

ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE AND CULTURAL ADAPTATION
OF SOUTH KOREAN PARACHUTE KIDS

A Dissertation

Submitted to

The Temple University Graduate Board

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

Keunah Han

May 2012

Examining Committee Members:

Will Jordan, Advisory Chair, Urban Education

Eli Goldblatt, English

Steven Gross, Educational Administration

Joseph Ducette, External Member, Educational Psychology

Jill Swavely, External Member, CITE

©
by Keunah Han
2012
All Rights Reserved

ABSTRACT

Academic Performance and Cultural Adaptation of South Korean Parachute Kids

Keunah Han

Doctor of Philosophy

Temple University, 2012

Will Jordan, Chair

This study investigates how Korean Parachute Kids perform academically in their schools and what social factors contribute to Korean Parachute Kids' academic performance. Korean children who came to the U.S. for educational purposes without their parental supervision are called 'Korean Parachute Kids'. They have several characteristics: most of them come from high SES families, their parents have high expectations of their children and force them to go to the U.S., Korean Parachute Kids are pressured to attend Ivy League colleges, and their parents tend to compensate for their absence with money or presents. Korean Parachute Kids who come to the United States without their parents encounter many problems, both academically and socially. Many Korean Parachute Kids struggle to adjust and face academic failure due to language barriers, cultural differences, and the different curricula in the U.S.. This failure occurs even though acquiring an education is the reason for Korean Parachute Kids' stay in the U.S. and is what their parents have invested exorbitant amounts of money. In light of the absence of their parents, many Korean Parachute Kids' behaviors go unchecked, which may, in

turn, cause these children to be maladjusted in many aspects of their school lives. Korean parents' high expectation for their children's academic success is regarded as one of the factors that cause their children to misbehave.

Research is needed in order to inform Korean parents and Korean and U.S. society about the academic and social implications of early study abroad for Korean children. Guidelines should also be provided in order for Korean parents to discern what the good and bad aspects of early study abroad in the U.S. are for their children. This research will also be beneficial to educators in America in that they will be aware of Korean Parachute Kids' academic and social difficulties in school since the number of Korean Parachute kids who study in the U.S. continues to increase.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

“The Lord will work out his plans for my life - for your faithful love, O Lord, endures forever.

Don't abandon me, for you made me. (Psalm 138:8)”

I truly experience Psalm 138:8 in my life and I want to give thanks to my amazing God who leads me to walk along the path. It has been a long journey to complete my Ph.D. I should confess that I could not have done this without God’s help and guide. I experience great challenges and frustrations but I continued to have hope because of God’s promise in me. I praise my Lord.

There are numerous people whom I would like to recognize for their support over the last six years of my graduate work. Their love, friendship, and generosity have helped to make this experience a formative and meaningful one.

Thank you to my family for their constant prayers and encouragement: My husband, Junhee; my daughter Elizabeth Suae; my Dad, Sang Sub Lee; my mom, Hyun Sook Yu.; my father-in-law, Sang Keun Han; and my brother, Dong Hyung Lee.

I have been surrounded by faithful friends in my personal life (Lorraine Savage, Laura Porterfield, Brandi Baldwin Juliet Curci, Joy Johnson, Young Gyung Jung, Eukyung Sunwoo, Julie (Hyun Joo) Kim, Jung Hee Han, Yunsin Park, Jae Kyung Lee, So Yun Bang and Sung Mae Ryu, Hee Jung (Jerry) Lee, Sue Lee) and in my professional one (Dr. Yeum Kyung Sook, Dr. Kang Nam Joon and Mr. Rhee) who have served as faithful boards. I also want to give thanks to the church members of Kwang Am Presbyterian church in Korea who continuously pray for my life from my childhood to present. I also want to give thanks to my pastor, Rev.

Sung Kee Ho who supported me with a constant prayer and encouragement.

I could not have had a more supportive advisory committee: Dr. Will Jordan who was incredibly giving of his time, feedback and encouragement. He was the person who believed in me and always let me know that I could complete my doctoral work successfully. I really want thank to Dr. Jordan for all that he has done for me. Dr. Eli Goldblatt and Dr. Steven Gross were sincere and faithful committee members who were incredibly supportive throughout the process. They encouraged me and inspired me as I completed this dissertation. I would also like to extend my appreciation to the committee examiners, Dr. Joseph Ducette and Dr. Jill Swavely, for their time and feedback.

I would like to thank Ms. Betsy and Ms. Jane who helped me conduct my study at the highschool sites.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	iii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	v
LIST OF TABLES	xi
LIST OF FIGURES	xii
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
Statement of the Problem.....	2
Definition of Korean Parachute Kids	3
Purpose of the Study	4
Significance of the Research	5
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL LENSES	8
Conceptual Framework	8
Review of the Literature.....	12
Parachute Kids	12
Model Minority Stereotype	14
Overview of China’s EARLY Study Abroad Phenomenon ..	15
Korea’s Policy Changes on Early Study Abroad	17
Critical Period Hypothesis.....	18
Korean Students’ Psychological Traits and Self-esteem During Early Study Abroad	20

Asian and Korean American Ethnic Identity	20
Korean Parachute Kids' Identity Formation	22
CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODS	24
Introduction	25
Research Setting and Study Population	26
Research Procedures	28
Forms of Data Collection/ Instruments/Process	31
Data Collection	31
Data Analysis	34
Consent Procedures	36
Benefits of the Study.....	36
Role as Researcher.....	37
Positionality.....	38
CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS	39
Introduction.....	39
Korean Parachute Students.....	45
Type I students.....	46
Type II students.....	50
Type III students.....	56
Type IV students.....	62
Teachers.....	69
Two Teachers at James Wood High school.....	70
Two Teachers at Middle Wood High school.....	73

Parents.....	78
One Parents at James Wood High school.....	80
Three Parents at Middle Wood High school	81
Guardians.....	86
Two American Guardians.....	88
Two Korean Guardians.....	90
Findings from Korean Parachute Students’ survey.....	93
Summary and Discussion.....	100
CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS	107
Understanding the Korean Parachute students at James Wood and Middle Wood High School	107
Understanding Teachers at James Wood and Middle Wood High School..	112
Parents of Korean Parachute Kids	114
Guardians at James Wood and Middle Wood High School	116
Implications of Korean Parachute Kids	118
Implications.....	121
Suggestions for Future Research.....	123
REFERENCES.....	125
APPENDICES.....	130
A. Student Survey	130
B. Student Interview Protocol	134
C. Teacher Interview Protocol	137
D. Parent Interview Protocol	139

E. Guardian Interview Protocol	141
F. Codes and Definitions.....	142
G. Student Participant Assent Form	145
H. Teacher as Participant Consent Form.....	147
I. Parent as Participant Consent Form.....	149
J. Guardian as Participant Consent Form	151
K. Guardian Consent Form	153

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
3.1. Summary of Research Study	30
4.1. List of Participants and Codes for Analysis	41
4.2. Student Participants in the Study	46
4.3. Teacher Participants in the Study	69
4.4. Parent Participants in the Study	79
4.5. Guardian Participants in the Study	87
4.6. Student Response to Survey Question A-7	95
4.7. Student Response to Survey Question A-8	96
4.8. Student Response to Survey Question B-1	96
4.9. Student Response to Survey Question B-8	97
4.10. Student Response to Survey Question C-2	98
4.11. Student Response to Survey Question	99

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
2.1. Conceptual Framework of Korean Parachute Kids' Academic Performance and Cultural Adaptation	11
3.1. Two-by-two Matrix of the Academic Performance and Cultural Adaptation of Korean Parachute Kids.....	26
4.1. Two-by-two Matrix of the Academic Performance and Cultural Adaptation of Korean Parachute Kids(with Students' name).....	40

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In Korean society today, acquiring an English education is one of the most desired goals, as many parents are eager for their children to study abroad from early childhood. Most parents want their children to go to the United States to receive their higher education since only a small number of candidates are accepted into universities and colleges in Korea. These quotas for enrollment into Korea's higher education system are strictly controlled by the Ministry of Korean Education (Min, 1996). Therefore, the number of Korean students studying abroad increases gradually every year. The age of the students who study abroad ranges from elementary to high school, and most are sent abroad before reaching 13 years old (Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development of Korea, 2005). According to the Victoria Education Center (1997), some 700 out of the 22,000 students in the Irvine, California school district are Korean students who are studying abroad at an early age. Therefore, the phenomenon of early study abroad, especially to the States, is regarded as a serious issue in the Korean community.

According to the Korean Association of Hakwon Daily (2007), 103,394 South Korean students came to the U.S. for an educational purpose in 2007. It also reports that South Korea was ranked first among the Asian countries from which parents send their children to study in the U.S. This phenomenon has sparked the use of the term of "Korean Parachute Kids," and the term denotes several characteristics of these students. Korean Parachute Kids are mostly from families of high-socioeconomic status (SES) since it costs an exorbitant amount of money for their children to study abroad; they have parents with high expectations who have forced them to go to

the U.S. for study; they are pressured to attend Ivy League colleges; and they receive money or presents from their parents to compensate for their absence.

Statement of Problem

Korean Parachute Kids who come to the United States without their parents encounter many problems, both academically and socially. Many Korean Parachute Kids face academic failure due to the language barriers, cultural differences, and different curricula in the U.S.; this failure occurs even though their education is the reason for Korean Parachute Kids' stay in the U.S. and is what their parents have invested exorbitant amounts of money in. According to research conducted by the Korean Ministry of Planning and Budget (2006) on the cost of Korean Parachute Kids' yearly expenses in the U.S., the average cost of one student's tuition and living stipend ranges from \$40,000 to \$55,000.

Academic Concerns

Since many Korean parents want their children to go to Ivy League universities or other prestigious colleges, they push their children to study hard and force them to pass all of the required tests at any cost. This makes the children experience a great amount of stress and exhaustion from studying. When students are overwhelmed they may experience failure, and some, knowing their parents' high expectations, begin to lie to their parents about their academic scores (Victoria Education Center, 1997).

Social Concerns

Many Korean Parachute Kids have a hard time adjusting to their new circumstances in the United States due to the differences in language, culture, and academic curricula. In light of the absence of their parents, many Korean Parachute Kids' behaviors go unchecked, which may,

in turn, cause these children to be maladjusted in many aspects of their school lives. Korean parents' high expectation for their children's academic success is regarded as one of the factors that cause their children to misbehave.

Also, research suggests that parental influence plays a vital role in the construction of children's cultural identities (Yu, 2005). For the Korean Parachute Kids, the conspicuous absence of parental influence present in the formative years of high school contrasts sharply with the constant parental influence present in the lives of Korean American children. Korean Parachute Kids were born, raised, and attended most of their school years in Korea; the sudden loss of parental influence during their high school years may greatly impact the maintenance of their Korean identities and may paradoxically foster a stronger American cultural identity. Such social difficulties compound Korean Parachute Kids' academic difficulties. Parents and children are left frustrated with each other and dissatisfied with the children's academic success in the U.S.

This study investigates how Korean Parachute Kids perform academically in their schools and what social factors contribute to Korean Parachute Kids' academic performance. The research will comprise a qualitative ethnography case study (Denzin 1997; Maanen, 1998; LeCompte et al., 1993) that explores the academic performance and cultural adaptation of Korean Parachute Kids.

Definition of Korean Parachute Kids

'Parachute Kids' have traditionally been referred to as a selective group of foreign-born Asian children who have come to the U.S. for educational purposes, unaccompanied by their parents (Zhou, 1998). Parachute Kids are distinguished from first generation immigrants and

American-born second generation children. Korean Parachute Kids are Korean-born international students who come to the United States for study unaccompanied by their parents. According to the Ministry of Education and Human Resource Development of Korea (2004), many Korean Parachute Kids come to the U.S. at an early age, and usually before 13 years old. Korean Parachute kids are only from South Korea. The criteria for the Korean Parachute Kids recruited for this project will be that the students:

- were born and raised in South Korea,
- have not spent an extended amount of time, not more than four years, in a foreign country,
- are from a high-SES family.
- arrived to the U.S. unaccompanied by their parents,
- were no younger than 13 years old when they arrived to the U.S.,
- are currently high school students.,
- are no older than 20 years of age.

Purposes of the Study and Research Questions

The purposes of the study are to: 1) examine what problems may occur for Korean Parachute Kids due to their early study abroad experience in the U.S. without parental supervision; 2) suggest how Korean Parachute parents can prepare for early study abroad before they decide to send their children; and 3) suggest ideal levels of teacher and administrator involvement to support Korean Parachute Kids' academic and social lives.

My research investigates the educational and social outcomes of Korean Parachute Kids. I aim to explore the social and cultural factors that contribute to Korean Parachute Kids' academic

performance following their arrival to the U.S. My research questions are: What socio-cultural factors influence Korean Parachute Kids' school engagement, academic performance, and aspirations?

- a. What is the role of teachers in shaping the experiences of Korean Parachute kids?
- b. How do biological parents continue to impact their children's educational and social lives over great distances?
- c. How do guardians affect Korean Parachute Kids during their home stays in the U.S.?

Significance of the Research

This research project is important in two aspects. First, many issues of the Korean children have been ignored in scholarship, as compared to the scholarship devoted to children of other ethnic minorities as well as first Korean generation immigrants and Korean Americans since the population of Korean Parachute kids is not big. The reason for this may be that Koreans have primarily been regarded as an example of a 'successful' minority group that does not suffer from poverty (Lee, 1999). This generalization may have led researchers to neglect the problems of Korean Parachute children who come to the United States at an early age without their parents, despite the fact that this experience has been problematic for some children. In addition, some of them have a hard time adjusting to new circumstances due to the language barrier, cultural differences, and different academic curriculum. For instance, a 13- year old Korean student who came to the United States by herself described her first school year as a series of frustrations. She mentioned that her American History class was the most difficult to follow due to her lack of background knowledge of American culture. She also stated that she

was regarded as a stupid girl because she could not speak English fluently among her white classmates. This made her feel isolated at school (Victoria Education Center, 1997). Therefore, the academic and social needs of Korean Parachute Kids should be considered one of the serious issues among ethnic minorities in the United States, and objective and profound research is needed to inform the Korean community and American society of how strained the current situation is.

Secondly, the syndrome of studying abroad at an early age is rapidly increasing, and the number of Korean Parachute kids is also drastically increasing. It is even called a ‘South Korea’s education Exodus’. This means that increasingly more children may suffer because of their difficulties adjusting to a new culture, to life without their parents, and to their parents’ high expectations for their academic performance. However, their maladjustment in the U.S. is not seriously diagnosed, and there are not enough guidelines about how Korean parachute kids can adjust into American culture. For example, one of the Korean students who came to California with dreams of attending U.C Berkeley in order to make his parents’ dreams come true failed to go to the U.C. Berkeley. However, he pretended that he was a student of U.C. Berkeley to his parents by getting an apartment near the school for whenever his parents came from Korea to see him (Victoria Education Center, 1997). So the problems in Korean Parachute kids should be diagnosed and certain guidelines also need to be provided for both Korean Parachute kids and their parents in order to discern what the good and bad aspects of early study abroad in the States are.

Research is needed in order to inform Korean parents and Korean and U.S. society about the academic and social implications of early study abroad for Korean children. Guidelines should also be provided in order for Korean parents to discern what the good and bad aspects of early study abroad in the U.S. are for their children. It would also be beneficial to educators in America in that they would be aware of Korean Parachute Kids' academic and social difficulties in school since the number of Korean Parachute kids who study in the U.S. keep increasing.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL LENSES

Conceptual Framework

The research will be grounded on Alfred Schutz's theoretical concepts of "stocks of knowledge" and "typification." These concepts will inform how I frame my research to understand how Korean Parachute Kids face either academic success or failure and what social factors contribute to their academic performance. The "model minority" stereotype will also help us understand whether Korean Parachute Kids' academic performance and their identities are affected by this generalization or not.

According to Schutz's theoretical paradigm, the primary source of knowledge that has the capacity to build value is "that which has already been experienced and is thus taken for granted, and this stock provides actors with rules for interpreting interactions, social relationships, organizations, institutions, and the physical world" (Appelrouth & Edles, p. 541). According to Schutz's theory, Asian American students, including Korean Parachute Kids, may experience the model minority stereotype through their interaction with others in their academic life. Chang and Au (2002) quote an Asian American high school student's comments from Lee's (1994) book, "when you get bad grades, people look at you really strangely because you are sort of distorting the way they see an Asian" (p.4). This shows us that Asian American students are aware of the myth of the model minority in their school, and they continue to face others' high expectations of them. Those experiences, and students' exposures to the model minority stereotype, have meant that Asian American students continue to live in these biased circumstances. Furthermore, Asian American students are aware of how others view them as a model minority and internalize that

they are expected to do well in academically.

According to Schutz, “the life world is the taken-for-granted backdrop within which all situations are measured and given meaning” (Appelrouth & Edles, p. 539). His idea helps us to understand that Asian American students’ life worlds are within the model minority stereotype, and Asian American students’ stocks of knowledge contribute to the perception of Asian American students as better in certain areas than others academically. This leads other racial groups to accept the taken-for-granted-notion that Asian Americans are superior to other racial groups. Thus, it creates a fixed idea and image of Asian American students as a model minority. Other racial groups of students construct their biased image of Asian American students through their interaction with others, and they have constructed a representative image of Asian Americans based on their typical interactions in school settings and society. Schutz would explain this with this concept of ‘typification’ which is the process of constructing personal “ideal-types” based on the typical function of people or things rather than their unique features (Appelrouth & Edles, p.541). Likewise, the model minority stereotype illuminates a hegemonic idea that all Asian Americans experience success both in school and society. Thus, Schutz’s theoretical concept of ‘stock of knowledge’ and ‘typification’ will help us understand why Korean Parachute Kids may experience pressure related to their academic performance, from teachers and peers in addition to their parents, and how they form their cultural identities within the influence of the model minority stereotype.

The study’s conceptual framework includes three aspects: Korean Society, Korean Parents, and American Culture. First, there is a quota for the number of college acceptances granted in Korea, and those numbers are governed by the Ministry of Education of Korea. Due to

the limited number of college acceptances, many Korean students seek extra academic support from private educational institutes, and they spend a lot of extra money in order to prepare for the highly competitive college entrance exam. In addition, the boom of intense English education programs creates a severe competitive atmosphere among Korean students. This intense atmosphere is considered one of the serious educational issues in Korean society. Korean parents believe that English skills will help their children to succeed in their future careers, as well as on their college entrance exam. In order to avoid the tension of the Korean academic landscape, many Korean parents desire to send their children abroad for the acquisition of English skills as well as higher education.

Korean parents who are of a high socioeconomic status regularly send their children abroad, especially to the U.S. They are proud to send their children abroad at an early age. The Korean Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development reported that the estimated expense of early study abroad was \$51 billion in 2004. During early study abroad, Korean parents do not stay with their children. Korean children who are sent to the U.S. to study abroad at an early age, without supervision from their parents, often experience several problems.

Korean Parachute Kids may also face many problems due to their cultural differences with Americans, which are most apparent in the language and educational curricula of the U.S. Since Korean Parachute Kids are not permitted to enter public schools because they are international students, they must attend private schools. However, there are few English as a Second Language (ESL) classes offered in private schools, and Korean Parachute Kids are expected to join the regular-instruction classes upon their arrival in the U.S. This often results in

Korean parachute students' academic difficulties and failure and a long period of adjustment for them in the American school system.

