalization has been used to explain the economic process of free trade - the free movement of goods as well as people internationally [24]. The increased economic interactions between countries affect the use of language around the world. Strevens asserts that English is the international language because of, "the emergence of a number of activities, movements, and subjects that are carried out predominantly (though not exclusively) in English across the world" [28: 30].

According to [24], however, "[g]lobalization is a

process which is only partially complete and which those who benefit most are seeking to extend" [26: 204]. Phillipson claims that on the linguistic side of this globalization is "English linguistic imperialism" [25]. His English linguistic imperialism is combined with two characteristics of English: imperialism and linguicism. We can understand "imperialism" to mean hegemony. Phillipson explains that "[h]egemony refers to dominant ideas that we take for granted. English has a hegemonic position in many former colonies" [25: 72]. According to [30], hegemony "subordinat[es] the group seeking hegemony." Hence, the hegemonic position of English can be found not only in the former colonies, but also in the U.S. where minority groups are forced to learn "standard" English. [31] criticize that the current sentiments of anti-bilingualism or the English-only movement are forms of colonialism.

2.3 Immigrant Children's Heritage

Language Use

Portes and Hao conducted a survey of more than 5,000 eighth- and ninth-grade immigrant students in two metropolitan areas [32]. They found that 94% of the students were fluent in English, but only 10% second-generation Asian immigrant students were fluent bilinguals. This result rather replicates that of [33]. In studying linguistic minority children, Fillmore exposed internal and external pressures children were under to use only English. She claimed that such pressures caused these children's home languages to disappear.

The path to success in the U.S. begins with learning English. Many immigrant students, however, learn more discouragement than anything else. Some of them give up before they finish their public schooling [34]. The process of second language learning does not always extinguish the primary language. "But it does often enough in societies like the United States and Canada where linguistic or ethnic diversity are not especially valued" [35: 341]. The problem of the limited bilingualism in the U.S. is that it is "one-way

bilingualism" or "subtractive bilingualism," which weakens the home language as students learn the new language [32].

When immigrant parents educate in English rather than their home language it's a form of parental sacrifice. According to [35], 80% of Korean immigrant parents want their children to learn the Korean language in U.S. public schools. Despite immigrant parents' cherishing their culture and language, they want their children to speak English more fluently than their home language. Some researchers [36–38] study the gap between parents' expectations of and students' experiences with Americanization. In [36], first generation parents reported that their cultural identity was mixed or Americanized while their children thought that their parents were totally Korean. Another researcher told that Korean immigrant parents "cannot successfully hold both Korean and American attitudes" [43: 330]. Parts of Korean parents' lives are Americanized but not everything can be changed or mixed with Korean culture [39].

3. Method

We employed open-ended interviews in order to gather data. The interviews, however, were done based on our interview protocol. The interview protocol guided me to ask interviewees, but did not limit me not to ask further questions. Hence, the interviews were conducted as an open-ended conversation [40]. While the interview was being conducted, we took notes to capture themes emerging during the interview session. All interviews in this study were conducted in Korean. The average length of an interview was about 100 minutes. The coding process followed the grounded theory method to identify themes emerging in interviews [41]. Audio files of the interviews were transcribed. Transcripts were read thoroughly several times before coding; then general categories were generated as open codes. The open coding process

yielded 18 initial codes. A free computer software, Weft QDA (v. 1.01), was used to review the data with one or more than one code simultaneously. Through the process of rereading texts of interconnected codes, six major themes were identified that described how the Korean immigrant parents acquired educational knowledge and information and how English affected their lives. Finally, two stories were developed from the interconnections among the six themes.