Thus, I want to investigate what determines Korean Parachute Kids' academic success or failure, and what social factors contribute to Korean Parachute Kids' academic performance in the U.S. The conceptual framework is depicted in Figure 1.

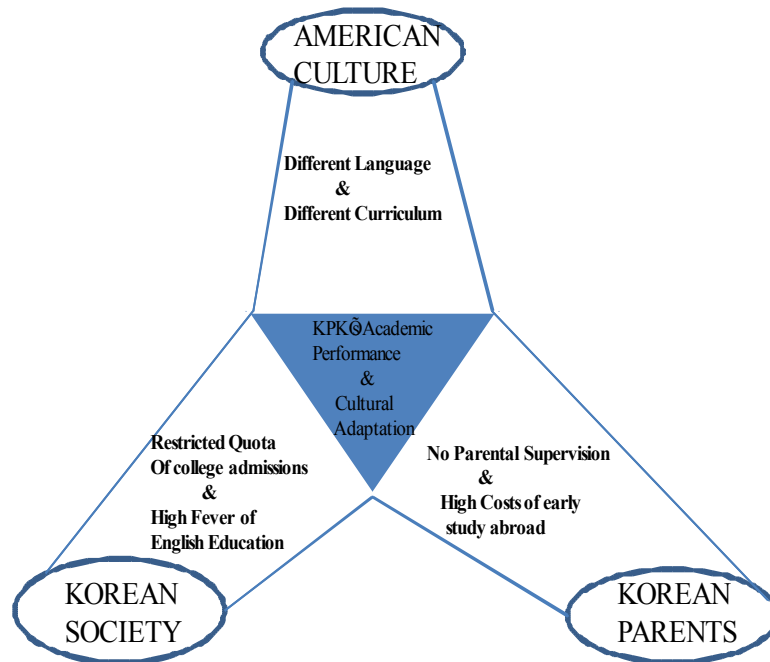


Figure 2.1. Conceptual framework of Korean Parachute Kids' academic performance and cultural adaptation.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The literature related to this study encompasses “Parachute Kids,” the phenomenon of children studying abroad as early as the age of thirteen years old, the model minority stereotype, and identity formation. First, I will examine the definition of Parachute Kids in general and the phenomenon of early study abroad. I will also explain the “model minority” stereotype, which can help me understand Korean Parachute Kids’ academic performance. Then, I will investigate Korean educational policy changes as well as China’s early study abroad phenomenon to understand why the number of Korean Parachute Kids is increasing tremendously. In addition, I will examine the Critical Period Hypothesis with regards to second language acquisition. Finally, I will explore Korean Parachute Kids’ self-esteem, psychological traits, and identity formation with the concept of the model minority stereotype.

Parachute Kids

The special terminology of Parachute Kids has been associated with Asian children for most of the 1990s, and the term includes Chinese and Taiwanese students as well. It originated from the phenomenon of the heavy density of Chinese and Taiwanese children in California. A UCLA study estimated that there were over 40,000 children from Taiwan alone living and studying in the U.S., and most of them resided in Southern California (Zhou, 1998). Most Parachute Kids are well-known for having a wealthy family background. The first paragraph of an Asian Week article, “The Perils of Parachute Kids,” gives us a clear image of Parachute Kids. It says, “Imagine being a 21 year old girl who has unlimited access to money from her parents, drives a BMW M3 and lives in the suburban Northgate community of Walnut Creek, California” (Lee, 1999). It also describes “Parachute Kids” as children of rich Asian families sent to live in

the U.S. suburbs that are known for good schools and safe streets, and the article explains that parents do not live with their children. In order to compensate for their absence and feelings of guilt for not being present in their children's lives, Parachute Kids' parents give large amounts of money and gifts to their children. Most Parachute Kids live with guardians or attend boarding schools.

Min Zhou, who conducted the only scholarly study on Parachute Kids that presently exists, provides her own definition of Parachute Kids. According to her study (1998), Parachute Kids are children who arrive the U.S. either accompanied or unaccompanied by their parents. If parents do come with their children to the U.S., they buy everything for their children and go back to their country quickly. Zhou insists that Asian parachute kids are unique compared to other children who come from other countries, because most Asian Parachute Kids are coming to the U.S. with the purpose of eventually acquiring their higher education in the U.S. Additionally, unlike the wealthy families of other nations that have traditionally sent their children abroad for study in American universities and colleges, Zhou argues that Asian Parachute Kids comprise a unique group. In contrast to children sent to the U.S. from other countries, Asian Parachute Kids arrive at a much younger age, usually for elementary, middle or high school with plans to continue their schooling in the U.S. for higher education as well. Furthermore, their arrival has been driven by macro structural factors such as the gap between educational opportunities and skill demands of the home land (Zhou, 1998). While Zhou's study focuses on the Chinese perception of educational attainment as being the key to prestigious social positions, this emphasis on academic achievement is shared by, and applicable to, other Asian ethnicities as well.

Indeed, Min (1996) notes the general emphasis that Korean parents place on their children's education in his exploration of the motivations underlying Korean immigration to the U.S. In fact, in one national survey as early as 1987, 90 percent of parents in South Korea expected that their sons would receive four years of college or higher education and 70 percent expected the same level of education for their daughters. Despite the stress placed on educational achievement, parents are aware of the particularly difficult process to obtain a higher education in South Korea, because only a small number of candidates are admitted to colleges and universities due to the strict quotas that are governed by the Ministry of Education (Min, 1996). In such an environment of limited educational opportunities, the allure of American educational institutions provides a strong pull for parents with the resources to send their children to the U.S. without having to emigrate from Korea themselves.

Model Minority Stereotype

The 'Model Minority' stereotype, or the so-called "myth of the model minority," affects the lives of many Asian Americans, as well as Parachute Kids. According to Chang and Au (2002), "The myth of model minority means that Asian American students are supposed to be devoted, obedient to authority, respectful of teachers, smart, good at math and science, diligent, hard workers, cooperative, well-behaved, docile, college-bound, quiet, and opportunistic" (p. 2). The view of Asian Americans as the model minority stems from the belief that they have achieved an exceptional level of accomplishment and success through hard work and determination- something that has earned Asian Americans the label of the "new Jews" (Wu, 2002). However, this celebration of economic success and educational accomplishment ignores

the darker reality that it has largely been used as a justification for the continued neglect of other minorities.

Moreover, the model minority myth also overlooks the hardships and obstacles that continue to define the lives of many Asian Americans. The myth can be a hindrance for Asian Americans as well as Parachute Kids who do not achieve academic success, and consequently, they feel excluded from Asian American students who are superior to them academically. While this research is not intended to directly dispel the Model Minority Myth, this research on the academic performance of Korean Parachute Kids can demonstrate the diversity of the Asian American community, which emphasizes the need to challenge such myths.

Overview of China's Early Study Abroad Phenomenon

The early study abroad phenomenon has become a unique characteristic of English language education for Koreans. However, this phenomenon also exists in other Asian countries such as China, Taiwan and Hong Kong, though in different social contexts. To better understand the early study abroad phenomenon of Koreans, it will be useful to compare this phenomenon with similar situations in other countries. Thus, the literature regarding early study abroad in China is reviewed here.

In many Asian countries, Confucianism, which prioritizes children's education, is a deeply rooted cultural value (Zhou, 2006). This tradition has triggered "education fever" in many Asian countries, particularly in China, Taiwan, Korea and Japan (Kim, 2002). Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, the majority of children younger than eighteen years old entering the U.S. have been Chinese. According to Zhou (1996), Chinese Parachute Kids in the 1980s and 1990s were young students attending elementary, middle and high schools. According

to the Shanghai Daily (2006), amid the current early study boom, high school students in China are rushing to English language private academies in their country in order to prepare for the SAT and study abroad. This newspaper article views the extreme competition for entering a university in China as a major cause of the early study abroad phenomenon in that country. In fact, only one out of four students can attend a university in China, leading to an entrance rate of less than 30% (Korean Educational Development Institute, 2006). The Australian Embassy in China reported that over 50% of the Chinese students studying abroad are estimated to be younger than 19 years old, which is similar to the situation of Korean students who study abroad.

A report by the Korea Educational Development Institute (2005) suggests several reasons for this phenomenon in China. First, the one-child policy of the Chinese government triggered Chinese parents' strong investment in their children's education. Second, many Chinese parents do not want their children to study under stressful test-oriented education systems and endure excessive competition for entering a high school or university. Third, saving face and honor for the family have traditionally been considered to be great virtues by the Chinese, and their children's successful education is an honor for their family. These reasons are reflected in the situation in Korea, which helps to explain why the number of Korean Parachute Kids continuously increases. However, there has also been an increase in the number of concerning side effects of this phenomenon. Approximately 70% of Chinese early study abroad experiences are planned by parents, excluding their children's feelings on the matter and without appropriate preparation, which can lead to failure for the children, both academically and socially. As with those from Korea who study in the U.S. at an early age, Chinese Parachute Kids have many adjustment problems as they live and study so far away from their parents.

Korea's policy changes on Early Study Abroad

According to Yu Jung Hee (2005) of the Department of Home Economic Education at Hanyang University in Korea, Korean students began to study abroad in 1945 after the country's independence from Japan, and the number of Korean students who studied abroad dramatically increased after the Korean War in the 1950s. The Korean government's strict regulations regarding foreign language tests and fulfillment of military service held until 1994, when the government opened up opportunities for overseas study with the abolition of such regulations (Kim, 1994). However, following the financial crisis in Korea in 1997, the number of students studying overseas was reduced, due to the government's re-institutionalization of tight regulations such as limiting the amount of money wired from parents to children studying abroad and imposing strict tax investigations. In 2000, many educators articulated the importance of study abroad for educational purposes (Lee & Yoon, 1997), following which the Korean government sought to allow study abroad on a large scale. This open policy, however, was met with the public's sentiment that improvement of the country's lagging public education system should be its first priority. Consequently, the Korean government announced a strict reform bill entitled "Regulations on Study Abroad" in that same year, 2000 (Korea Educational Development Institute, 2001). The 2000 reform law regarding study abroad is still in effect. Under this law, only students who have graduated from middle school or have an equivalent academic degree are allowed to study abroad. Therefore, all current cases of early study abroad by Korean elementary and middle school students, except for a few exceptional cases, are considered to be illegal. Despite this, a soaring number of elementary school students are leaving Korean for their education (Kim, 2001).

It is estimated that 34 percent of students left Seoul in 2004 in order to pursue their studies abroad (Korea daily, 2007). The main reason that they left Korea for their academic pursuits was because Korean parents were largely disappointed with the Korean public education system, and they had already begun to invest exorbitant amounts of money for their children's private education (Korea daily, 2007). The education department in Seoul reported that in 2004, the number of high school students who studied abroad increased 39.4 percent over the year 2003. There was a 38.6 percent increase among elementary school students and a 25.8 percent increase among middle school students (Yu, 2005). Since there is no regulation about studying abroad for high school students, the number of Korean high school students who study abroad has gradually increased. However, elementary and middle school students who want to study abroad must get an approval from the local educational president in terms of the students' qualification to study abroad (Yu, 2005).

Early study abroad among Korean students has continued for more than 30 years as an educational phenomenon; however, many studies on early study abroad were not considered scholarly research in Korea or in other countries (Han, 2002). Therefore, it is important to contribute to the current research about how Korean students can have more meaningful and successful experiences while they study abroad and learn how various social factors can influence their academic performance.

Critical Period Hypothesis (CPH)

Many Korean parents believe that their children learn English faster when they are young. Their belief makes them decide to send their children to study abroad at an early age, even without their parents. Linguistically, there has been a series of debates over whether there is a

critical period for language acquisition and development. The Critical Period Hypothesis refers to “a limited phase in the development of an organism during which a particular activity or competency must be acquired in the sense of biological sciences (Singleton & Ryan, p.32).” This hypothesis posits that children learn a new language with less effort than adult learners and that they are equipped with natural competence to learn languages. According to Lenneberg (1997), the critical period of first language (L1) acquisition starts at age two and ends around puberty, coinciding with a lateralization process during which the dominant hemisphere of brain is specialized for language function. The Critical Period Hypothesis claims that the critical period affects second language (L2) acquisition. In addition, the qualitative change position explores more diverse perspectives on the CPH, suggesting that after a certain maturation point, successful L2 learning requires more effort, and accordingly, the learner is no longer capable of attaining a native-like proficiency. However, the available evidence does not consistently support a single age group as more efficient or successful in second language learning.

Moreover, Hamers and Blanc (2000) insist that there are many variables other than age that determine the efficacy of language acquisition such as individual motivation, environment and learning strategies. Bialystok and Hakuta (1999) also pose that late learners are sometimes able to achieve native-like perfection in a second language (e.g., Ioup, Boustagui, El Tigi, & Moselle, 1994) and experimental results sometimes show late learners performing just as well as early learners (e.g., Birdsong, 1992). Likewise, Korean parents who decide to send their children to study abroad at an early age should consider various factors. In other words, the early age is not a sole factor to affect to acquire better language acquisition of English, but there are additional factors that impact second language acquisition as many scholars have demonstrated.

Korean students' psychological traits and self-esteem during early study abroad

According to the research from Dr. Kim Bo Hyun (1999) and Kim sung Il (1993), Korean students who study abroad may expect to experience depression, anxiety and low self-esteem until they adjust to their school lives, academics, and the culture of their new country of residence. The authors report that high school students especially, many of whom are experiencing puberty during this time, face constant depression due to their exclusion from a peer group, the absence of their family members, and the lack of informants (Kim, 1993). In addition, they emphasize that those Korean high school students who study abroad may lack self-esteem due to the absence of support from their parents who live back in Korea. Due to their parents' absence, Korean students who study abroad may feel unstable, depressed and lose their confidence. Those things may significantly influence their academic performance. Thus, it is necessary to discover specific ways in which their psychological traits and self-esteem may contribute to their academic performance and how other factors, such as peers and the absence of their parents, can contribute to their academic performance either negatively or positively.

Asian and Korean American Ethnic Identity

Ethnic identities are based on how Asian Americans identify themselves, "self-making," as well as how others such as the mainstream define them, "being-made" (Gudykunst, 2001). In addition, Hall (1991) posits the possibility of Asian Americans having room to 'play' with their ethnic identities. Because identities by nature are unstable, Asian Americans can maneuver within and around their identities either reinforcing or opposing the categories created by mainstream American cultures. In the case of second generation Korean Americans, the process of negotiating between various identities is made particularly by their families. Parents often

serve to reinforce and preserve the second generation's sense of the parents' native culture and ethnic heritage. Park (2005) stated that this is due to the importance that Korean culture places on child-raising : Korean/Chinese culture is intricately tied to one parents. Thus, second generation Korean and Asian Americans find themselves in a complicated family environment where they must negotiate a number of roles, obligations, and expectations (Park, 2005).

Immigrant Korean parents expect absolute obedience from their children along with excellence in academic work and the pursuit of professional careers. Paradoxically, this also results in the parents' recognition of individual autonomy and self-assertion with respect to their academic and social success (Chang et al., 2003). As a result, many of the second generation Korean Americans report feelings of confusion, frustration, and anger during counseling that they attribute to the difficult relationships with their parents. Contrary to the second generation Korean family, children of Korean immigrants appreciate the devotion of a great deal of their parents' money and resources for their success. Jo (1999) states that most immigrant children work very hard to please their parents; often striving for academic success while helping parents with housekeeping tasks, English language problems, and assisting with the family business whenever possible. Moreover, these children are often driven to succeed academically while simultaneously preserving Korean culture and language in order to avoid a sense of guilt for their parents' sacrifices (Bahattacharya, 1999). While immigrant parents tend to retain their native language, traditional values, lifestyles and child-rearing practices, their children absorb the dominant society's cultural practices and beliefs much easier and faster (Chang et al., 2003). A study by Phinney et al. (1992), found that those of the second generation who are able to maintain a positive identification with both their native ethnicity, as well as with that of the

dominant group, report higher levels of self-esteem in acculturation attitudes. Thus children who are able to recognize and balance the pressure of their parents and their own desires will express more of an acceptance of their Korean ethnicity, even though it may be ascribed.

Korean Parachute Kids' Identity Formation

There has been one research study about Korean Parachute Kids and it was conducted by Albert J. Lee at the University of Pennsylvania in 2006. He researched the identity formation of Korean American Parachute Kids by using data from sixteen in-depth interviews with both Korean Parachute Kids and second-generation Korean Americans as his research subjects. He explored the development of cultural and ethnic identity between two groups of students. He utilized American-born second generation Korean American students as the control group and the comparison point for the Korean Parachute Kids.

He found that there are number of obvious differences between the population of Korean born Parachute Kids and second generation Korean Americans. First, he found that the sudden loss of parental influence during Korean Parachute Kids' high school years seems to greatly impact the maintenance of their Korean identities and paradoxically seems to foster an independence that allows them more control over how they express their identities. In contrast, the constant presence and preservation of Korean culture primarily through their parents seems to restrict their ability to express second generation Korean American identities (Lee, 2006). Second, for Parachute Kids, the complete lack of an American identity necessitates the creation of such an identity in order to acculturate into American society (Lee, 2006). Despite the great number of initial obstacles faced by Parachute Kids, they seem to experience less overall acculturative stress because they have this freedom to create their identity. Some Parachute Kids

negotiated with their parents and their Korean ethnicity in order to arrive at a mutually beneficial and acceptable compromise (Lee, 2006). Third, he also stated that Parachute Kids differed from their second generation counterparts in that because they began with no American identity, they pushed themselves a great deal in order to acculturate and fit in, with a number of subjects reporting that they were active on their high school's lacrosse, squash, and rowing teams (Lee, 2006). However, it was dramatically different for the second generation Korean American subjects because they experienced an ethnicity that was largely defined for them by both their familial environment and American society at large. Thus, second generation Korean Americans always exercised their Korean ethnicity when they had the option to voluntarily express it (Lee, p. 59).

Overall, his research could be the foundation for further research on Korean Parachute Kids' identity formation. This research will expand on Lee's research, regarding not only Korean Parachute Kids' identity formation, but also their academic performance.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODS

Introduction

Qualitative research methods were applied to this ethnographic case study (Denzin 1997; Maanen, 1998; Lecompete et al., 1993). According to Patton (1990), qualitative measures typically produce a wealth of detailed information about a smaller population of people and cases, which results in an understanding of the cases and situations studied. I conducted an ethnographic case study of 12 Korean Parachute Kids who attend school in a suburb west of Philadelphia. According to Denzin (1997), Maanen (1998), and Lecompete et al., (1993), ethnographic case study is a case analysis of a person, event, activity or process set within a cultural perspective (Creswell, p.475). Creswell often associates ‘case study’ with ethnography (see Lecompte & Schensul, 1999). According to Creswell (2007), an ethnographer searches for the shared patterns that develop as a group interacts over time, and a case study researcher focus on an in-depth exploration of the actual “case” (p.476). In other words, a case study is an approach that aims to uncover the interaction of significant factors or characteristics of a particular phenomenon by focusing on a single phenomenon, instance or social unit (Grabe & Stroller, 1997).

Although it will be difficult to make claims for statistical generalization, there are a number of vital methodological advantages and research insights when utilizing a case study that cannot easily be explored experimentally (Grabe & Stoller, 1997). Some of the advantages that make a case study design useful and appropriate for studies in education are that investigators are able to gain an in-depth understanding of the situation and its meaning while the interest lies in

process rather than outcomes, in context rather than a particular factor, and in discovery rather than conformation or generalization (Merriam, 1998). In these ways, a case study enables researchers to approach the problem from a holistic view and engender rich and thick description of the end product. Despite the strength of the case study, only a few case studies have been employed to address the issue of Korean Parachute Kids. In this perspective, I have selected a case study design for the current research study in order to explore Korean Parachute Kids' academic performance and the factors that contribute to or inhibit their academic performance.

I conducted an ethnographic case study of 12 Korean Parachute Kids who currently attend two private high schools, James Wood and Middle Wood, in Pennsylvania. The 12 Korean Parachute Kids attend the private high schools because their parents were introduced to these schools by an educational agency in Korea. The educational agency researches U.S. schools on behalf of Korean parents, and locates schools that have safe environments, inexpensive tuition, and the possibility of high-quality guardians in the area. I recruited students for participation based on their school counselors' recommendations. Figure 3.1. shows my sampling framework and how I conceptually identified the Korean Parachute Kids that I interviewed for this study.

		Academic Performance	
		Low	High
Cultural Adaptation	Low	Type I (2 students)	Type II (3 students)
	High	Type III (3 students)	Type IV (4 students)

Figure 3.1. Two-by-two matrix of the academic performance and cultural adaptation of Korean Parachute Kids.

Research Setting and Study Population

The research was conducted at two private high schools: James Wood High school and Middle Wood High School, located in a western suburb of Philadelphia, PA. The common trait of those two schools was that they were both religious private high schools. Even though the Korean Parachute students are not religious, they chose religious schools because Korean Parachute students are not allowed to attend public schools in the U.S., only private schools. Since Korean Parachute Kids are not American citizens or legal residents, they can only enter private schools in the U.S. by getting an F-1, student visa. Furthermore, they have to pay double to triple tuition because they are international students. The research settings were selected because their locations made them easily accessible, and I have had a personal connection at the James Wood High School since 2010. I was a guardian for a Korean Parachute student who attended James Wood High school, and I have been contacted with the school counselor as a result. However, the student for whom I am guardian was excluded from this research. In terms

of tuition, Middle Wood high school was less expensive than James Wood high school. The tuition for the former school was \$5600 to \$6450 yearly, whereas tuition costs \$17,000 yearly at James Wood High School. Consequently, more Korean students attend the less expensive school. Among those two schools, there were 64 Korean students in total; 45 attend Middle Wood High school, and 19 attend James Wood High school. Thirty five of these 65 students have been identified as Korean Parachute Kids; 28 were at Middle Wood High School and 7 were at James Wood High School. These two schools have the same admissions criteria for the Korean Parachute Kids as they do for their other students; they must submit their SLAP (Secondary Level English Proficiency Test) score and the financial documentation that indicates their parents can afford the school's tuition.

The ages of students ranged from 16 to 19 (the approximate ages of students in grade 10-12). The students who were research subjects were Korean Parachute Kids who currently live with guardians (people other than their parents) and their native or first language will be Korean. They also have lived in the U.S. for not more than four years. The basic criteria for Korean Parachute Kids in this research are as follows:

- 1) They were born and raised in South Korea.
- 2) They came to the U.S. without their parents.
- 3) They were no younger than 13 when they came to the U.S.
- 4) They are currently high school students.
- 5) They are from a high SES family.
- 6) They have not lived in the U.S. for more than 4 years.

Part I: Survey

The 12 students who were recruited by their school counselors' recommendations were solicited to participate in a survey about Korean Parachute Kids' experiences with early study abroad in the U.S. I have created a conceptual chart that portrays the four groups that I split students into based on their responses to the survey. I determined whether the Korean Parachute Kids who participate in the survey portion of the study have high or low academic performance, based on their teachers' recommendation. I also determined whether they had demonstrated either a high level or low level of cultural adaptation based on teachers' recommendations. Two to four students from each group were solicited to participate in the interview portion of the study during September and October of 2011.

Part II: Interview

I interviewed the same 12 Korean Parachute Kids who participated in the survey portion of the study. Each interview lasted approximately 45 minutes. The interview consisted of twenty open-ended questions related to their academic and social lives in school. I also interviewed four teachers, four parents, and four guardians from two schools during September and October of 2011. These were thirty-minute, semi-structured interviews with the four teachers, four parents and four guardians in order to explore their perceptions of the Korean Parachute Kids' academic performance and adaptation in the U.S.

Research Procedures

Data about twelve Korean Parachute students' study abroad were obtained using two instruments during September and October 2011. In each school, the school counselor recommended six Korean Parachute students, and assigned the dates for interview and survey

based on students' class schedule. Two teachers in each school were also recommended by the school counselor and assigned the dates for interview. The research was supposed to take place at three schools, but one school, North Pole private high school did not want to actively participate in the study. So I excluded the third school.

I gained access to the research setting at James Wood high school through a home stay student who lived with me. She is in the 11th grade and I have been contacted her school as her guardian, and I was introduced to principal. The principal set me up meeting with the school counselor, Ms. Betsy, and she scheduled meetings with students and teachers. The student who lived with me was excluded from the study. The study for students at the James Wood high school was conducted in two parts, an interview and a survey, on the same dates because it was hard to arrange a different schedule due to the students' class schedules. The first stage, the student survey, was intended to produce data to understand Korean Parachute Kids' general information including their cultural adaptation, family background, and academic achievement. They all agreed with the survey and interview with Ms. Betsy through the consent forms as well as their guardians' consent forms.

Six students participated in the second phase, the interview. The interviews were 30-40 minutes per student. They took place in the school counselor's office where I was given a separate office in which to conduct the surveys and the interviews. For parents and guardians' interview, Ms. Betsy recommended one parent and two guardians. For teachers, two teachers, Ms Hannah and Ms Kathy, agreed to be interviewed at their classroom and they had an interview for 20-30 minutes. Two teachers were chosen by Ms Betsy since they had taught Korean Parachute students and still teach them.

I gained access to the research site at Middle Wood High School through Mr. Tom who I contacted during the summer break. He introduced me to a school counselor, Ms Jane, and she recommended two teachers and six Korean Parachute students. She also arranged dates for me to meet with the students. For the parents' and guardians' interviews, I asked all six students about the possibility of interviewing their parents and guardians, and three of students' parents and two students' guardians agreed to participate in the interview. I set up a phone interview with the parents since they live in Korea. The guardians were also interviewed by phone because they felt more comfortable speaking over the phone than meeting face to face.

The data were collected from interviews with students, teachers, parents, and guardians and questionnaire surveys taken by students. A brief summary of my research study follows:

Table 3.1.

Summary of Research Study

PART OF STUDY	Methodology	Instrument(s)	Type(s) & Number of Participants	Length of Time for Data Collection
I	Mixed	Survey	Students : 12 (9-12 TH grade)	2 months (Sept and Oct 2011)
II	Qualitative	Interview Protocols	12 - Students 4 - Parents/ Guardians 4 - Teachers	2 mths for students (Sept and Oct 2011) 2 mths for parents, guardians, teachers (Sept and Oct 2011)

Forms of Data Collection/Instruments/Process

Data Collection

Part I: Survey

I conducted a survey with both open- and close-ended questions, and there were four sections of the survey, in this order: (1) Background, (2) Students' Motivation for early study abroad, (3) English acquisition and academic performance, (4) Future perspective (See appendix A)>. Examples of questions follow:

- 1) How old were you when you began to study in the U.S?
- 2) Who decided that you were going to come to the US for early study?
- 3) What is the most difficult subject for you?
- 4) What is the best part about your early study abroad experience? What is the worst part?

The researcher planned the survey portions of the study for participants' use in either English or Korean, since some Korean Parachute Kids might still have English difficulties, depending on the length of time that they have lived in the U.S.

Part II: Interview

The researcher conducted interviews with 12 Korean Parachute Kids who are between the ages of 16 and 19 <See appendix B>. They were asked to share their experiences with living in the U.S. The first section of interview for students began with questions about their backgrounds, such as the year and place of their birth; sample questions in the introductory portion of the interview are:

- 1) When did you come to the U.S.? How old were you when you came to the U.S.?

- 2) How long have you lived in the States? Did your parents accompany you to the U.S.?

In addition, they were asked general questions about studying in the U.S. including language skills. After the student had responded to questions about his or her background in the first section of the interview, I asked questions related to the student's culture and academics in the second section of interview. Sample questions were:

A. Culture

- Do you think of yourself as an American sometimes and as a Korean at other times? When does that happen and why?
- How difficult has it been for you to accept American ideas, values, and customs?
- What are some of the things that you miss the most from Korea?

B. Academics

- In terms of schooling, when you first came to the US, did you continue at the next grade level from the one you left in Korea?
- What subject is the most difficult to study?
- Do you need an extra help in terms of your English acquisition?

The third section of the interview began with questions about parental influence and their future aspirations. Such questions were:

C. Parental influence

- When was the last time that you saw your parents? How often do you talk to your parents?

- How do you feel about the fact that your parents are not living with you in the U.S.?
- Are your parents involved in your academics? If yes, how do they support your academic performance?
- Do you miss your parents? If so, when do you miss your parents the most?

D. Future Aspirations

- What do you see yourself doing 10 years from now?
- Do you plan to stay and work in the US after you graduate college?
- What kind of career path or college concentration do your parents think you should pursue?

The researcher also interviewed four students' teachers, parents, and guardians <See appendix C>. All interviews were designed as thirty minutes long. In the beginning of each interview, the Informed Consent Form, approved by the Institutional Review Board of Temple University, was presented. Each interviewee read and signed the Informed Consent Form, and they were asked to consent for voice recording of the interview.

The interview for teachers began with questions about their backgrounds, such as the number of years they have been teaching, what subjects they teach, and their ethnicity. They were asked about the general aspects of Korean Parachute Kids' academic performance in their classes, and how teachers perceive the Korean Parachute Kids in terms of peer relationships, relationship with teachers, and their school lives. They were also be asked to share their experiences with Korean Parachute Kids.

The parents' interview was conducted by phone since they all resided in Korea. The

interview began with questions about their backgrounds such as their hometowns, educational levels, and their current careers. They were asked about how they believed their absence impacted their children's academic lives in America, and why they decided to send their children to the US at an early age without parental supervision. They were also asked how they came to the decision and found the means to send their children to the U.S., and how content they were with their decision to send their children to the U.S.

The interview for guardians began with questions about their backgrounds such as their hometowns, ethnicity, and the length of time that they have worked as guardians. They were asked how they perceive Korean Parachute Kids during their home stay and the most difficult challenges that they dealt with when caring for Korean Parachute Kids.

Data Analysis

The data from the surveys and interviews were analyzed in various ways and the detailed plan for analysis at each stage is discussed next.

Part I: Survey

The biographical information section and the closed- ended section were analyzed through descriptive statistics. The mean of students' ages, the length of their stays in the U.S. or other English-speaking countries, and their years of English education experience were discussed. The main function of this statistical information on students was to provide me with an insight into the students' educational backgrounds, especially their English learning experience. Their knowledge of the students' backgrounds helped me in interpreting findings of other data sets. I analyzed the closed-ended question section similarly to the first section. The statistical analysis was considered to be an appropriate option since I needed quantitative information on each

student's perception of early study abroad in the U.S. linked to his or her academic performance. I counted the frequencies of students' answers based on the Likert scale, on a scale of one through four, with four meaning "strongly agree" and one "strongly disagree." Then, the scores were averaged and converted into a percentile. Finally, the results were displayed as a chart. For the final open-ended question of the survey, I conducted a content analysis. Some advantages of using content analysis are that it allows closeness to text, which can alternate between specific categories and relationships, and statistically analyze the coded form of the text. It also provides insight into complex models of human thought and language use (Silverman, 2001).

Part II: Interview

I transcribed interviews, coded the data and categorized the data. I conducted a content analysis of the open-ended interviews. The content analysis operated with categories connecting to students' perceptions or beliefs on learning and use of academic words, in particular, their academic success and performance. Drawing on the categories revealed from the survey, I analyzed the interview transcripts to establish more clear-cut categories and then try to identify instances in which the categories are used in particular contexts. According to Stemler (2001), content analysis is a power data reduction technique and its major benefit arise from the fact that it is a systematic, replicable technique for compressing many words of text into fewer content categories based on explicit rules of coding.

I employed validation strategies such as member checking, triangulation and peer review in order to validate the data.

Consent Procedures

The proposed consent forms are enclosed as appendices:

1. Students' assent form
 - Survey
 - Interview
 - Academic record
2. Parents' consent form
 - Interview
3. Guardians' consent form
 - Interview
 - Students' survey and interview
4. Teachers' consent form
 - Interview

The consent forms are written to be easily understood by students, teachers and their parents/guardians. For Korean parents and guardians, the consent forms will be written in Korean and English because some Korean parents and guardians may not be proficient in English.

Benefits of the Study

Since there is little scholarly research on Korean Parachute Kids' academic performance that has been conducted in the U.S., this study will help both Korean and American educators to better understand Korean Parachute Kids' academic difficulties and their obstacles in the U.S. In addition, Korean parents who want to send their children to the U.S. at an early age without

parental supervision would be better able to evaluate whether this is a good decision for their children or not. Korean students who want to study also would learn what they might expect in regards to life in America, both academically and culturally; this information will help them to prepare better for their studies in the U.S without their parents, or find alternatives for study in Korea.

Role as Researcher

I am not a Korean Parachute Kid, however, I began to study in the U.S. at the age of 19. I experienced academic difficulties and fell behind in adjusting to the school system and cultural adaptation. After I became an ESL teacher, I observed many Korean Parachute students in the U.S., and these experiences inspired me to study this population. I believed that Korean Parachute students are a unique group that teachers, parents and educators should pay attention to. Based on my teaching experience with Korean Parachute Kids, they have a hard time with their studies due to the language barrier, new living circumstances, and new school system. They initially try hard to acquire the English language by attending a private academy or employing a private tutor; both options involving paying an exorbitant amount of money. Nevertheless, I had many questions about the phenomenon of Korean Parachute Kids and decided to research the population. My study may be narrowly focused since it was conducted on a small subset of the Korean Parachute student population; however, it can be a starting point to expand the study of the Korean Parachute Kids.

My role as the researcher in this study was to facilitate the students', teachers', parents' and guardians' active participation through the survey and interview portions of the study. Since the issues of Korean Parachute Kids has not been featured widely in scholarly research, many

teachers and guardians may have a difficult time understanding the purpose of this research, and I need to offer them additional explanations in order to put them at ease. They may need background on not only the survey and interview components of the study itself, but also a general tutorial on the concept of Korean Parachute Kids and the cultural differences between Korea and America. I also need to build strong trusting relationships with the students since many will be recruited by their teachers' recommendation and not via any previous acquaintance with me.

Positionality

I am not a Korean Parachute Kid, but as someone who identifies as Korean, I have many expectations of the Korean students who are studying here in the U.S. from my native country. I expect that Korean students who study in the U.S. at an early age may undergo challenges in terms of their study and their living without their parents. Since English is not their first language, Korean students will face obstacles in their study at school as well as building relationships with friends in the U.S. I assume that they may seek extra help in order to improve their language skills as well as understanding their schoolwork. Thus, it would be meaningful to investigate what Korean students may experience in terms of their academic performance and cultural adaptation in the U.S.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS

Introduction

In the first section of this chapter, I describe and analyze the findings from interviews with twelve Korean Parachute students, four students' teachers, and those same four students' parents and guardians. The second section includes a description and analysis of the findings from the twelve Korean Parachute students' surveys. The twelve Korean Parachute students currently attend James Wood High School and Middle Wood High Schools in Pennsylvania. I recruited students for participation based on their school counselors' recommendations.

I have created a conceptual chart that portrays the four groups that I split students into based on their responses to the survey. I determined whether the Korean Parachute Kids who participated in the survey portion of the study had high or low academic performance based on their teachers' recommendations. I also determined whether they had demonstrated either a high level or low level of cultural adaptation based on their teachers' recommendations. I showed each of the teachers the two-by-two matrix conceptual chart of the academic performance and cultural adaptation of Korean Parachute Kids and asked where their students would fit in the matrix. The teachers showed me the academic records and explained the GPA for each of their students, which led the teachers to decide the student's type for the matrix. They recommended that below a 3.0 out of 4.0 in GPA would be categorized as low academic performance, and above a 3.6 out of 4.0 in GPA would fall into the category of high academic performance. The teachers determined the Korean Parachute students' cultural adaptation based on their observation in the classroom of the students' English language adaptation, peer relationships, and involvement in

school activities. Based on those teachers’ recommendations, two to four students from each group were solicited to participate in the interview portion of the study.

The twelve Korean Parachute students are categorized into four different types as follows:

		Academic Performance	
		Low	High
Cultural Adaptation	Low	Type I Yonghee Minsu	Type II Soonhee Eunhee Misoon
	High	Type III Chulsoon Young Jai	Type IV Junhee Mee Joohyun Youngjoon

Figure 4.1. Two-by-two matrix of the academic performance and cultural adaptation of Korean Parachute Kids.

The data analysis began with a review of the initial interview data for trends in students’ responses related to their cultural adaptation to the United States, their academic performance, parental influence on their decision-making, and their future aspirations. Trends were also sought in review of the data related to the parents, teachers’, and guardians’ interview responses, as related to their experiences supporting Korean Parachute students. Audio recordings from interviews with students, parents, teachers and guardians were transcribed shortly after each session and themes that emerged were noted and explored respectively. Interviews were coded to identify themes involved highlighting the words and phrases used by the participants (students, parents, teachers and guardians) in the interview sessions. These codes were collapsed into a number of larger, simpler themes or expanded into more detailed categories depending on the thematic outcomes. There are 28 codes altogether that were defined and utilized for data analysis

within this qualitative study. These codes (as displayed in Table 4.1) have been categorized as conceptual codes, students' study abroad experience codes, teachers' teaching experience codes, parents' experience codes, and guardians' experience codes:

Table 4.1.

List of Participants and Codes for Analysis

Demographic	Students	Teachers	Parents	Guardian
	Minsu, Chulsoo, Young, Joohyun, Yonghee, Soonhee, Eunhee, Jai, Misoon, Junhee, Mee, Yongjoon	Hannah Kathy Ashley Kimberly	Kim Park Choi Lee	Susie Youngsook Eunmi Katherine
Conceptual codes ¹	- Cultural adaptation - Assimilation - Ethnic Identity - Educational achievement - Parental Influence - Peer pressure - Second language acquisition - Early Study abroad - Typification			
Students' study abroad experience Codes	-Schooling - Future career -Peer relationship -English language -Separates from parents			

¹ Definitions are described in Appendix F

Table 4.1. Continued

<p>Teachers’ teaching experience Codes</p>		<p>-Designing class -Relationship with parents or guardians -Perception of Korean Parachute students in terms of education and peer relationship -Challenges</p>		
<p>Parents’ experience Codes</p>			<p>-Educational level -Decision for early study abroad -Absence of parenting -Satisfaction of children’ academic achievement in the U.S.</p>	
<p>Guardians’ experience Codes</p>				<p>-Ethnicity: American or Korean -Educational level -Challenge -Perception of Korean Parachute students -Communication with parents</p>

Throughout this study, there were several findings that contrasted with those of previous studies. For instance, Korean Parachute students in this study strongly identify as Korean and they do not see themselves as American or Korean American though they reside in the U.S. They see themselves as “Korean” all the time. This conflict with the study by Yu (2005) that the

sudden loss of parental influence during Korean Parachute kids' high school years may greatly impact the maintenance of their Korean identities and may paradoxically foster a stronger American cultural identity. In addition, Kim (1993) found that Korean students who study abroad may feel unstable, depressed and lost their confidence due to their parents' absence. Consequently, students' academic performance may be negatively impacted. Rumbaut (1996) also insisted that insufficient family communication has significant negative effects on children's self-esteem, psychosocial well-being and academic aspirations. However, 5 out of 12 Korean Parachute students in this study responded that they were not greatly affected by the absence of their parents and some expressed that they neither care about their parents' absence nor do they miss their parents while they are in the U.S.