3.1 Sampling

Five Korean parents who have children in elementary and secondary schools were recruited for this study. The participants were recruited one by one through telephone calls. The purpose of the study, the participants' rights, and the time limit were explained in the prospective participants' first language, Korean. The prospective participants were also informed that there would be no benefit by participating in this study and consequently they could stop participating in this study any time without any loss of expected benefit. After receiving the oral consents from the prospective participants, we collected written consent forms before starting each interview. Because Korean population comprised less than 1% of total population of the city, we used typical case and snowballing sampling methods for data collection [42]. These sampling methods were fruitful for the study for three reasons. First, it was easy for me to trace the interaction between current interviewee and prospective next interviewee appearing in interviews. In interviews, key players would come up who had interactions in sharing educational knowledge and information. Before conducting interviews, it was hard to find those typical cases. Second, getting consent from volunteers who did not know the researcher was difficult. Because most interviewees were female, recommendations from previous interviewees helped me, a male researcher, to contact the prospective interviewees easily. Third, we needed to keep the number of interviews as small as possible in order to explore broadly within the limited

number of interviews. This small number of samples also allowed me to study in depth.

3.2 Coding and Analysis

The coding process followed the grounded theory method to identify themes emerging in interviews [41]. Audio files of the interviews were transcribed. Transcripts were read thoroughly several times before coding; then general categories were generated as open codes. The open coding process yielded 18 initial codes. A free computer software, Weft QDA (v. 1.01), was used to review the data with one or more than one code simultaneously. Through the process of rereading texts of interconnected codes, six major themes were identified that described how the Korean immigrant parents acquired educational knowledge and information and how English affected their lives. Finally, two stories were developed from the interconnections among the six themes. Pseudonyms have been adopted for all the names appearing in this paper.

4. Findings

4.1 English, Non-Negotiable

It is hard to learn good oral English in Korea. Some Korean immigrant parents, seeking "perfect" English, pay a lot to immigrate to the U.S. For the Korean immigrant parents in this study, English education was the greatest obtainable benefit in coming here. With their family business facing challenges, the Min family immigrated to the U.S. to get an English education. When Mr. Lee's employer stopped sponsoring the family's visas, an English education was why they decided to remain in the U.S. Even for Mrs. Hong, a 1.5-generation immigrant, English education figured largely in her decision to take her children with her back to Korea. She needed the peace of mind knowing that they could attend an international school accredited by U.S. authorities.

Because of their lack of linguistic and cultural confidence, these Korean parents considered the Korean language not as important as English—even when considering a return to Korea. Mrs. Min regretted not observing Korean holidays in the U.S. She thought her children had forgotten many Korean traditional proprieties despite having lived here for only three and a half years. She also told me that some students who returned to Korea before they finished their schooling in the U.S. have many troubles in Korea. Mrs. Lee believes her children will be able to find work in Korea if they have an American degree and work experience. Indeed, many Korean educational institutions and companies prefer English speakers. Yet not one of the Korean immigrant parents said s/he did not care about the Korean language development of their children. On the contrary, they told me how they valued Korean language and culture in their homes. All the children of the Korean immigrant parents of this study had attended Korean language schools. None of them, however, were currently attending Korean language schools. As the children grow up, the role that English speaking plays in their academic lives becomes more important. In effect, the resources parents devote to learning English force them to push to the margin Korean language learning.

Korean immigrant parents have other means of learning about the U.S. education system besides coethnic networks. Korean parents also gather information through school involvement. Their collection methods, however, differ from conventional ones. Because many immigrant parents lack English proficiency, they can't fully participate in school activities and volunteering. According to Mrs. Lee, most Korean parents do not attend meetings with counselors. She explains that Korean mothers are reluctant to participate in those meetings without their husbands because their spoken English does not match their husbands'. Mrs. Min said, "I participate in all school events. It is a good opportunity to meet parents if the school has book fairs or something like that." We

asked her if she meant Korean parents. She answered, "No. I hardly see Korean parents at those events." (Transcript of Interview with Mins, p. 9, interviewed on 2/16/2010)

Even those Korean mothers who volunteer want to participate only in non-verbal activities. It is not because the school or the teacher does not provide the opportunities, but the parents worry their lack of English proficiency might ruin the activities. Mrs. Min explains:

Even if I do[have opportunities to volunteer], it is very hard because my English is limited. Oh, I did that, preparing a small party in the classroom, which did not require speaking. (Laughs) The teacher said that anything and anytime was O.K. I couldn't communicate freely. . . . But, I want to do much. I wanted to learn English by doing soBut, there is a line. [I] wanted to do this and that, and the teacher said everything that I did was good . . . I, myself If something went wrong because of my [miscommunication]