More importantly, some of Korean Parachute students in this study expressed as their goal that they wanted to attend college in Korea, not in the U.S. They explain that they came to the U.S in order to earn a high SAT Scores and a high GPA in high school. This way they can apply to privileged Korean universities since those universities accept students based on their English skills, SAT score, and GPA from high school. This contradicts the argument of Zhou (1998) that Asian Parachute Kids are unique compared to other children who come from other countries; most Asian Parachute Kids come to the U.S. with the purpose of eventually acquiring their higher education in the U.S. Thus, the trends in the data from Korean Parachute students included in this study are somewhat different than those from Chinese Parachute students included in Zhou's study. Korean Parachute students come to the U.S. to experience a new culture, learn the language, and receive a better education, not just for their pursuit of higher education. In addition, some of the Korean Parachute students in this study responded that they

want to return to Korea after they graduate from either high school or their college. Thus they do not intend to stay and live in the U.S., which also contradicts Zhou's findings; his study purports that Parachute students come to the U.S. for educational purposes and live in the U.S. for a period of time that extends beyond their education. Mak (1991) also insists that families view studying abroad not only as a way to gain credentials but also as a possible way to obtain residency in the host country.

The Model Minority stereotype of Korean Parachute students held by American teachers and guardians was a finding that echoed those of previous studies. The Model Minority stereotype asserts that Korean Parachute students are devoted, obedient to authority, respectful of teachers, smart, good at math and science, diligent, hard workers, cooperative, well-behaved, docile, college-bound, quiet, and opportunistic (Chang & Wu, 2002). All teachers in this study responded that Korean Parachute students are very respectful towards them as compared to American students, and that they are hard workers and serious about their education in the U.S.; they are eager to get good grades. American guardians also responded that Korean Parachute students who reside with them show high levels of respect to them, and they obey the household rules, but that they are very quiet at home. As Zhou (1998) found, "peer groups play an important role in promoting or hindering the school success of Parachute children" (p. 702). Likewise, teachers in this study responded that Korean Parachute students form their own social groups and there is a leader who controls Korean Parachute students' behavior at school and prohibits them from forming friendships with American classmates. Their teachers are concerned that those trends may hinder Korean Parachute students' academic progress as well as their English skills.

Lastly, as the Korean Daily (2007) reported, Korean parents are largely disappointed with the Korean public education system, and they have begun to invest exorbitant amounts of money into their children's private education. Likewise in this study, Korean Parachute students and their parents commonly responded that they decided to come to the U.S. due to the high competition of college admissions in Korea. Moreover, they do not like the Korean education system that requires intensive study only for the college entrance exam and neglect to incorporate leisure time into students' school days.

In this section, I provide evidence regarding the findings of the interview sessions with the students of each type and their teachers, parents, and guardians.

Korean Parachute students

The 12 Korean Parachute students currently attend either James Wood High School or Middle Wood High School in a western suburb of Philadelphia, PA. Their ages ranged from 16 to 19 (the approximate ages of students in grade 10-12). They were recruited by school counselors and they were divided into four categories based on teacher's recommendation. The teachers recommended that a 3.0 or below out of 4.0 in GPA should be categorized as low academic performance, and above a 3.6 out of 4.0 in GPA should be categorized as high academic performance. The teachers determined the Korean Parachute students' cultural adaptation based on classroom observations of English language adaptation, peer relationships, and involvement in school activities.

Table 4.2.

Student Participants in the Study

Name	School	Age	Sex	Type	Grade
Yonghee	James Wood	17	F	I	10
Minsu	Middle Wood	17	M	I	10
Soonhee	Middle Wood	18	F	II	12
Eunhee	Middle Wood	18	F	II	11
Misoon	Middle Wood	17	F	II	11
Chulsoo	James Wood	18	M	III	12
Young	James Wood	17	M	III	11
Jai	Middle Wood	17	M	III	11
Junhee	James Wood	16	M	IV	11
Mee	James Wood	17	F	IV	11
Joohyun	James Wood	17	M	IV	11
Youngjoon	Middle Wood	17	M	IV	11

Type I students (Low Academic Achievement / Low Cultural Adaptation)

Yonghee and Minsu commonly showed their difficulties in their studies and adjustment to the U.S. Both of them were sent to the U.S. by their parents, and they both think that English is difficult for them and prefer to speak in Korean rather than English. They studied English in Korea for more than five years, but they still experience difficulties with English in the U.S.

They both expressed that it was hard for them to live without their parents in the U.S. Both of

them viewed their identity as Korean, especially Minsu, who strongly expressed himself as a Korean not an American or Korean American. Those responses were in contrast to what Lee (2006) found that the sudden loss of parental influence during Korean Parachute Kids' high school years seems to greatly impact the maintenance of their Korean identities and paradoxically seems to foster an independence that allows them more control over how they express their identities. Even though they see themselves as Korean, neither student wants to go back to Korea after they graduate from college in the U.S.

Yonghee

Yonghee was born in 1994 and lived in Seoul before she came to the U.S. She studied in New Zealand for three years before she came to the U.S. at the age of 16. She came to the U.S. by herself. She identified herself as a Korean, and she usually communicated in Korean with friends in America and talked in Korean with her parents. She studied English for ten years before she came to the U.S., thus English was not an obstacle for her when she arrived in the U.S. However, she felt more comfortable speaking in Korean rather than English.

She responded that she came to the U.S. for a better education since it was hard to enter college in Korea. She sees herself as an American when she hangs out with American friends, but she did have many difficulties with adjusting new ideas, values and customs in America. She expressed that she missed Korean food and friends the most, and her friends in America are predominantly Koreans. She never gets involved in school clubs. She responded that her GPA is pretty low and she has had a hard time understanding History and English. She did not have a private tutor nor did she attend the private academy after school.

She explained that she sees her parents once a year; however, she talks to her parents every day. She responded that it was hard for her to be separated from her parents in the beginning; however, she got used to it and feels okay in general. She missed her parents when she got sick; however, she could endure it since her parents were proud of her for being in the U.S. for her education.

She explained that her parents got involved in her studies especially when she was preparing for the TOEFL test. She stated, “My parents concern about my TOEFL score rather than my GPA or any other academics and they send me to an academy to study TOEFL when I go back to Korea for summer break.”

She is satisfied with her guardian and she explained that her goal is to attend college in the US and study art. She responded that she wanted to go back to Korea after graduating college in the U.S. Her parents want her to be a professor; however, she was not sure about her future plan after ten years. She described that she would be really busy if she stayed in Korea, and she preferred to live in the U.S.

Minsu

He lived in Seoul and came to the U.S. by himself at the age of 14. He identified himself as a Korean, and he speaks English and Korean with his friends in America. He studied English for five years before he came to the U.S., but it was very difficult for him to communicate in English when he arrived in the U.S. He still thinks that English is an obstacle for him since he cannot understand his friends’ jokes and some terminologies. He stated:

Uh, English was an obstacle for me because I had a hard time contacting with American people when I arrived in America. Also, when I study English or History or Science, I did not understand some vocabulary terms so I had a hard time. English is still hard for me

because sometimes when people say some jokes, I sometimes don't get it. That is the hard thing and sometimes I do not understand some words. As a result of the difficulties he experienced, he prefers speaking Korean rather than English. He did not want to come to the U.S. to study; however, his parents forced him to come to the U.S. since the competition of entering college in Korea was so severe. He never identified himself as American or Korean American, but always sees himself as a Korean. It was very difficult for him to accept new cultures in the U.S. since he did not know anything about American culture before he arrived here. He stated:

I never feel like I am American and it was hard for me to adjust American culture. It was hard but for now it is not...for when I came here first I did not know anything about American cultures, peoples and so on. However, I think I changed a lot now because I did not live with my parents for five years, and I became more independent and I can think more broad way. So I think I changed it more positively. The aspects of Korean culture that he missed the most were respecting old people and showing honor to others. He did not think that the general culture in the U.S. was about honoring old people or honoring others. Half of his friends are Koreans, and his academic achievement was low. He was not involved in any school clubs, and his most difficult subject was English, especially grammar. He expressed that he needed extra help in English.

He sees his parents once a year, and talks to them three times a week over the phone. He described that it was really hard for him not to live with his parents, and he always felt alone in America. He missed his mom's food the most, and he misses his parents before he goes to bed. He still thinks that he needs his parents' protection. He responded:

Sometimes right before I go to bed, I always miss my family because I am not really grown up and I am still teenager. Uh..I think I need to still get protection from my parents. So I miss my parents. His parents are not involved in his academics at all, but are proud that he is studying abroad. He has lived with an American guardian for two years and half and he is satisfied with his guardian.

His goal in the U.S. is to run his own business in trade and he does not want to go back to Korea after he graduates from college. He wants to study business and management in college, however his parents wants him to be a lawyer. He was not sure about his future after ten years and he never thought about his life in Korea.

Type II students (academic achievement high/ cultural adaptation low): Soonhee, Eunhee and Misoon

Soonhee, Eunhee and Misoon were all female and their academic achievement was high even though their cultural adjustment in the U.S. was not good. They all had strong identities as Koreans. They had difficulties in English and Soonhee and Misoon attend the private academy after school for extra help. The three of them commonly responded that they miss their parents very much and the separation from their parents is really hard for them. However, Eunhee and Misoon expressed that they have been changed in a positive way and that they became more proactive and outgoing after they came to the U.S. Their responses are in contrast to the findings from Kim (1993) that ‘due to their parents’ absence, Korean students who study abroad may feel unstable, depressed and lose their confidence. In the case of Soonhee, she really wants to go back to Korea to attend college. Her goal is to get a high GPA and high SAT scores in the U.S. and apply to the universities in Korea. Data from type II students suggest that traits of Parachute students may have changed over time. Previous findings from Zhou (1998) indicate that Parachute students come to the U.S. to get their higher education in the U.S. however; students like Soonhee seem to indicate that this is not the case for all Parachute students.

Soonhee

She was born in 1993 and lived in Gimhae. She came to the U.S. by herself at the age of 17. She identified herself as Korean. She speaks Korean with her friends in America and Korean with her parents. Her parents recommended that she study in the U.S. and she studied English for four years with a private tutor in Korea. She prefers speaking Korean since she still has a hard time communicating in English.

She came to the U.S. to get a better education since it was too difficult to enter college in Korea. She stated:

I think America is better in education because in Korea, there are so many competition going on so I cannot go good university and if I am in Korea, I got only one chance to take a college exam called Soo Neung (Korean version of SAT). So I just decided to go to U.S. and get education.

She sometimes regards herself as American when she is with her American guardian at home.

However, she had a difficult time accepting and adjusting to American culture, especially food in America. She responded, "I miss Korean food a lot because I like spicy and salty food. But is is like in here like greasy food and oily. I don't like American food, and I really miss my mom's food in Korea." Furthermore, she expressed that she had not changed any of her thoughts or ideas about her Korean identity while she studied in America. She missed her parents and family the most and most of her friends in America are Koreans.

Her academic achievement is high and she has a good GPA. She needs extra help in English while Science is the most difficult subject for her. She attends the private academy after school, but she does not have a private tutor.

She sees her parents once a year and talks to them once a week over the phone. She expressed that it was really hard for her to be separated from her parents. Her parents involve her

study a lot over the phone that they always talked to her “Study a lot!” Her parents support her by sending money for her to attend the private academy that provides additional academic support after school. She misses her parents very much, especially when she is sick. She also misses her mom’s food. Her parents are proud that she is studying in America by herself and she is satisfied with her American guardian.

Her goal in the U.S. is to get a good grades and good SAT scores so that she can transfer to a university in Korea. Since some of the top universities in Korea accept transfer students from America, she is aiming for transferring to one of them. She responded:

I want to go to Korea and Korean university after graduating high school here. After high school, I need to go to university, right? And first of all, I want to go Korean university. If it is not possible, I can go to university in American then go to Korea. And I want to get a job in Korea.

Thus, she wants to go back to Korea after she graduates from high school. If she is not accepted into a Korean university, she wants to graduate from a college in America with a degree in forensic science. However, her parents want her to major in psychology and go to graduate school to study psychology. She really wants to go back to Korea and get a job in Korea after college. Nevertheless, she thinks that there are more opportunities in America in terms of the job market and she does not have any regrets about her study in the U.S.

Eunhee

She was born in 1993. She lived in Gyung gi do, a suburb of Seoul. She came to the U.S. by herself at the age of 15. She identifies herself as Korean and she speaks Korean and English to her friends in America. She studied English for seven years before she came to the U.S.

She expressed that English was very difficult for her and that she could not communicate with others at the beginning of her stay in the U.S. She said that she learned grammar and vocabulary in English, but she lacked speaking skills in English. She responded:

I learned English for seven years, but English was very difficult to me when I arrived in American. Because at that time, I thought I am good at English but in Korea, we don't learn about how to speak English. Just study about grammar or vocab so when I first came here, everything is strange and I cannot understand what they gonna say to me. So that is very difficult to me.

She confessed that she still has some difficulties with English and also she has some trouble with having conversations with her friends. As a result, she felt more comfortable speaking in Korean.

Her mother suggested that she come to the U.S. for her education and she wanted to find her dream in the U.S. She responded:

When I was 14, my mom said that I don't have a dream about my future. So my mom said "Why don't you go to America and find your dream?" And I came to the U.S. and I stayed one year but I cannot find it and I just decide to go back to Korea and I stayed one year and I found my dream to be a fashion designer. So I found the college in New York City, so my mom and I decided to come back to America and study for my future. She felt like she became an American when she visited Korea during her summer break. She stated:

When I am in Korea for the summer vacation, I meet my friends there. But we don't have same conversation and I don't understand what they are saying and I don't understand some of Korean slangs. So I ask my friends every day, "What does it mean?" So um my friends tell me that "Oh, you are little bit of American!" She had some trouble in the beginning adjusting to the new culture of the American school system and the culture in the U.S. as a whole. She could not get used to having a quiz and having to study for it every day. She responded:

In Korea, we don't have lot of quiz, and tests at school. But they have a lot of quiz and study here in America. So If I have a test in Korea, I can study only before the final exam, and I can study only like for a month to prepare the test. But, I have to study everyday here in America because there is a test and quiz every day. That is very difficult to me that I have to study every day.

However, she described that she changed after she came to the U.S. and is now a more positive and outgoing person. She said:

When I first went back to Korea for my summer break, my mom said “your personality is little bit changed. So I asked my mom why I changed and she said, “Before you went to the U.S., you were little bit shy and did not want to talk to anybody like with many peoples, but now you can speak in front of many people and have some positive mind.” She misses her mother and grandmother in Korea. Her academic achievement was high and her GPA was very high. English was the most difficult subject for her, especially grammar. She expressed that she needed extra help in English. However, she did not have a private tutor nor did she attend the private academy after school. She did not join any school clubs and most of her friends were Korean.

She sees her parents once a year and talks to them every day on the phone. She feels very lonely due to being separated from her parents. Her parents are not involved in her studies in the U.S., but they are very proud of her that she studies in the U.S. by herself. She responded that she missed her parents very much, and she missed them most when she was sick. She is satisfied with her American guardian. She wanted to be a fashion designer in the future and her goal in the U.S. is to own her fashion design company. Because of her ambitions, she does not want to go back to Korea after she graduates from college and her parents are supportive of her career choice. She expressed that she could not go to a good college in Korea because it would be more difficult to study in Korea. She responded:

I think I would study about art if I went to the college in Korea, but I think I would not go to good college in Korea. Because I did not get a good grade at high school in Korea, and I think it is hard to get a good grade in Korea. So I think I would not be able to go college in Seoul where the best colleges are.

Misoon

She was born in 1994. She lived in Seoul and she came to the U.S. by herself at the age of 16. She identified herself as Korean and she speaks Korean to her friends in America as well her parents in Korea. She studied English for seven years before she came to the U.S. She wanted to come to the U.S. because she disliked the Korean educational system. She responded that high school in the U.S. is very difficult; specifically, she has had difficulty with math.

She always regards herself as Korean. It was very difficult for her to adjust American culture, and particularly, it has been a challenge to make friends with Americans. She responded, “when I came to America, it was difficult like in the relationships. In Korea, when we meet people; we have strong bonds among friends or among peoples. But I think Americans do not do so.” Thus, she felt that it was hard to build up a strong bond with American classmates at school. So her friends are mostly Koreans in the U.S. She expressed that she has become a more independent person since she came to the U.S. She responded:

My mind is different compared to myself in Korea. In Korea, I usually hang out with nice peoples around me, and they were so friendly. I tend to speak peoples who showed me friendlessness. But I can talk and hang out peoples in America even though they do not close to me or friendly to me. Also, like, I grown up that I became more independent because in Korea my parents did all of things for me. But I do everything here in America. She misses her friends and family from Korea. Her academic achievement was high and she attended the private academy after school. She stated that science and history were the most difficult subjects for her. Her parents do not get involved in her schoolwork or force her to study, and they totally trust her in every aspect. She sees her parents once a year and talks to them once a week. She expressed that it is difficult to not live with her parents since she is the only child in her family. In addition, it was not easy to take care of herself in America since her mother

prepared everything for her before she came to the U.S. Thus, she misses her parents very much. When she had a problem or trouble that she wanted to discuss with her parents, she expressed that it is hard to set up a time to talk to them due to the time difference.

She expressed that she did not content with her Korean guardian that her guardian spread out her private life and behaviors to other Koreans around him. She responded:

Our relationship is difficult. I don't know about her and she does not know about me. I always think that I will be nice to her even though she is so mean to me. I want to be a kind girl for her. But she is Korean, and she told about my faults or other private things to the other Korean people that we know in common.

Her goal in the U.S is to go to college and she wants to major in psychology or TESOL

(Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages). She has not decided whether she wants to go back to Korea after she graduates from college, but she wants to have a job after college in the U.S. She expressed that it would be really hard for her to enter college if she was in Korea. Thus, she is satisfied with her decision to come to the U.S.

Type III (cultural adaptation high/academic achievement low): Chulsoo, Young, Jai

Chulsoo, Young and Jai showed that they did not have difficulties in adjusting to American culture but their academic performance in the U.S. is low. Only Chulsoo attends the private academy after school for extra help on his study. Young and Jai had studied in New Zealand before they came to the U.S. but they still had difficulties in English at school. Young and Jai responded commonly that they tried to have friendships solely with Americans in order to improve their English skills while they were in the U.S. Jai responded that he was hanging out with only Korean friends while he was in New Zealand which hindered his English proficiency. Their responses show us that peer groups may play an important role in promoting or hindering the school success of Parachute students (Zhou, 1998).

Three students commonly responded that they do not miss their parents but rather, they were used to living without their parents and are satisfied with their life in the U.S. Young expressed that he felt more freedom and relaxed in the U.S. Those responses show us a different finding from Kim (1993), which suggests that due to their parents' absence, Korean students who study abroad may feel unstable, depressed and lose their confidence. Also, it disputes the Hernandez (1993) argument that 'in regard to children living in intact families, studies have shown that the children living in institution, in one parent family, or even blended families tend to be disadvantaged with regard to socioeconomic circumstances, psychological function, behavioral problems, education, and health, and these risks factors severely limit their life chances.'

Only Young wants to stay in the U.S. after college; Chulsoo and Jai want to go back to Korea after college and get a job in Korea. This refutes Zhou's (1998) finding that Parachute students come to the U.S. to attend college.

Chulsoo

He was born in 1993 in Seoul. He came to the U.S. at the age of 15 with his mother and sister; however, they left right after school began for the term. He identifies himself as Korean and he speaks English with his friends in America.

He studied English for nine years in Korea and English was not an obstacle for him when he arrived in America. However, he still feels most comfortable speaking in Korean. He stated that his parents sent him to the U.S. He feels like an American when he eats cheese steaks and drives American brand cars. He did not have any problems adjusting to American culture. Furthermore, he found that he was more active and a better person after he lived in America by

himself. He did not miss anything from Korea. His academic achievement was low and he attended the private academy after school in order to get help with his homework. He described English, Spanish, and grammar as the most difficult subjects and he got extra help from teachers all the time. He says:

Actually, I need an extra help and I did ask teachers for helping me on English and Spanish grammar part. I also go to the private academy after school to get my homework done. I don't learn there but do my homework. He sees his parents once a year and talks to them once a week on the phone. His parents do not get involved in his studies at all and he does not care about living apart from them. He says, "I don't miss my parents that much, and I cannot think about the moments that I miss my parents the most. Um, I just can't think about it right now."

His parents are proud that he is studying in the U.S. He is satisfied with her Korean guardian. He did not have any particular future goals for his time in the U.S. aside from wanting to attend an American college. He says, "I did not set up my goals, and that is my problem. I am not sure about my future either. If I can, I want to go to college in the U.S."

He replied that he wants to go back to Korea after college and he never thought about staying in Korea and studying there.

Young

He was born in 1994 and lived in Seoul before he came to the U.S. He studied in New Zealand for two years before he came to the U.S. He went to the New Zealand at the age of 12 and came to the U.S. by himself at the age of 14.

He described himself as Korean; however, he always speaks English with his friends at school in order to improve his English skills. He avoids having Korean friends at school. He

studied English for five to six years in Korea and English was not an obstacle for him when he arrived in the U.S. However, he felt more comfortable speaking in Korean.

He responded that he did not have any problems adjusting to American culture since his mother was a very open-minded person to all kinds of culture. He was influenced by his mother and he did not have any trouble accepting new ideas and customs. He says, “my mom is really open-minded person. So...I guess growing up with her and her teaching, uh, just I am kind of open-minded too. So I did not really have trouble adopting American culture.”

He decided to come to the U.S. because he hated the Korean educational system. In particular, he disliked that he had to stay in school for a long time and had to always have a private tutor to catch up with his school work in order to not be embarrassed. He says:

I was kind of sick and tired of Korean education like the school system and private tutoring after schools. I really did not like it. It was too hard for me. I was, I wanted to come here in a sense of freedom, I guess.

He wanted to have freedom in his program of study. Thus, he found himself more relaxed and positive since he came to the U.S. He likes his American guardian but he felt uncomfortable from time to time since they are not his biological parents.

His friends are mostly Americans and he responded that, “I pushed myself to hang out with only Americans and it turned out to be pretty good in improving English skills.” He had two Chinese friends, but no Korean friends. He was not involved in any school clubs and he did not have a private tutor nor did he attend the private academy after school. His most difficult subject was English and he had a hard time writing essays. He says:

English, when it come to essay parts, I have trouble writing essays. Well, I have thoughts in my heard in Korean, but it gets hard to me when I try to translate it, I mean to articulate it. And I have trouble writing essays in the grammatical sense. Like, it is really flawed.

He expressed that he missed Korean food and family; however, he usually did not talk to his father. He sees his parents once a year and talks to his mother four times a week on the phone. He is used to living separate from his parents and his host family treats him as their son. Thus, he responded, "I don't really miss my parents, and I am satisfied with my life here in America". He sometimes misses his family when he goes out to eat, but mostly he did not miss them. His parents always ask him about his homework and SAT scores and check on him all the time over the phone.

His mother expressed pride in the fact that he is studying in the U.S.; however his father was upset that there was no time to spend time with him. He does not want to go back to Korea after he graduates from college in America. He wants to study industrial engineering in college and wants to attend graduate school after he completes his bachelor's degree. His father suggested that he study industrial engineering. He also wants to marry and get a job in the U.S. He described that he would be really stressed out if he stayed and studied in Korea.

Jai

He was born in 1994 and lived in Busan, which is seven hours from Seoul. He was in New Zealand for two years and came to the U.S. by himself at the age of 14. He went to New Zealand when he was eleven years old by himself. He responded that his parents forced him to come to the U.S. to study. He identifies himself as half Korean and half American. He tries to only speak in English with his friends at school in order to improve his English speaking skills. Since he studied in New Zealand for two years before he came to the U.S., he did not have any problem communicating in English in the U.S. However, he expresses that it is difficult to complete school work in English and it takes a long time for him to finish. He says:

Well, I don't really have trouble communicating, but with other people, but still, the school works are, it takes me more time to complete the works. Maybe. He feels most comfortable speaking Korean rather than English. He described that he felt like he was an American when he visited Korea for his summer break; however, he felt Korean when he came to the U.S. He says:

When I go back to Korea, I think I am different than other Koreans. And I think I am like an American at that moment. Like, I felt like completely Korean when I came back to the U.S. So it is opposite feeling depends on where I am. He did not have any problem with adjusting to American culture, but he misses his family, friends and Korean food. He expresses that he misses his friends the most. Most of his friends in America are Koreans and he is involved in one of the school clubs. However, his academic achievement is very low. He thinks that the Bible is the most difficult subject for him to study and he has a private tutor for his school work.

He sees his parents once a year and talks to them once a week. He did not miss his parents unless he was sick. He responded that his parents are not proud of him because his academic achievement is really low. He is satisfied with his Korean guardian.

His goal in the U.S. is to go to an American college but he wants to go back to Korea after graduating college. His parents want him to study engineering or architecture for his college major. He thinks that he will take over his father's business in Korea.

He responded:

I don't like America. I do not want to stay in America but I have to stay here because of my parents. The only reason that I came to the U.S. was that I was kicked out of the school in the NZ. I was in the golf team since I wanted to be a golfer. They picked eight players and the best eight players, and that is called varsity in New Zealand and I was in that. But there was some racism and one white guy did not want me to be in the best eight players, and he hated and blamed me. And saying bad things. So I had some trouble with him, so I almost like kicked out of the school. So that is the reason that I had to come to the U.S.

Type IV (cultural adaption high/academic achievement high): Junhee, Mee, Joohyun, Youngjoon

Junhee, Mee, Joohyun and Youngjoon responded that they did not have any difficulties in adjusting to American culture, and their academic performance was high in the U.S. None of them attended the private academy after school nor did they have private tutors in the U.S. Junhee, Mee and Youngjoon want to go back to Korea after attending college in the U.S.; In case of Junhee, he wants to go to college in Korea. Their responses also reflect the recent trend in Korea that many enterprises such as Samsung and LG in Korea tend to hire Koreans who graduate from colleges in the U.S. due to their high English proficiency (Herald Media, 2006). Junhee, Mee, Joohyun were sent to the U.S. by their parents' but Youngjoon decided for himself to come to the U.S. to study. They all are happy that they have more free time and free will in their studies compared to their life in Korea. This shows us that, as the Korean Daily (2007) reported, Korean parents and students were largely disappointed with the Korean public education system, and they decided to study abroad.

Junhee

He was born in 1995 and lived in Busan. He studied in Australia for two years before he came to the U.S. by himself at the age of 14. He identified himself as Korean and he speaks English with his friends in America. He studied English for three years in Korea and two years in Australia.

He expressed that he had a hard time with English when he arrived in the U.S. due to his Aussie accent; however, he got used to the American accent gradually. He felt most comfortable speaking Korean rather than English. He did not have any problems adjusting to American

culture since he had lived in the Australia before. He thinks that there are no differences between Korea and U.S. Thus, he believes that he did not change at all in terms of his way of thinking, ideas, values or customs during his stay in America.

He expressed that he really wanted to go back to Korea since he misses his friends and family a lot. He responded that “I really feel lonely and I really want to go home. I just want to go back to Korea as soon as possible.” He sees his parents once a year and talks to them once a week. He really did not mind being separated from his parents since he got used to living by himself while he was in Australia. He responded:

I don't really care of being separated from parents. Cause like well um well when I went to Australia for my first time, it was kind of really hard for me because I was in the fifth grade. I cried a lot, but I got used to it and I am actually fine now. He expressed that his mother forced him to study abroad in Australia at the age of 12 and that she is the one who sent him to the U.S. His mother checked his school work every day on the phone; however, she never could not contact his teachers since she could not speak English. He says:

She just keep asking me like how it is going and did you do your homework, Even though I am not with her, like just on the phone. She is like make sure you do your homework and stuff. His parents were very proud that he is studying in the U.S. He misses his parents when he is sick and also when his friends go visit their parents. In terms of his school activity, he is involved in the soccer and tennis clubs. Most his friends are Americans. He responded that chemistry, science and biology were very difficult due to the terminology. He also needed extra help with English grammar. He does not have a private tutor nor does he attend the private academy.

His goal is to get a perfect GPA as well as SAT scores so that he can enter the foreign language university in Korea. The reason he came to the U.S. was to avoid the severe competition of entering college in Korea. He says:

If I actually stayed in Korea, like, for all the Korean students stay up until two a.m. for their study and it is very competitive. But if I come to America, I have more like chance to get into a good college. Thus, even though I don't have any plans to attend college in the U.S, I came to the U.S.

As he stated, he wants to go back to Korea after graduating high school and he wants to stay and live in Korea for good. He sees himself in the field of architecture or in music after ten years. He expressed that he really wanted to go to a music college; however his parents strongly disagree with it. He says:

I like piano and drums but I have to still talk to my parents about being a musician.

My mom always says to make sure you get the highest grades so that you can go to the best university.

He responded that he could be relaxed in America but living in America is boring. In addition, he thinks that it is better to live in Korea due to the public transportation. He had a hard time getting a ride in America and the public transportation is not well developed in the suburban area where he lives.

Mee

She was born in 1994 and lived in Dajun, three hours from Seoul. She came to the U.S. by herself at the age of 15. She thinks of herself as while she stays in America. She speaks English with her friends, even her Korean friends. She studied English for six years in Korea; however, English was an obstacle for her when she arrived in the U.S. since she never had a chance to communicate with foreigners in English. Also, it was totally new and different English compared to what she learned in Korea. Thus, she felt comfortable to speak in Korean.

Her father sent her to the U.S., because he wanted her to experience new cultures as well as learn English. Thus, he sent her to an American guardian and she is satisfied with it. She says:

I want to learn English and I just want to experience new cultures and like I like to meet with a lot of people and like uh have a good relationship with them.

Like, my father, at first my father said this to me at first and I thought, I was kind of hesitated to come here. But I thought I think oh it is going to be a great opportunity to come here. So I came to the U.S.

She did not have any difficulties adjusting to American culture, and she became very active after she joined choir, concert team, and sports team at her school in America. She says:

I was kind of like passive, because in Korea, we just did school works, and we don't usually do other activities like in Korea, but in the States, I do concert choir, I do some kind of sports. So I think that those things make me to be like proactive.

Her academic achievement was high and she had a high GPA, but she had difficulties in English and biology. In English, it was hard for her to write an essay due to her lack of vocabulary skills.

She says:

Writing essay was not usually that I did in Korea because we solve equations and but not write essays. So it was the first year experience writing essay in the States and like it has been, it still has been hard to write essays. And science, there is a lot of vocabulary like terminologies is pretty difficult.

However, she does not have a private tutor nor does she attend the private academy after school.

She tended not to get extra help from her school either.

She misses her family, friends and food from Korea. She sees her parents once a year and talks to them once a week on the phone. She expressed that she felt sorry for her parents because she did not live with her parents since she was the only child. Her parents tried to find a way to support her study in the U.S. by talking to people who studied in America. She says:

My parents try to find me a way. If I have a question about taking classes or stuff, cause like they are not like professional, so they like to try to find a ways to ask somehow, for me, to the um to some people to who knows well about study abroad in the U.S.

They were proud that she was studying in the U.S. Her goal in the U.S. is to go to college, but she wants to go back to Korea after she graduates. She sees herself in graduate school in business in ten years, and her parents want her to study hotel management in Las Vegas. She thinks that she would be passive and narrow minded if she stayed in Korea.

Joohyun

He was born in 1994 and came to the U.S. by himself at the age of 16. He identifies himself as Korean and speaking in Korean is comfortable for him. He speaks English with his friends at school and he studied English for 10 years in Korea. His parents suggested that he study in the U.S., and English was an impediment for him when he arrived in the U.S. since he did not know any everyday words. He still thinks that English is hard in terms of writing essays and studying for SAT.

He expresses that it was not hard for him to adjust to American culture because he thinks that he is always Korean, and he does not want to be like Americans at all. He responded, “I saw some Korean friends are confused whether they are Korean or American. But, I think I am Korean.”

The only thing that he has changed since he’s been in America is that he now has free will. He did not have any choices in Korea in terms of his school life and studies but he had to study hard in order to enter college. However, he found that he could have more options that he could choose what to study and what not to study in America.

He has a high GPA. He got all A’s and one B, and he does not have a tutor nor does attend the private academy after school. He expresses that English and history are very difficult, especially reading books and writing essays. He said that he got the help from his English

teacher the most. He says, “English and history are the most difficult. I have to write essays in English classes, and it is hard thing. Also, reading books is also hard.”

He does not have any Korean friends, only American friends. He also is not involved in any school clubs.

He sees his parents once a year and talks to them once a week on the phone. He did not feel much difference in his living situation since being separated from his parents. He says, “I don’t feel much differences that I am staying with my host parents and I like my American family. Since I live in my American friend’s house, they treat me like their son.”

Thus, he is satisfied with his American guardian; however, he has had to change his guardian three times since he arrived in the U.S. He said that he prefers to stay with Korean guardians because he can talk about everything in Korean. He says:

I move a lot because I was with a Korean family for the first guardian, but I did not like them. So I moved to my aunt’s house, but her family had problems that I had to move to other house. Then, I moved to the pastor’s house, and I moved to the American guardian’s house. But so far I like the pastor’s house better because I can talk everything in Korean.

His parents wanted him to have a private tutor to support his SAT prep, but he refused.

Nevertheless, they are proud that he is studying in the U.S. He did not miss his parents, but he thinks about his parents when he needs help. He wants to go to college and get a job in the U.S, and he was not sure about going back to Korea after college. He wants to study architecture and his parents also want him to go to college and get a nice job in the U.S. He expressed, “I still like Korea. I came to America to learn American culture.”

Youngjoon

He was born in 1994 and lived in Ansan, a suburb of Seoul. He came to the U.S. at the age of 17 with his brother. His brother also studied at the same school in the U.S. He identifies himself as Korean and he studied English for three years in Korea. He did not have difficulties with English when he arrived in America, but he expressed that he had problems with speaking and writing in English. Thus, he prefers speaking in Korean.

He decided himself to come to the U.S. to be a pastor because he thinks that the origin of Christianity is in America and he wants to go to the seminary school in the U.S. He said that it was easy to adjust in American culture. He says:

I have no reasons but it was easy for me to accept American culture and everything was just comfy for me. He got all A's in school and he does not have a private tutor nor does he attend the private academy. His most difficult subject is English. He says:

Since I am a foreign student, English is difficult for me but I don't ask extra help to teachers, but I have a plan to attend private academy when the soccer season finish getting help on my English. He has some Korean friends and some American friends; however, he usually hangs out with Korean friends more. He says, "I don't hang out with American friends because they want to play the video game which I don't like. But I can play soccer or other sports with my Korean friends, so I hang out with Koreans more."

He sees his parents once a year and talks to them every day. He did not want to be separated from his parents and he always misses them. His parents do not get involved in his studies in the U.S., and they trust him explicitly. His goal in the U.S. is to attend graduate school and then go back to Korea. He aspires to be a pastor in the future.

He thinks the differences between America and Korea is freedom in study. He said that “I can decide how much I will study in America, but I have to study in Korea regardless of my will”

Teachers

Four teachers who currently teach Korean Parachute students were recruited by school counselors in each school. Two teachers in each school were recruited. It is important to interview teachers because they can evaluate the Korean Parachute students’ academic performance and they also closely observe Korean Parachute students’ traits in terms of their academics, peer relationship and cultural adjustment. It was expected that teachers might provide sound opinions about how Korean Parachute students navigate any difficulties and challenges in their school life.

Table 4.3.

Teacher Participants in the study

Name	School	Sex	Subject	Years of Teaching	Race
Hannah	James	F	English and Literature	5	White
Kathy	James	F	Chemistry	11	White
Ashley	Middle	F	English, Drama	7	White
Kimberly	Middle	F	English, AP English, French, Composition	24	White

Two teachers at James Wood High School

Hannah and Kathy responded that they design the class differently to accommodate the Korean Parachute students so that they can understand the material. They also give them extra help. They viewed the Korean Parachute students as hard workers and believed that the Korean Parachute students take their education in the U.S seriously. These responses show us that American teachers believe the ‘Model Minority Myth,’ which stems from the belief that they have achieved an exceptional level of accomplishment and success through hard work and determination- something that has earned Asian Americans the label of the “new Jews” (Wu, 2002). However, the teachers that were interviewed had not had a chance to talk to the parents nor discuss the Korean Parachute students’ future plans. Since Korean Parachute students’ parents do not speak English and parents usually turn over their responsibility to their children’s guardian, it is nearly impossible to speak with them directly. In addition, they commonly responded that Korean Parachute students are shy and hesitant to ask questions of the teachers. This supports Yun’s (2000) argument. He asserts that Korean Parachute students are not used to asking questions to teachers and hesitate contacting their teachers even though they have difficulties with their class work. These two teachers believed that English is an obstacle for Korean Parachute students that hinder their academic progress in the U.S.

Hannah

Hannah is an English and literature teacher and she has been teaching at James Wood High School for five years. She is White and she did not recognize how many Korean Parachute students she has in her classes. She recognized some of the names as Korean Parachute students

from the class roster. She stated that Korean Parachute students seemed not to build relationships with American classmates, but rather they tended to form groups with other Koreans.

She responded:

I had as many as three Korean students in the classroom a couple of years ago, and they kind of stayed together, and did things together. But right now, they are pretty separate.

She designs her class differently to accommodate Korean Parachute students; she speaks more frequently in those classes. She stated that she had a difficult time understanding the Korean Parachute students due to their Korean accent. She responded:

Some of Korean parachute students who come, their abilities are very good, they are able to learn and they understand and write very well. But, it is apparent that some of them are not. Then I just try to make sure they understand and sometimes modify their assignment if I have to. Occasionally we have a Korean parachute student whose accent is really strong and then I think I have to keep asking him/her. I feel badly because sometimes I can't understand them, and they probably have just as hard time understanding me.

She also puts forth extra effort to help the Korean Parachute students. She remembers that most of the Korean Parachute students' academic achievement is average. She built close relationships with some of the Korean Parachute students; but she thinks that they are shy and that they are hesitant to ask questions and get involved in class activities.

However, she believes that Korean Parachute students take their education very seriously since they asked many questions about tests and quizzes. In addition, the Korean Parachute students have asked to retake their test or quiz when they aren't satisfied with their grade. Also, some Korean Parachute students ask her if they can increase their grade by completing extra work.