(Transcript of Interview with Mins, p. 7, interviewed on 2/16/2010)

In spite of their language barrier, the Korean immigrant parents interviewed are all actively involved in their children's schooling. They prefer, however, written over oral communication with the teacher or the school. They prefer printed newsletters, electronic bulletins, web sites, and e-mail. They tend to avoid face to face meetings or phone calls. This may explain why, in some of the literature, immigrant parents appear to show low and passive school involvement. This does not mean that they are not interested in participating in school activities. Rather, the forms of school involvement that immigrant parents prefer are different from that of other parents. Korean immigrant parents invest more time to compensate for their weakness. Mrs. Min, who has lived in the U.S. for three years, writes a letter when she needs a quick response from a teacher. She doesn't call or e-mail. Sometimes teachers don't reply quickly to e-mails and making a phone call is still a hard task for her. When she sends a letter through her child, however, she always gets an answer because the teacher writes back

in front of her child.

These Korean immigrant parents are actively involved in school events, but they shy away from appearing aggressively involved. They worry that such behavior might have negative repercussions for how their children are treated at school. Mrs. Hong feared her niece would not be able to go to Harvard because she hadn't taken enough Advanced Placement (AP) courses. It was hard for her niece to take dual credit courses outside her Christian private school even though she graduated as valedictorian. Mrs. Hong got the impression that the school did not encourage students to take courses outside the institution, even for classes the school did not offer. Hence, she decided not to oppose the school's policy. Also, Mrs. Lee did not take any further action when her daughter and her friends could not find a supervisor for a new math club. She even saw some U.S. parents transfer their children to another school. Nevertheless, she did not try contacting the principal to discuss the issue. It's tempting to think this lack of initiative is a result of unfamiliarity with the education system. Mrs. Hong, however, arrived in the U.S. about 35 years ago as an 8th grader. Mrs. Lee has lived in the U.S. for 14 years. In these cases their level of experience with U.S. education was clearly not the issue.

One reason for the unequal relationship between the two languages is based on an insatiable hunger for acculturation. Mrs. Lee reports,

Even someone who is comfortable in using English has cultural differences to [native English speakers]. Even if I am fluent in English, [I have to think that] "Is it O.K. to ask it or not" because my culture is different from that of the U.S." (Transcript of Interview with Lee, p. 9, interviewed on 2/11/2010).

Even if they learn "perfect" English, Korean immigrants think that they cannot become "real" Americans. During the interviews, all the interviewees called themselves Korean, and other American immigrants as Chinese, Vietnamese, and (Asian) Indian. They defined themselves as members of an ethnic group before citizens or residents of the U.S. As

we stated before, Mrs. Baek did not recognize herself as a resident of the U.S. even though she was a "green card" holder and had lived in U.S. for more than 10 years. Moreover, Korean immigrant parents participate in U.S. communities mainly through the internet while they meet coethnic group members directly.

4.2 coethnic networks as information sources

Korean immigrant parents accumulate knowledge extensively from members of their coethnic networks. Most interviewees from our study reported that they accumulated their educational knowledge from Korean immigrants they met at Korean language schools (Mrs. Baek), ethnic churches (Mrs. Baek and Mrs. Min), and workplaces (Mrs. Lee). The process of collecting information, however, was not easy. Too much information, in fact, can be overwhelming. Because of the diverse characteristics of U.S. education, there is no standardized information about it. There are large differences among states, school districts, and individual schools. Mrs. Hong pointed out that Korean immigrant parents came to the U.S. with a lot of information about school already. Some of this information, however, gathered from the internet, books, and study abroad agents, was impractical. She insisted that a good school was not always good for a particular student. Because of individual differences, certain schools falling short of good reputations could be the best choice for some students. For example, a new immigrant with less than fluent English might find encouragement at a less competitive school. Top schools, on the other hand, are already filled with competitive students. Hence, it would be hard for a new arrival to become an outstanding student there. Mrs. Hong said,

[The schools] that are well known in Korea through the internet are already filled with many Koreans. As time goes by, the competition among Asian students in those well known schools will be more intense. East Ridge High is more competitive now.