She responded:

They ask many questions, and they are very respectful, on average, but they

really want to change things. If they haven't got the grade that they wanted, they want to change whatever is necessary to get the grade they need. She never had a chance to discuss future plans with the Korean Parachute students but she usually contacted their guardians by e-mail when she had problems. She never contacted Korean Parachute students' parents directly even by e-mail.

She responded:

I occasionally contact guardians if the assignment did not come in, or if there is just problem or if they contact me. It will usually be nice if I send an e-mail that the students are doing really well. That is for all of my students actually. She also mentioned that she wanted to support Korean Parachute students as they worked on learning English. She plans to create a club for them. She responded:

I think Korean parachute students or any of other international students' English is a little bit of broken or their accent is strong. Students cannot find the way that they can improve and unfortunately they can't change their English skills. We gotta find out how we can do that. So one of my goals is to find a way to support them since they should be helped.

Kathy

Kathy taught chemistry for 11 years at James Wood High School. She had two Korean Parachute students in her class. She thinks that Korean parachute students' peer relationships are good, but it seems that they are reserved.

She teaches Korean Parachute students differently. Specifically, she assigns a different textbook for them to read that is easier. She also modifies Korean Parachute students' homework. Teaching Korean Parachute students was a challenge for her due to them being English language learners. She responded:

I will give Korean Parachute students a different text to read, different or easier text. There were things I did last year. Um, I just kind of modify their assignment. But nobody yet this year has shown me that they need this accommodation.

She had a fair relationship with the Korean Parachute students in her class. She responded that their academic achievements are average, but their math skills are distinct. She felt that Korean Parachute students work really hard and that they take their education seriously since they study hard and ask many questions. She responded:

They always work very hard on their homework; it is always, you know, well-done, neat. They study, they ask questions, you know, overall, I guess they all consider their education seriously.

She never had a chance to discuss about their future plans. She pointed out that the biggest problem facing Korean Parachute students is their poor English skills. Even though they seem to adjust well to school system, their English proficiency levels are low which hinders their communication with teachers.

She admits that she never contacted the Korean Parachute students' guardians or parents. She usually waited until the 'Back to school night' to speak with the guardians. She pointed out that some of Korean Parachute students' academic achievement was good; but they were not really engaged with their classmates since they are shy and passive and rarely got involved in class activities. Also, she noticed that they tended to mostly associate with other Koreans, and they formed their own groups.

Two teachers at Middle Wood High school

Ashley and Kimberly commonly responded that they faced challenges when teaching Korean Parachute students due to their low English skills. This supports the finding of Chee et al.'s (2001) study that argues that Korean Parachute kids face a mountain of difficulties in the United States including language acquisition, the stresses of "fitting in" and settling into a

radically different environment. Thus, both teachers had to design the class differently and had to put extra effort to teach the Korean Parachute students.

Teachers stated that Korean Parachute students had a strong Korean identity and that they do not want to assimilate with American classmates, but would rather form their own group in class. This is a similar finding to Kibria (1997) that Asian Americans with significant involvement in Asian American organizations exhibited a heightened sense of an Asian racial identity. Likewise, Korean Parachute students have a strong sense of both their Korea identity as well as their Asian identity while in the U.S. However, their teachers were concerned that it was hindering their academic progress even though Korean Parachute students take their education seriously. The teachers also stated that the Korean Parachute students at Middle Wood High School focused on grades so much that they wanted to get a perfect score regardless of the subjects. This shows us that teachers regarded the Korean Parachute students as part of the ‘model minority group,’ that they are hard workers and college oriented.

Ashley

Ashley teaches English, speech and drama. She has been teaching for seven years at Middle Wood High School. She has two to fifteen Korean Parachute students depending on the class. She responded that Korean parachute students’ peer relationships have not improved because they refuse to integrate with their American classmates. She stated that the Korean Parachute students form a hierarchical structure that has a “top dog” and they follow his/her instruction. If Korean Parachute students do not follow “top dog’s” instruction, those Korean parachute students were bullied. She responded:

Korean Parachute student’s peer relationships in class are very interesting. When

they are fewer of the students, Korean students, in an American classroom, they tend to integrate family well. They really try to get to know the American students; they try to work on their English skills. What we have found is when there are more than five or six Koreans in class; they tend to isolate themselves as a group, and refuse to participate in with the American students. And that's been a real big problem in some of the classes where there is been a large populations of Korean students, they tend to create their own society, and refuse to integrate. And it is been a real problem because for one thing we have seen they are not progressing in English. They are not making progress that we have made in the past when there are fewer in class. There tends to be a hierarchical structure to their culture, and it is almost like working for top dog and them kind of fall in pecking order. So if the top dog doesn't want things done a certain way, or does not want other Korean kids talking to American students, there is a lot of pressure on other Koreans. We do have several Korean students who have withdrawn from the Korean community and have integrated into the American culture for working on their English skills, and what we have found is that the bulk of other Korean students tell them that "you are not really Korean". So there is this real peer pressure exists and push them not to integrate to American classmates.

She teaches Korean Parachute students differently; specifically, she speaks slowly to them and repeats herself to confirm their comprehension. She also asks more questions to them to double check. It was a challenge because she tried to balance her teaching style between the American students and Korean Parachute students. For example, she is trying to speak not too slow but not too fast either. She responded:

The biggest challenge is not moving too fast for the Korean students, but not moving so slowly that I lose the American students, making progress with them as well. It is definitely juggling act that I am still trying to learn, and trying to balance with. Most of time I found that the Korean students if they find that we are moving quickly, they will do whatever it take to keep up. They don't tend to give up. They will get to extra tutoring; they will get the extra help that come see me when they have the time to ask questions.

She recognized that two of the Korean Parachute students in her class are distinct. She believed that Korean Parachute students take their education seriously since they ask for extra tutorial sessions and extra help on with their work. She usually invests her extra time after school in tutoring the Korean Parachute students.

She responded that she always talks with the Korean Parachute students about their future plans.

She gives them advice on about the TOEFL and SAT tests. She responded:

I discuss the students' futures all the time, individually. They will ask me questions about taking the TOEFL test. They will ask me about SAT... you know, we discuss these things, and I know for a lot of them, it is a big worry. It is something that is a lot of pressure put on them from home, ...many of them spend their summers studying for college entrance exams so I try to help them out, try to give them guidance and explain to them how they can register to take the SAT, how it work.

Her impressions of Korean Parachute students are that they tend to be perfectionists and they want to learn many things at once. She responded:

Korean Parachute students tend to be perfectionists. So they want it all right. You know, and they want to understand it all right now, instead of realizing that this is going to be a process that is going to take time. So I teach them to understand what you can and work hard and it will eventually come, you will get comfortable with the language, and you will do better in classes. But just getting them to understand that is not all going to happen today. It is a process.

She also felt that most Korean Parachute students adjust well to the school system and work hard to be high academic achievers. However, one of them tended to fail every semester, and so she thinks that their academic achievement can be varied based on their personality. She responded:

There were on Korean parachute student, actually, two Korean parachute students that were at the top of the class. They were in the top five. They worked like crazy, and one of those students spoke no English when he came here four years ago. So I mean, he is definitely an achiever. So um...it depends on the student's personality. What we found though is that the Korean Parachute students have much more of a foundation of English than do like the Chinese students that come in case we have a big Chinese population as well. So the Koreans seem to tend to have a much bigger foundation coming over here than we found with Chinese.

She never contacted their parents, but had contact with the American guardians since they can communicate well in English.

Kimberly

She teaches English, AP English, elementary French, and composition. She has been teaching for 24 years. For five of those years, she has been teaching at Middle Wood high school.

She has four to five Korean Parachute students in her classes. She responded that Korean Parachute students are friendly with their American peers but tended not to be close to them. She thinks that Korean Parachute students want to keep their identity as Koreans. She responded:

I think they still try to keep their identity as Koreans, and I think at lunch sometimes they have special lunches and they bring Korean food and share their Korean food at lunch. Once in a while, they would even have a day where they dress in similar ways. So I think it is a way of trying to keep their Korean identity. They also are allowed to speak Koreans during lunch time.

She teaches Korean Parachute students differently than the other students in her classes; she uses more visual aids such as drawing pictures and explain to them. She faced challenges when teaching the new Korean Parachute students. For example, she expressed that it is most difficult to teach them in their first semester due to their low English fluency. Also, it is hard for her to teach them how to write in English. She thinks that Korean Parachute students' reading, writing, vocabulary and grammar is behind compared to American students in general. She responded:

My current challenge is in writing and writing is one of the hardest skills to learn. They are struggling at knowing when to use 'the' and when to leave it out. And those who I teach currently have learned that they need to use an article and now sometimes they use it everywhere, and now I have to teach them sometimes you need it but not here. The students I am teaching this year are very bright. But the only way they are behind is their ability to write and their ability to read and understand advanced level reading. The vocabulary is lacking and that is the only way that they are behind.

She responded that she had a good relationship with Korean Parachute students and regarded them as serious, hard workers. She stated that Korean Parachute students always complete their homework, and ask more questions and for help until they get the good grades. However, some Korean Parachute students cheat while they are taking tests and some of them have plagiarized when writing essays because they want to get best grade. She responded:

Last year, I did have two very bright and very motivate Korean Parachute students who plagiarize in their papers. They did not possibly understand yet how to correctly use facts about plagiarism. Korean parachute students care about their grades more than many

American students. We have some American students who also work hard, care about their grades, but I would say percentage wise, a higher percentage of Korean students care about their grades, and may be prone to cheating. She discusses their future plans with them and she thinks that those Korean Parachute students who live with American guardians seem to adjust quicker to the school system and their studies. The difference between American students and Korean Parachute students, that she noticed, is that Korean Parachute students show respect to their teachers. However, some of Korean Parachute students are likely to skip their English classes because they are not good at English so they try to avoid it.

Overall, the teachers from these two schools both expressed that they face challenges when teaching Korean Parachute students due to their low English proficiency. Furthermore, none of the teachers had a chance to communicate with any of the Korean Parachute students' parents since their parents cannot speak English. They also commonly viewed Korean Parachute students as hard workers, but they were likely to form their own groups. In addition, all of the teachers had to alter their teaching style for the Korean Parachute students due to their language and lack of comprehension of the standard textbooks.

Parents

They commonly live outside of Seoul, the capital of Korea, sometimes as far away as seven hours. The sample of parents from this study contained only five students out of twelve are from the Seoul region. The parents in this study all had at least a bachelor's degree. This supports the finding from the Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development (2005) that 97.3% of Korean Parachute students' parents educational level was a bachelor's degree. However, none of the parents in this study had any experience studying abroad. In addition, none of them were

fluent in English so they could not communicate with the teachers and American guardians of their children in the U.S.

Table 4.4.

Parent Participants in the Study

Name	Sex	Living Place	Educational Level	Job
Kim	M	Dajun	Master	Head of after school academy
Park	F	Kimhae	Bachelor	House wife
Choi	F	Gyunggi do	Bachelor	Head of Kindergarten
Lee	M	Gyunggi do	Master	Pastor

The parents of the Korean Parachute students decided to send their children to the U.S. for a better education and more cultural experience. Kim, Park and Lee were very satisfied with their decision to send their children to the U.S. at an early age since they see that their children have adjusted well and study better in the U.S. These sentiments are contrary to the findings of the Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development (2005) where parents responded that 39% of their children's academic performance was high in Korea but only 19 % of them could keep their academic performance up while in the U.S.

In addition, the parents interviewed think that their children have been changed in a positive way that they are more proactive, outgoing and independent after being in the U.S. All of them think that the Korean education system is mainly focused on the college entrance exam and their children did not have a positive influence from those educational surroundings in Korea.

These responses are similar to the finding from Kim (2001) that Korean parents want to send

their children to the U.S. in order to improve their children's English skills, and they do not like with Korean educational system, and also they felt burden to pay exorbitant amount of money on their children's private education in Korea.

They responded that their children felt unhappy that they were separated from their parents, but they improved academically and were doing much better than what they would have in Korea. Thus, they believed that parental absence did not directly impact on their children's academics. However, they felt very bad to be separated from their children.

One Parent at James Wood High School

Kim

Kim is the father of Mee who is Type IV student. He lives in Dajun, which is Choongchung Namdo in Korea. He runs his own after school academy and his wife is a high school teacher. Both of them have a Master's degree. He decided to send his daughter to America because he wants her to have a broader world view and gain various experiences. He says: (the parents all spoke Korean and that I did the translations to English.)

When you live in Korea, you might become like a frog in a well. I know that there is no guarantee that you will become successful just because you live abroad, but when you are young, it is better to see the bigger world to gain experiences. So I sent her so that she can widen her perspective. He sent her to America at the age of 15. He sees her once a year and talks to her on the phone two to three times a week. He responded that he was very satisfied with his decision to send his daughter to America since she became more independent and adjusts well in America. He says:

I am satisfied that I sent her to the States because she is adjusting well there and she is very independent and not dependent at all. I don't think she is lonely. So compared to other kids, I think she is adjusting very well since she is so outgoing.

He proudly stated that his daughter got all A's at school without any extra help such as private tutoring or attending the private academy. He says:

I see her grades last year, and she received all A's, maybe one B+. But I don't know if that is a good thing or not. I don't have an overwhelming expectation for her to fulfill in the States. Like I said, I think it is up to her to find her way through studying in the U.S. He stated that his daughter has had a hard time managing her life in America by herself since she has had to take care of everything on her own. In addition, she confessed that it was not easy for her to be separated from her parents. He says:

I think her greatest challenge is that she is separated from her parents. Although she would never tell us, there must be part where she clashes with the home stay family. There should be times like when she cannot resolve those feelings but keep it bottled up inside her.

He explained that her English level in Korea was low and her academic achievement was average. He says that she is adjusting well in America and her peer relationships seems to be good. He feels that she has become more outgoing since arriving in America.

The only thing that he did not like was her guardian (American) because his daughter had difficulty securing transportation to and from school. However, he cannot speak with her guardian on a regular basis because he cannot speak English. He says:

We cannot be a hundred percent satisfied with the guardian. For example, the problem of distance between school and the house cause a problem in ride schedule. Also, we noticed that a lot of the home stay families are families that have divorced. We are hoping that she could stay with a family whose atmosphere is stable but those are the parts that are lacking. But we don't even contact her guardian through e-mail or phone since we cannot speak English.

Three Parents at Middle Wood High School

Park

Park is the mother of Soonhee who is Type II student. She lives in Kimhae, near Gyung-sang Nam-do in Korea. She is a house-wife and her husband owns a restaurant. They both

have bachelor's degrees. She responded that her daughter's high school teacher recommended that she go to America to study; furthermore, her daughter had been having a difficult time adjusting to the Korean education system. She described that her daughter had an extremely tight schedule and she did not have any free time. She says:

First, I got motivation from a case of my daughter's friend who has been successful studying at an early age in the U.S. and my daughter's high school teacher recommended. Also, my daughter had been difficulties to study in Korean high school education system that she had hard time to study. The high school always finished so late at night, and there are too many subjects that she had to study for entering university in Korea. So, she decided to send her to America. She got help from a study abroad agency and sent her daughter at the age of 18. She sees her daughter once a year and talks her two or three times a week.

She responded that she was very satisfied with her decision and also liked her daughter's guardian (American). She explained that her daughter was in the top 10% at her school in Korea and she was proud that her daughter had all A's in GPA in America. However, her daughter had difficulty with history. Her daughter does not have a private tutor nor does she attend the private academy. She says:

Now, she attends honored classes so she has some difficulties to do her assignment such as history reports. She wants to go on to a university in Korea. The Korea universities require high SAT and TOEFL scores. They often change their entrance policies and it is very competitive. Therefore, she is confused about her future and has some difficulties to manage her GPA. She believed that her daughter had a hard time due to the American food. She explained that her daughter misses Korean food very much.

She commented that her daughter became more responsible and thoughtful since it was the first time that she was separated from her family. She said that her daughter has become more

considerate and is now a good model for her younger sister and brother. She also responded that her daughter had many American friends. She says:

I have an affirmative view at an early age studying abroad. Studying abroad is not cost as much as studying in Korea. There is also a good change to grow a child internally. Living alone makes my kid be more optimistic, thoughtful and responsible.

Choi

Choi is the mother of Eunhee who is Type II student. She sent her son and daughter together to America. She lives in Gyung gido, which is a suburb of Seoul. She runs a kindergarten and she is a principal. Her husband works at a car business. They both have bachelor's degrees.

She explained that she wanted her children to experience the world and widen their perspectives. Because the Korean educational system is too tight and focused on the college entrance exam, she believed that her children would not be happy with it. Also, she explained that the "late night culture" in Korea, such as drinking alcohol, going to night clubs or wandering around the street without any reason with friends, is pretty bad and may have influenced her children negatively. Thus, she decided to send her children to America because she believed that the laws in America would protect her children. She says:

From a mother's perspective, I wanted to show my children bigger worlds to widen their perspectives. I also thought that the education system in Korea would not make them happy. The way teachers in Korea and the students in Korea just systematically went back and forth from school. This is an important time but I felt that my children would not be able to dream their future.

She sent her daughter at the age of 15 and she sees her daughter once a year, and talks to her every day on the phone. She confessed that she was not satisfied with her decision because she found out that it was so tragic for her children to be separated from their parents.

She responded that her daughter's English proficiency was low and her GPA in Korea was average; but she was happy that her daughter had a good GPA in America. However, she was surprised that her daughter got good grades even though she put one third of the effort into her studies compared to her effort in Korea. Her daughter does not have a private tutor nor does she attend the private academy for extra help.

Her daughter had adjusted well to American culture and her peer relationships were good. The only difficult thing for her daughter was to be separated from her parents and her daughter had a serious problem with eating due to the absence of her parents. She developed anorexia since her arrival in the U.S. She says:

Since the cuisine was so different there from Korea as well as she felt emptiness, she ate so much and she gained 20 pounds. So when she was in Korea, she was on a diet and lost 14 pounds. But when she went back to the U.S., she was worried about gaining weight again. Since she is so sensitive about gaining weight, she would throw up if she thinks that she eats a lot for her meal. So she got a counseling and treatment in Korea but she did the same thing when she went back to the U.S. I think she keeps throwing up when she eats a lot.

Her daughter was afraid of gaining weight and it gradually got worse. As a result, she had counseling with an adolescent psychological counselor in Korea when she came back to Korea for the summer break.

She explained that her daughter does not have many American friends because her daughter felt that American classmates had stereotypes about Koreans. Thus, she commented that her daughter's friends are mostly Koreans. She says:

I want her to have as many friends as she can and make American friends too, but it seems that they can't overcome the biases. So I tell her that she can meet better American friends when she enters college.

Lee

Lee is the father of Youngjoon who is Type IV student. He sent two sons to America. He lives in Gyung gido, a suburb of Seoul. He is a pastor and his wife is a teacher. They both have Master's degrees, but neither had studied in America before. He explained that he wanted his sons to have a stronger faith in God and also wanted them to have a wider outlook of the world.

He explained that his friend, another pastor, recommended that he send his children to America and his friend arranged the school and guardians. He sent his first son, Pyung, when he was 16. They see him once a year and they talk every day and video chat once a month. He responded that they tried to have a worship service together once a month through video chatting.

He explained that he was very satisfied with his decision as well as his children's guardian in America. He was proud that his son had all A's and he believed that his son did not have any difficulties with studying in America. His son never had a private tutor nor did he attend the private academy for extra help. He stated that his son's GPA in Korea was very high and he was always in the top 10 in school. He was happy that his son still got high grades in America.