(Transcript of Interview with Mrs. Hong, pp. 8-9, interviewed on 2/11/2010)

One effect of lacking good knowledge about the U.S. educational system is a change in the balance of power between immigrant parents and their children. Many students of Korean immigrant families exercise more authority in decision-making about their education than do their counterparts in Korea. Mrs. Lee told me that students from recent immigrant families tend to decide on educational issues by themselves because their parents do not have much knowledge of the U.S. educational system.

If parents knew better, they would decide better. Definitely it is O.K. if their child has high ambitions for academic achievement. However, whose child loves to study hard? If the child takes harder [sic. easier] courses, some parents do not know about it. If the parents knew more, they might let their child take harder courses according to their child's level. Some children choose courses for an easy life. Then they can't go to good colleges even though they are capable of better ones.

(Transcript of Interview with Lee, p. 11, interviewed on 2/11/2010).

On the other hand, the power relationship between parent and student is quite different when a parent has more knowledge and experience about U.S. education. Life and educational experiences in the U.S. play key roles in decision-making. When her second daughter became a 10th grader, Mrs. Hong sent her to a public school. Up until then since she was a 3rd grader she had attended private schools. It took less than two months for Mrs. Hong to be shocked by the nature of adolescent culture at public high schools. She decided to home school her daughter. These may be extreme examples, but knowledge of an educational system appeared to determine the extent of Korean immigrant parents' decision-making.

Hence, inexperienced Korean immigrant parents need two things: to distinguish good from bad information and to meet people who can provide good information. Those sources of good information are few. In this paper, we refer to them as "knowledge holders." This study's participants reported certain necessary conditions for knowledge seekers to get advice from "knowledge holders." First, a "knowledge holder's" son

or daughter should occupy a grade higher than that of the knowledge seeker's child. If the children are in the same grade, the exchange of knowledge happens rarely. Both sets of parents see their student's counterpart as a competitor. Mrs. Min told me, "Sometimes, I regret giving them information right after. Even if they were not in our [children's] school, they will be [my children's] competitors"(Transcript of Interview with Mins, p. 12, interviewed on 2/16/2010). In Korea the competition among same age groups is intense. Mrs. Min said that parents lie about not hiring tutors for their children in Korea when indeed they do. Also, Mrs. Lee said,

However, these parents said their children went to good schools. For example, if their son or daughter went to a good school, then they told about what they did after the entire process has passed. They don't appear to deliberate on one of the other's problem together when they also in the same stage.

(Transcript of Interview with Mrs. Lee, p. 10, interviewed on 2/11/2010).

Parents trust more another parent's information if that parent's child has already completed the grade. For example, Mrs. Min sought advice on how to get her son into an advanced math course. Her source was a mother of a higher grade level (7th grade) student who attended the same school as her son.

Here the school has PACE Math something program. It's an advanced class for those students who do well in math. I got some information about it. My son is in the regular class even though he can take a more advanced course. He always gets 90, 100 points. I showed the transcripts to the mother whose son is in 7th grade. Then she asked me, "Why didn't your son get into the class? Why is he not in the PACE class? He should be there." So, she told me that Peaceful Ranch ISD does not authorize anything gotten from Madison ISD, such as ESL and so on. So my son should have gotten tested again. Then she told me "Sister, you should visit school with your son. Why couldn't he take the course with this score?" So I visited the school and now got the information. I was told that the test is in summer.

(Transcript of Interview with Mins, p. 10, interviewed on 2/16/2010)

Second, the high academic achievement level of the "knowledge holder's" child is an important condition for

the exchange of educational knowledge. The child of "knowledge holder" should be as bright, academically, as the child in need of advice. The mother of 7th grader above was able to provide the information about the advanced math class because her son had taken the same course. Also, a parent who has a model child is perceived as a model parent. It means that parents are evaluated by their children's academic achievement level.