He was also happy that his son did not have any problems with adjusting to America in terms of food, language or culture shock. However, he explained that his son kept telling him about the difficulties in building friendships with Americans at school. His son had an impression that American friends are too focused on themselves and less warm-hearted compared to Korean friends. He stated that this was the reason why his son's friends are predominantly Koreans. He says:

My son wants to have close and true relationship with American friends. His school friends, especially American friends think that many Koreans have attended this school for a short time and transfer. So they have not tried to close with newcomers. Therefore, he has felt that American friends are not only more individualistic than Korean friends but also less warm hearted than Koreans.

Overall, all of the parents' educational level was at least a bachelor's degree, but none of them had studied in the U.S. or studied abroad. They commonly responded that they weren't satisfied with the Korean educational system because it is focused on students studying solely for their college entrance exams. They all want their children to experience the world beyond Korea and they all contended that their children are doing well academically in the U.S. However, they felt bad that they had to be separated from their children but they were satisfied with their decision to send their children to the U.S. at an early age for their study.

Guardians

Susie and Katherine are both White and female. Susie had a Master's degree in education and Katherine graduated high school. They both lived in the suburban area of west Philadelphia. Susie became a guardian of Korean Parachute Kids because she is a teacher at the Middle Wood High School. She found about the guardian job through a personal connection and began to accept international students, not only Korean Parachute Kids, into her home. Katherine became a guardian of Korean Parachute Kids at her son's suggestion. Her son attended James Wood High School and his best friend was a Korean Parachute Kid. Since Katherine had one child, she decided to be the guardian of her son's friend.

American guardians commonly think that Korean Parachute students are quiet and very respectful. This perspective is similar to the finding from a previous study that suggests the Model Minority stereotype exists among American teachers and guardians. They believed that

Korean Parachute students are devoted, obedient to authority, respectful of teachers, smart, good at math and science, diligent, hard workers, cooperative, well-behaved, docile, college-bound, quiet, and opportunistic (Chang & Wu, 2002). However, the guardians felt that the Korean Parachute students wanted freedom since they did not live with their parents and they thought that they did not put their best effort toward their studies. The guardians never communicated with the Korean Parachute students' parents since they cannot speak English. However, they decided to be guardians for Korean Parachute Kids in order to get financial support or because their children asked to have their friends live with them. That was the biggest challenge for them because they could not have a discussion about the child even if there was a problem.

Table 4.5

Guardian Participants for the Study

Name	Sex	Race	Educational Level	Guardian Experience
Susie	F	White	Master	Five years
Katherine	F	White	High school	Four years
Youngsook	F	(Asian) Korean	High school	Two months
Eunmi	F	(Asian) Korean	Bachelor	Six years

In case of the Korean guardians, Youngsook and Eunmi, they also commonly responded that they seldom communicated with Korean Parachute students' parents since they tended to speak only to their children. Youngsook and Eunmi think that the Korean Parachute students think of them as hired employees since their parents pay for them to live with the guardians. Thus, it became a 'master and servant' relationship. Youngsook and Eunmi's feelings support Zhou's

(1998) finding that Chinese Parachute students hired an elderly servant who took care of them, and their parents paid \$3000 per month to the guardian (Hamilton, 1993). Likewise, Korean Parachute students' parents pay \$3000 monthly to their children's guardians. As a result Korean Parachute students believed that they deserve to be served.

American Guardians

Susie

She is American, White, and she has worked as a guardian for Korean Parachute students for five years. She has two students in her home. She is a teacher at Middle Wood High school as well as a guardian for Youngjoon, who attends Middle Wood High school. She has a Master's degree and lives in Harleysville. She responded that her relationship with her home-stay Korean Parachute students is good, but Korean parachute students had a tendency to isolate themselves. She felt that they did not want to integrate with her family. She says:

We found that it tends to be hard for them to be able to integrate into a family and be comfortable with them. There is many times where they will initially start with a family whether watching a movie, or doing something together and after a while they kind of tend to go isolate themselves again.

She explained that her perception of her Korean Parachute students at home was highly motivated by studious and academically driven students. However, they commonly wanted freedom since they were not under their parent's supervision but it hinders their academic accomplishments. She stated that her students at home were very respectful but they did not want to obey the home-stay house rules.

She confessed that her biggest challenge was the lack of communication with the parents. She never had a chance to communicate with the parents. She says:

The most difficult challenge that we had been probably to get understands the Korean students. He was here for an education not just to be able to have the freedom to do whatever he wanted to do. And one of the biggest problems that we had lack of communication with his parents. His parents do not speak English well, and they did not have an agency for him. So we did not really have a resource to contact his parents and says your son is refusing to obey, he is getting in trouble at school. So that was probably the biggest challenge.

Thus, whenever she had a problem with the students, she contacted the principals at the students' schools, and asked him/her to step in to help with solving the troubles. She also responded that her students at home had private tutoring and they felt their work in America was difficult. She explained that her students at home usually played on the computer during the weekend. She says:

He spent a lot of time on the computer which we would try to limit to a certain extent but we also did not want to invade his privacy. We tried to respect his privacy not go in to his room things like that. So it was hard to limit that.

She commented that she usually contacted the teachers about students' assignments and discussed the negative things about the students. Since she is a teacher at the school, it is easy to access to students' academic records and talk to their teachers.

Katherine

She is American, White, and a guardian for Junhee at James Wood high School. She has worked as a guardian for four years and Junhee is the only Korean Parachute student that she had as a home-stay student. She graduated high school. She responded that her relationship with Junhee is good and that he was very respectful of her and her family. But, her perception of Junhee was that he is lazy in regards to his studies. She believed that he did not put forth his best effort on his school work.

She explained that her challenge was with transportation. She expressed that it is hard to give him a ride every day. She tries to Junhee or call his study abroad agency whenever she has

trouble with him. She also contacted his cousin in Korea because his cousin was the only person who could communicate in English.

She stated that Junhee's grades were not good last year because he put less effort into his studies. She says:

In general, he is lazy. He does not do his best. He always does his assignments near due date or over due date. He can do better than that, but he puts less effort on his work.

However, his grade is not bad. He is head level of his class but he could do better. She responded that Junhee usually does volunteer work on the weekends. She has never gotten any complaints from Junhee, but she has never had a chance to talk to his parents in the four years he's been with her because they do not speak English. She says:

I never talk his parents since they do not speak English. Once I talked to his cousin who could speak English and interpreted for his parents, so I sent e-mail to his mother. But I got the late responses or no responses since there are an interpreter for them in Korea. She checked his school work by sending an e-mail to his school counselor. She says, "I sent e-mails to his school counselor because he is the 11th grade and I wanted to know his school life and the result of his academic performance."

Korean Guardians

Youngsook

She is Korean and a guardian for Jai at Middle Wood High School. She has worked as a guardian for two months and Jai is the only student that she has at home. She graduated high school and she lives in west Philadelphia. She explained that she began to work as a guardian because of her friend's recommendation. Her friend was the previous guardian for Jai and she took over her when her friend moved to Korea.

She believed that her relationship with Jai was good so far; however, she was not sure since he did not talk much at home. Her perception about Jai was that he looked tense and did

not get along with her family, even though they were also Koreans .She says, “When I saw him at first, he had a tense look. He also becomes strained when he is in new place. It makes him look as he does not get along well in a new place. Now, he is better.” She explained that Jai showed respect and behaved well at home, but her challenge was making food for him. She was not happy that he was picky about his food and that he did not want to eat the same food at each meal. She commented that she always cooked Korean food for him, but he often complained about the food. She explained that she talked to him whenever they had trouble and that she calls his previous guardian in Korea.

She stated that Jai did not seem interested in school and did not study hard at home. She explained that he usually played sports, went to church, watched movies, and played on the computer during weekends. She usually did not have phone conversations with his parents, but she did send e-mails to his mother. However, his mother does not always reply. She says, “We do not talk on the phone. I sometimes send an e-mail to his mother then her answers it. Nowadays, she is too busy so her respond is getting delayed.” She explained that she would call or e-mail his teachers at school about his studies, but she usually checked it out with the internet.

Eunmi

She is Korean and has worked as a guardian for six years. She had two Korean Parachute students at home. She is a guardian for Joohyun, who attends James Wood High School. She has a bachelor’s degree and she lives in Lansdale. She began to work as a guardian after her friends in Korea asked her to take care of their children. She explained that her relationship with him is fair and her perception of him was very good. She stated that he had good manners, and shows respect. She says:

I have a fair relationship with students that I take care of so far. But in the beginning, when I had four Korean students, I had a bad relationship with them. So I sent them off to different houses after four months they moved in. There was a problem that one male and one female student like each other since they live in the same house and their behavior went bad. They tried to stay together at night and disobey house rules. They think as if they were in camp. Thus, the entire mood of my house was not focused on study but having fun. So I asked them to leave my house. But after, I had two students left including Simon, and they are doing very well.

However, she felt that he regarded her as a worker not as his host mother. She described that her challenge as a guardian for the last six years was that the Korean Parachute students treated her as their servant since they thought that their parents paid her more than enough. She says:

No matter how hard I try to give him the best, we cannot have a good relationship since they only see me as a worker. The other problem is that their parents do not communicate with me as much as they do with their children. The students call their parents and complain what they do not like so the parents could tell me instead. And parents tend to believe what their children say and how they see the situation. They see the problem only from their children's perspective. Thus, students do not trust their host mother.

She also pointed out the difficulty with giving him a ride. She described that he wanted to hang out with friends a lot after school and wanted her to give him a ride often. Thus, she tried to regulate the frequency of the rides; however, she recognized that he was not happy with it.

She responded that she tried to have one-on-one conversations whenever she had trouble with him, and contact his parents by e-mail when she could not resolve it. She reported that she was surprised that his parents did not have a tendency to contact her and did not ask about him at all. She says:

I contact parents once a month as an obligation but they seldom contact me first. For instance, they contact me once in 6 months. This surprises me because I know that they talk to their children every day. I believed the parents and I are working together to raise the students. So I believed that parents and I have to have more conversation, but they don't do it.

She noticed that his parents usually contacted him only so they only heard his perspective. She stated that he usually studied hard at home. He spent his weekends studying for the SAT,

working on remaining homework, and playing with friends. She contacted his parents once a month to provide a regular report; however, his parents contacted her once in six months. She responded that she usually participated in parent/teacher conference day at his school and called each of his teachers during his first semester at school.

Overall, regardless of the ethnicity and language of the guardians, they commonly said that they seldom had a chance to talk to the students' parents. In the case of the American guardians, this was because the Korean parents do not speak English. For the Korean guardians, the students always talked to their parents in advance and the parents tended to listen to their children. American guardians perceived Korean parachute students as very respectful kids, but they wanted to have freedom to do what they chose. The guardians also think that the parents' absence could be the cause of the students' not doing their best in their studies. They also had challenges with scheduling transportation for the students. Also, they talked to the students directly if there was any trouble instead of telling their parents first.

Findings from Students survey

The survey consisted of eight background questions, 19 close-ended questions and three open-ended questions (See appendix A). I will describe findings in the order of the survey question. According to the survey, the average age that Korean Parachute students arrived in the U.S. was 17 years old, which is older than a previous study that indicated that most Korean Parachute kids come to the U.S. before the age of 13 (Kim, 2005). None of students in this study responded that their academic performance in Korea was high; this finding differs from that of the Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development (2005) that suggests that 50.4%

of Korean Parachute students' academic performance was in the top 10% of their classes in Korea.

The other distinct finding was that 41.67% (n=12) of students in this survey answered that they did not have a private tutor nor did they attend the private academy after they came to the U.S. and this is a different finding from Park's(1998) research that indicated that Korean Parachute students pay \$1000 per month average for a private tutor or a private academy. Park also reported that there are more than 1000 Korean private academies in LA, New York, Chicago and Washington (The Korean Times, 2006). In addition, 59% (n=12) of students in this survey answered that it was not hard to live without their parents, which contradicts a previous study that found that Korean Parachutes students felt sudden loss of their parents and felt depressed (Kim, 1993).

In addition, nine of students were content with their decision to come to the U.S. to study and 50% of them answered that they would recommend study abroad to their families and friends. This shows that Korean Parachute students have a positive impression of and experiences with studying abroad in the U.S. which differs from findings from the previous research. Many studies such as Kim (1995), the Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development (2005), and Park (2003) stated that there are more negative effects of early study abroad without one's parents and there are few cases of success in early study abroad. Thus students' responses to this survey found slightly different findings from previous studies. Detailed results for each survey questions are described in the following section.

Results

Out of 12 Korean Parachute students, seven of them were male and five of them were female. Their average age was 17 years old and the mean age of arrival in the U.S. was 15. Two of them were in 10th grade, eight of them were in 11th grade and two of them were in 12th grade in this survey. Their average length of stay in the U.S. was 23 months and 8 days (1 year, 11 months and 8 days). 100% of them lived with home-stay guardians.

None of students answered that they could communicate in conversational English before they came to study in the U.S. and 33% answered that they had no difficulty listening to a native lecturer in English Institute or school. 25% of them answered that they could not communicate in English before they came to the U.S.

Table 4.6.

Student Response to Survey Question A-7

A-7: English Proficiency in Korea	
Response	Percent
Could not communicate in English	25%
Could not communicate in daily conversation	42%
No difficulty in listening to native lecturer	33%

67 % of them answered that their academic performance in Korea before they came to the U.S. was fair and 33% of them answered that they had poor academic performance. None of them answered that they were doing well academically in Korea.

Table 4.7

Student Response to Survey Question A-8

A-8 : Academic Performance in Korea	
Response	Percent
Well	0%
Fair	67%
Poorly	33%

Seven of them answered that their parents decided to send them to the U.S. to study and five of them decided themselves to come to the U.S. Fifty percent of them answered that it was easy to adapt to American life and 17% of them disagree had difficulty with it. 42% of them answered that it was hard to live without their parents when they first came to the U.S. and 8% of them felt that it was not hard at all.

Table 4.8

Student Response to Survey Question B-1

B-1: Easily Adjust to American Life	
Response	Percent
Strongly agree	8%
Agree	50%
Neutral	25%
Disagree	17%
Strongly disagree	0%

When asked if school life was good when they began studying in the U.S., 42% of them answered neutrally and 25% of them agreed with the statement. When surveyed about whether making friends was difficult when they first came to the U.S., 42% of them answered neutrally and 8% of them were strongly agreed. 33% of the students agreed that adaptation to American culture was easy and none of them strongly disagreed.

Table 4.9.

Student Response to Survey Question B-8

B-8: School Work was Difficult	
Response	Percent
Strongly agree	0%
Agree	8%
Neutral	58%
Disagree	33%
Strongly disagree	0%

Fifty percent of the surveyed Korean Parachute students strongly disagreed that they were sometimes bullied at school and 25% of them answered neutrally. 58% of them answered neutrally that schoolwork was difficult for them to keep up with and 33% of them disagreed.

Fifty percent of the students surveyed agreed that they received private lessons in English before they came to the U.S. 42% of them disagreed and strongly disagreed that they currently have a private tutor for English or schoolwork.

Table 4.10.

Student Response to Survey Question C-2

C-2: Private Tutor for English or School Work	
Response	Percent
Strongly agree	0%
Agree	8%
Neutral	8%
Disagree	42%
Strongly disagree	42%

Fifty percent of the students agreed that they got good grades in their English classes; however, 17% of them disagreed.

Sixty-five percent of the students surveyed agreed that coming to the U.S. for early study abroad was a good decision for them and none of them disagreed with this statement. Fifty percent of them answered neutrally that they would recommend early study aboard in the U.S. to their friends or young family members who are in Korea now and 8% of them strongly disagreed. 42% of them disagree with the statement that they do not think there are many problems for kids who study in the U.S. without their parents. None of them strongly agreed with that statement and 25% of them answered as neutral.

Fifty percent of them agreed that their schooling in the U.S is better than what they would have experienced in Korea and none of the strongly disagreed.

Table 4.11.

Student Response to Survey Question D-4

D-4: Schooling in the U.S. is better	
Response	Percent
Strongly agree	17%
Agree	50%
Neutral	25%
Disagree	8%
Strongly disagree	0%

Four of them answered that English is the most difficult subject for them, and one student answered that the Bible is. The rest of the students surveyed responded that science (chemistry and biology) is their most difficult subject. Four students answered that they get the best grades in math and three of them said history. One student answered gym and social studies and one student answered art. The remainder of the students did not answer the question.

Five of the students surveyed responded that they try to improve their grades with the assistance of teachers when they have difficulties. Two of them answered that they use textbooks. One of them answered that he/she will ask for help from a tutor. One student answered that she/he will study more and the other answered that he/she will by herself/himself. One of the students answered that he/she will try to get help from friends and one student did not answer. Six of them answered that the best aspect of their early study abroad experience in the U.S. was learning English. Four of them answered that the American educational system was the best part and two of them answered that the independence they have is the best aspect. Eight of them

answered that missing their parents and friends from Korea is the worst part of their study abroad experience in the U.S., and four of them listed public transportation and finding rides is the worst part of their experience in the U.S.

Summary and Discussion

The perspectives shared in this Chapter are mainly 12 Korean Parachute students' educational and cultural experiences based on four types at two private high schools, James Wood and Middle Wood high schools, in West Philadelphia. Data on students' academic performance and cultural adaptations were collected through interviews and a survey. Data from four teachers, four parents and four guardians of the students were collected through interviews. Analysis of the data has illuminated different findings about Korean Parachute students from previous studies. Type I students were categorized as low in both cultural adaptation and academic performance. There were two Korean Parachute students in this group. They were both from Seoul and had difficulties being separated from their parents. In terms of academics, they commonly responded that English, especially English grammar, is the most difficult for them. Both of them were sent to the U.S. based on decisions made by their parents. Their parents have high expectations for the students' future careers as professors or lawyers even though the students want to be artists or in business related careers. Furthermore, despite having low academic achievement they did not have private tutors or attend the private academy.

Type II students were categorized as high in academic performance but low in cultural adaptation. There were three students in this group. They struggled to adjust to American culture in terms of American food, the American school system, and building friendships with American friends. Their GPA was high at school and two of them expressed that their most difficult

subjects were science and history. Two of them attended a private academy after school to get extra help with their schoolwork. They commonly expressed that it was hard to live without their parents. However, two of them responded that they have been changed in a positive way; they became more proactive and outgoing since they came to the U.S. Those two students wanted to stay in the U.S. after completing their studies. The third student expressed that she wanted to go to college in Korea after she got a high score on SAT and a high GPA. They all responded that they came to the U.S due to the severe competition of entering college in Korea. Two of them expressed that their parents are not involved their academics in the U.S. but rather leave it to their children to manage their education.

Type III students were categorized as high in cultural adaptation but low in academic achievement. Three students were in the Type III group. Two of them had studied in New Zealand for two years before they came to the U.S., but they still had difficulties in English at school. Those two students both responded that their parents sent them to study abroad at the age of 12, first to New Zealand and then America. After they came to the U.S., they tried to make friends solely with Americans in order to improve their English skills. Both of them expressed that it was not hard for them to adjust to American culture but their academic achievement was low because they did not study hard. In addition, their English skills did not improve even though they studied in New Zealand. The other Type III student also responded that his most difficult subject was English; however, he received extra help from the private academy since his GPA was low. The three in this group all responded that they do not miss their parents and they do not care about their parents' being absent. Two of the students in the Type III group wanted to go back to Korea after they graduated from college in the U.S.