While one told every thing about academic camps, her child didn't get admitted. Then people would say, "Look. She Mother knew every thing. But her child didn't get in." The parents may worry about it. I think so. If others know that another's child was admitted, they might say, "She the mother did well. Her child is so smart."

(Transcript of Interview with Mrs. Lee, p. 10, interviewed on 2/11/2010).

And still, even if parents meet the previous two conditions, they may still fail to receive the sought-after advice if they have no close relationship with the "knowledge holders." Mrs. Mintold me, "I give them all information only if they are really close to me" (Transcript of Interview with Mins, p. 12, interviewed on 2/16/2010). The close relationship could be kinship between the "knowledge holder" and "knowledge seeker." However, no Korean immigrant parents of this study mentioned their relatives as their current "knowledge holders." Relatives and friends they knew before coming to the U.S. were helpful when they settled in the U.S. Such help, however, is not that useful after the early stages of settling in. After that stage, they need to find "knowledge holders" that can provide them with customized knowledge. "Knowledge holders" are not found from a general run of Korean immigrants. The Korean immigrant parents of this study, however, find "knowledge holders" from their coethnic networks, such as coethnic churches and Korean language schools. Mrs. Lee, who does not attend church, reported that her most frequent dinner guests were fellow alumni or Korean visiting engineers from her husband's company.

Finally, "knowledge holders" are not perfect "knowledge holders." They too must gather more

knowledge and information from others because knowledge exchanges are personal, one-way, and on a one-time basis.

5. Conclusion and Discussion

Some of the literature on Asian immigrants stress the role played by financial sacrifices of parents to better their children's education. Yet not one of the Korean immigrant parents in this study gave up job opportunities by moving to America or to different places within America. They always put their job security first and sought better educational resources within their budget limits.

For the parents, however, English is the means to educational excellence as well as the barrier to mainstream U.S. communities. Most of the Korean immigrant parents in this study feared speaking English, causing them to stress their children the importance of English over Korean. Intriguing relationships exist between subordinating the learning of Korean to the learning of English, and negotiating economic security and a child's quality education.

Most interesting, we think, are these parents' selective use of their negotiating abilities. They are adept at negotiating their children's quality education without sacrificing their economic security. They show little aptitude for negotiating the acquisition of a new language and the retention of a heritage language.

Social capital, which [27] defines as the resources of mutual acquaintances' network, is a popular analytic concept to understand many social and educational phenomena. Especially, social capital is an important resource for immigrant, minority, or working class parents and their children. Upper-middle class white parents freely join and create social networks both inside and outside school. For several reasons, however, immigrant, ethnic minority, or working class parents, have limited ability to do likewise. The literature describes some immigrant parents, for

example, as showing low school involvement. Many immigrant parents passively interact with the school, its teachers, and other parents because of their low proficiency in English. We expected that Korean immigrant parents might want to meet other Korean immigrant parents at school and interact actively with them. No participants, however, reported meeting "knowledge holders" or expressed interest in meeting Korean immigrant parents at school. Some parents were in fact wary of other Korean parents. The participants appeared leery of the excessive claims that could be made on them by other Korean parents. Seeking out "knowledge holders" from coethnic networks requires a great deal of effort. According to [29], the closure of social networks is one of important social structures that facilitate social capital. The Korean immigrant parents in this study, however, did not organize their dedicated groups within their coethnic networks. Their coethnic networks, such as coethnic churches and Korean language schools, were too loose to facilitate enough social capital for Korean immigrant parents. If they have Korean parents' organizations at their school, the parents would be better served, saving time in parenting their children and adjusting to the U.S. for themselves.

5.1 Limitation and research suggestions

The research participants of this study were not a good sample group in terms of representing Korean immigrant parents population. Rather, they are close to the image of "model minorities." They are middle-class, highly educated and relatively wealthy. Hence, their social structural background is better than the general population of Korean immigrants. As some studies on immigrants revealed [16,18,43,44], working class urban Korean immigrant parents may behave differently. Hence, we hope that further studies will be done with more general Korean immigrant population.

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