Type IV students were categorized as high in both academic achievement and cultural adaptation. There were four students in this group. They all identified themselves as Korean and responded that they always think themselves as Korean, not American or Korean American. None of the four students have a private tutor or attend the private academy. Three of them were sent to the U.S. by their parents but they were satisfied with their parents' decisions. They expressed that they were happy that they could have more free will in managing their studies in the U.S compared to Korea. They all strongly expressed that they really did not like the Korean educational system because they had to spend most of their time at school and they did not have any other leisure time or free time. Even though they were content with their life and study in the U.S.; three of them wanted to go back to Korea after they graduated from college. Three of them responded that their parents are heavily involved in their studies while they are in the U.S.

Four teachers who currently teach Korean Parachute students were recruited by school counselors in each school. Two teachers in each school were recruited. All of the teachers were White and female. Two teachers from James Wood high school responded that they design the class differently to accommodate the Korean Parachute students so that they can understand the material. Teachers also give them extra help. They viewed the Korean Parachute students as hard workers and believed that the Korean Parachute students take their education in the U.S seriously. Two teachers at Middle Wood High school commonly responded that they faced challenges when teaching Korean Parachute students due to their low English skills. Also, both teachers had to design the class differently and had to put extra effort to teach the Korean Parachute students. Teachers stated that Korean Parachute students had a strong Korean identity and that they do not want to assimilate with American classmates, but would rather form their own group in class.

The teachers from these two schools both expressed that they face challenges when teaching Korean Parachute students due to their low English proficiency. Furthermore, none of the teachers had a chance to communicate with any of the Korean Parachute students' parents since their parents cannot speak English. They also commonly viewed Korean Parachute students as hard workers, but they were likely to form their own groups. In addition, all of the teachers had to alter their teaching style for the Korean Parachute students due to their language and lack of comprehension of the standard textbooks.

Four parents were interviewed in this study and they commonly live outside of Seoul, the capital of Korea, sometimes as far away as seven hours. The parents in this study all had at least a bachelor's degree. The parents of the Korean Parachute students decided to send their children to the U.S. for a better education and more cultural experience. Kim, Park and Lee were very satisfied with their decision to send their children to the U.S. at an early age since they see that their children have adjusted well and study better in the U.S. In addition, the parents interviewed think that their children have been changed in a positive way that they are more proactive, outgoing and independent after being in the U.S. All of them think that the Korean education system is mainly focused on the college entrance exam and their children did not have a positive influence from those educational surroundings in Korea. They responded that their children felt unhappy that they were separated from their parents, but they improved academically and were doing much better than what they would have in Korea. Thus, they believed that parental absence did not directly impact on their children's academics. However, they felt very bad to be separated from their children.

Four guardians were interviewed and all of them were female. Two of them were American and two of them were Korean. Regardless of the ethnicity [and language] of the guardians, they commonly said that they seldom had a chance to talk to the students' parents. In the case of the American guardians, this was because the Korean parents do not speak English. For the Korean guardians, the students always talked to their parents in advance and the parents tended to listen to their children. American guardians perceived Korean Parachute students as very respectful kids, but they wanted to have freedom to do what they chose. The guardians also think that the parents' absence could be the cause of the students' not doing their best in their studies. They also had challenges with scheduling transportation for the students. Also, they talked to the students directly if there was any trouble instead of telling their parents first.

Overall, there are several findings that differed from what I believed before I conducted this study. First, it was unexpected that only a few Korean Parachute Kids in this study had a private tutor or went to a private academy. Many Koreans, including myself, believed that Korean Parachute Kids would need extra help with their studies since English is not their first language. However, Korean Parachute students in this study responded that they studied themselves and that they would rather seek help from their teachers. This is a good finding that many Korean parents should notice. Korean parents who want to send their children in America generally think finding a good private tutor for their children in America is an additional financial burden and responsibility. However, the findings in this study can guide parents on how they can plan and counsel their children while they study in the U.S.

Secondly, it was disappointing to find that all of the teachers in this study were strongly biased by the Model Minority Myth about Korean Parachute students. All the teachers responded

that Korean parachute students care about their grades more than many American students and they focused on grades so much that they wanted to get a perfect score regardless of the subject. I believe that their responses are based on their bias that Asian students consider their grades as the most important thing in their school life. It seemed as though the teachers already had fixed ideas about Korean Parachute students; in particular, the teachers believed that the Parachute students would only focus on their grades rather than their peer relationships or other school activities. This is a significant issue that should be paid attention to by teachers in America. The teachers should not evaluate Korean Parachute students solely based on their grades but rather, the teachers should pay attention to how they are adjusting to school and American life through activities such as building a peer relationship. The teachers in this study did not recognize that Korean Parachute Kids had a hard time fostering relationships with American classmates and teachers should support Korean Parachute Kids in that aspect.

Thirdly, it was interesting that Korean Parachute Kids considered their relationship with their Korean guardians as one of 'Master and Servant'. This was rooted in Korean Parachute Kids' belief that their parents pay a lot of money for their home-stay and they think that they deserve to be well taken care of. In other words, Korean Parachute Kids are spoiled by money from early age since their parents pay for everything that they need during their stay in America. Also, they are aware that their parents want to compensate for being absent with money. Korean parents should be cognizant of this issue when they send their children to America alone. Parents demonstrate that they trust the guardians and communicate with them more often rather than relying on reports strictly from their children.

Lastly, Korean parents' inability to speak English is a significant issue because they cannot communicate with teachers and American guardians. During this study, teachers and American guardians commonly expressed that the language barrier hindered communication with Korean Parachute Kids' parents. They believed that Korean parents may not know exactly about their children's academic difficulties or home-stay life which can lead to the Korean Parachute Kids' being frustrated. Thus, Korean parents should be aware that they need to be equipped with English language skills if they want to send their children to America. I will expound on this in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

This study has explored what social-cultural factors influence Korean Parachute students' school engagement, academic performance and aspirations. It has also determined how teachers', parents' and guardians' roles impact Korean Parachute students' education and shapes their experiences in the U.S. Throughout this study, I found that Korean Parachute students were impacted by the 'Model Minority Myth' at their schools and in their homes in the U.S.. The teachers and American guardians had an image that Korean Parachute Kids are respectful of teachers, smart, good at math and science, diligent, hard workers, cooperative, well-behaved, college-bound and quiet (Chang and Wu, 2002). This biased image may put pressure on Korean Parachute students to live up to teachers' and guardians' expectations. Thus, the 'Model Minority Myth' can be a hindrance for Korean Parachute Kids who do not achieve academic success at school, and consequently, they feel excluded from Korean Parachute students who are successful academically and socially. This chapter will summarize the study's findings and identify implications for Korean Parachute students' parents in Korea, as well as teachers and administrators in the U.S. Moreover, I will share how I hope that this work may contribute to further study and offer suggestions for further study about Korean Parachute students.

Understanding the Korean Parachute students at James Wood and Middle Wood high schools

The twelve Korean Parachute students were categorized into four types based on information from their school counselors. The counselor gave information about each student which was then used to put the students into categories. Type I students were categorized as low

in both cultural adaptation and academic performance. Some of them were from Seoul and had difficulties being separated from their parents. In terms of academics, they commonly responded that English, especially English grammar is the most difficult for them. Some of them were sent to the U.S. based on decisions made by their parents. Their parents have high expectations for the students' future careers as professors or lawyers even though the students want to be artists or in business related careers. Furthermore, despite having low academic achievement they did not have private tutors or attend the private academy.

Type II students were categorized as high in academic performance but low in cultural adaptation. There were three students in this group. They struggled to adjust to American culture in terms of American food, the American school system, and building friendships with American friends. Their GPA was high at school and two of them expressed that their most difficult subjects were science and history. Some of them attended a private academy after school to get extra help with their school work. They commonly expressed that it was hard to live without their parents, However, they responded that they have been changed in a positive way; they became more proactive and outgoing since they came to the U.S. Those students wanted to stay in the U.S. after completing their studies. The other student expressed that she wanted to go to college in Korea after she received a high score on SAT and a high GPA. They all responded that they came to the U.S due to the severe competition of entering college in Korea. Some of them expressed that their parents are not involved their academics in the U.S. but rather leave it to their children to manage their education.

Type III students were categorized as high in cultural adaptation but low in academic achievement. Three students were in the Type III group. Some of them had studied in New

Zealand for two years before they came to the U.S., but they still had difficulties in English at school. Those students both responded that their parents sent them to study abroad at the age of 12, first to New Zealand and then America. After they came to the U.S., they tried to make friends solely with Americans in order to improve their English skills. They expressed that it was not hard for them to adjust to American culture but their academic achievement was low because they did not study hard. In addition, their English skills did not improve even though they studied in New Zealand. The other Type III student also responded that his most difficult subject was English; however, he received extra help from the private academy since his GPA was low. The three in this group all responded that they do not miss their parents and they do not care about their parents' being absent. Some of the students in the Type III wanted to go back to Korea after they graduated from college in the U.S.

Type IV students were categorized as high in both academic achievement and cultural adaptation. There were four students in this group. They all identified themselves as Korean and responded that they always think themselves as Korean, not American or Korean American. . None of four students have a private tutor or attend the private academy. Some of them were sent to the U.S. by their parents but they were satisfied with their parents' decisions. They expressed that they were happy that they could have more free will in managing their studies in the U.S compared to Korea. They all strongly expressed that they really did not like the Korean educational system because they had to spend most of their time at school and they did not have any other leisure time or free time. Even though they were content with their life and study in the U.S. three of them wanted to go back to Korea after they graduated from college. Some of them responded that their parents are heavily involved their studies while they are in the U.S.

Overall, there are two interesting points based on students' type. First, it was interesting that students in Type IV who were categorized as high in both academic achievement and cultural adaptation expressed that they want to go back to Korea after they graduate college in the U.S. In addition, none of them get extra help from a private tutor or a private academy in the U.S. Furthermore, their parents tended to be heavily involved in those students' studies. This may mean that the more parents are involved in Korean Parachute students' study, the better the students' academic performance may be. In addition, those students may learn more quickly how to study in the U.S. and understand how to improve their academics without extra help. Also, Type IV students tended to be involved in more in-school activities compared to other types of students. This may imply that Korean Parachute students' involvement in school activities such as the tennis team, choir and the soccer team may help them to adjust quicker and more easily to American culture.

Another point is that Type I students who were categorized as low in both academic achievement and cultural adaptation responded that they do not have a private tutor nor do they attend a private academy even though their academic performance is poor. In addition, their parents have high expectations for their children's future careers. This may imply that parents' high expectations of Korean Parachute students' may hinder their academic performance because the students may feel burdened and pressured by their parents. I believe that the students may choose not to get extra help from private tutors or a private academy because once they get extra help, their parents' expectation will be higher.

Moreover, there were several new findings about Korean Parachute students in this study. First, they all have a strong identity as Korean while they studied and lived in the U.S even

though they did not live with their parents. This is different from Yu's (2005) study that the sudden loss of parental influence during Korean Parachute kids' high school years may greatly impact the maintenance of their Korean identities and may foster a stronger American cultural identity. Second, most students in this study wanted to go back to Korea after they graduated from college in the U.S. and did not intend to live in the U.S. for the rest of their lives. This is a significant finding that is in contrast to Zhou's (1998) argument that Parachute students initially come to the U.S. for their education but decide to remain in the U.S. Moreover, this study contradicts Mak's (1991) finding that families of Parachute students viewed studying abroad not only as a way to gain credentials but also a possible way to obtain residence in the host country. Third, only three students in this study stated that they attend the private academy in order to support their study in the U.S. This is a different finding from Park's research that Korean Parachute students pay \$1000 per month on average for their private tutor or private academy (The Korean Times, 2006).

In addition, this research highlights factors that influence Korean Parachute students' school engagement, academic performance, and aspirations. First, Korean Parachute students' peer relationships impact their academic performance and school engagement. Based on teacher interviews, Korean Parachute students were commonly viewed as an insular group and this hindered their English skills as well as cultural adaptation at school. The students' lack of socialization also made it difficult for teachers to manage their classes. Also, it prohibited Korean Parachute students from partaking in classroom activities or engaging in school activities that required them to cooperate with American classmates. Second, English language proficiency was another factor that determined the academic success or failure of Korean Parachute students.

All of the Korean Parachute students expressed that they experienced difficulties in English class and/or communicating in English. Teachers in this study also noted that because the students struggle with English they had to design their classes differently to accommodate the Korean Parachute students. Lastly, the American educational system impacted Korean Parachute students' future aspirations because they felt more relaxed and had more free will with regards to their studies in the U.S. compared to how they studied in Korea. Generally, Korean Parachute students responded that they were not content with the Korean educational system for the aforementioned reasons. Parents in this study also commented that the Korean educational system was only focused on the college entrance exam; they felt that this could have had a negative impact on their children's future because they would not have had a variety of experiences. Thus, the three factors of peer relationship, English language, and American educational system influence Korean Parachute students' school engagement, academic performance, and aspirations while they are studying in the U.S.

Understanding Teachers at James Wood and Middle Wood High schools

The teachers commonly responded that they taught differently so that the Korean Parachute students could understand better. They also provided them with extra help. Furthermore, they regarded the Korean Parachute students as hard workers because they take their education in the U.S seriously. Such responses show us that teachers have a perception of the "Model Minority Myth", which is defined as viewing Asian Americans as the exceptional minority group and stems from the belief that Asian Americans have achieved extraordinary accomplishments and success through hard work and determination (Wu, 2002). Besides the teachers' bias of Korean Parachute Kids, they also commonly responded that they never had an

opportunity to talk with the students' parents because they do not speak English and the parents usually turn over responsibility of their children to a guardian. In addition, they commonly responded that Korean Parachute students are shy and hesitant to ask questions of the teachers. This finding supports Yun's (2000) argument that Korean Parachute students are not used to asking questions to teachers or contacting their teachers even when they have difficulties with their work. Two teachers think that English is an obstacle for Korean Parachute students that hinder their academic progress in the U.S.

The teachers commonly responded that it was a challenge to teach the Korean Parachute students due to their low English skills. This corroborates the finding of Chee et al. (2001) that Korean Parachute kids face a number of difficulties in the United States including language acquisition, the stresses of "fitting in" and settling into a radically different environment. As a result, the teachers had to design their classes differently and had to exert extra effort when teaching Korean Parachute students.

The teachers asserted that the Korean Parachute students had a strong Korean identity and they did not want to assimilate with their American classmates but rather chose to form their own groups in class. This supports Kibria's (1997) argument that Asian Americans without significant involvement in Asian American organizations exhibited a heightened sense of an Asian racial identity. Likewise, Korean Parachute students have a strong sense of their Korean identity as well as their Asian identity in the U.S. However, the teachers were concerned that it hindered their academic progress even though Korean Parachute students take their education seriously. The teachers also expressed that the Korean Parachute students at Middle Wood High School focused on their grades so much that they wanted to earn perfect scores regardless of the

subjects. This suggests that the teachers regarded the Korean Parachute students as the ‘model minority group’ and they were hard workers and college oriented.

Overall, the role of the teachers in shaping the experiences of the Korean Parachute kids in this study was to support the Korean Parachute students’ academic achievement. Their teachers were the primary means by which the students sought to improve the grades rather than through the use of a private tutor or private academy. However, the teachers were not used as a source to improve the Korean Parachute students’ peer relationship or future at school.

Parents of Korean Parachute Kids

The parents of the Korean Parachute students typically did not live near Seoul. Findings from this study also differ from 2002 research that found that there were students from the southern region of Seoul who went to the U.S. for an early study abroad as many as six times more frequently than students from other regions in Korea (Yonhap News). The parents all had a bachelor’s degree, at least, and this corroborates the finding from the Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development (2005) that 97.3% of Korean Parachute students’ parents’ educational level was a bachelor’s degree. However, none of the parents had experience studying abroad. In addition, none of them were fluent in English and as a result, they could not communicate with the teachers and guardians of their children in the U.S.

The parents decided to send their children to the U.S. for a better education and more various cultural experiences. Three parents were very satisfied with their decisions to send their children to the U.S. at an early age because they saw that their children adjusted well and studied better in the U.S. This finding is contrary to the finding from the Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development (2005) in which parents surveyed responded that 38.2% of their

children's academic performance was high in Korea but only 18.7% of them could maintain their academic performance while studying in the U.S.

Moreover, the parents of the Korean Parachute students think that their children have been changed in a positive way; specifically, they felt that they were more proactive, outgoing and independent after they came to the U.S. In addition, all of the parents in the study think that the Korean education system is mainly focused on the college entrance exam and that their children did not gain positive influences from those educational surroundings in Korea. Those responses support Kim's (2001) finding that Korean parents want to send their children to the U.S. in order to improve their children's English skills, they are not content with the Korean educational system, and also they felt burdened to pay exorbitant amounts of money on their children's private education in Korea. They responded that their children felt unhappy that they were separated from their parents, but their academic achievement improved and was much better than how they were doing in Korea. Thus they believed that parental absence did not directly impact their children's academic performance in the U.S. However, they felt very bad about being separated from their children.

Overall, Korean Parachute students' parents continue to impact their children's study in the U.S. through a form of distant control. They had high expectations that their children should get good GPAs and high scores on the SAT so that they can go to college in the U.S. The parents mainly focused on and intervened in their children's education rather than their social lives or peer relationships while they studied in the U.S.

Guardians of Korean Parachute Kids

American guardians commonly think that Korean Parachute students are quiet and very respectful. This supports a similar finding from a previous study that there is a Model Minority stereotype amongst American teachers and guardians that Korean Parachute students are devoted, obedient to authority, respectful of teachers, smart, good at math and science, diligent, hard workers, cooperative, well-behaved, docile, college-bound, quiet, and opportunistic according to Chang and Wu (2002). But the guardians expressed that the Korean Parachute students wanted freedom since they did not live with their parents; additionally, they did not put their best efforts into their studies. The guardians seldom communicated directly with the Korean Parachute students' parents since the parents cannot speak English. That was the biggest challenge for the guardians was that they did not have the opportunity to talk with the parents about their children even when there was a problem. Furthermore, they also commonly responded that the Korean Parachute students' parents tended to speak only to their children.

Two guardians, Youngsook and Eunmi, think that Korean Parachute students regard them as hired employees since their parents pay for the guardians for room and board. Thus, it seemed to become a "Master and servant" relationship. This is similar to Zhou's (1998) findings that demonstrated that Chinese Parachute students hired an elderly servant who took care of them and their parents paid \$3000 per month (Hamilton, 1993). Likewise, the Korean Parachute students' parents pay \$3000 per month to their children's guardian and the students believe that because of this they deserved to be served.

There were differences between American and Korean guardians. Korean Parachute students complied more with the American guardians and respect them; on the contrary, they did

not do so with the Korean guardians. Korean guardians were treated like servants, not like true guardians of Korean Parachute students. The Korean guardians were not in a position to intervene in either their academics or their private life, but were expected to serve those students by providing transportation, cooking, and resolving any problems while the students stayed in the U.S. Korean guardians were also regarded as more lenient compared to Korean Parachute students' biological parents and because the guardians were usually cautious about the relationship with the students, they did not get involved in their daily lives. This may imply that Korean Parachute students tend to feel distance to American guardian since they had to communicate in English and live with an American family. Those distant relationships may make Korean Parachute students adhere to the rules and maintain their manners with American guardians. However, Korean Parachute students may believe that with Korean guardians they can express easily their complaints since they can communicate in Korean. Thus, racial and language differences in guardians may greatly impact on Korean Parachute students' behavior in their home-stay life.

Overall, I found that Korean Parachute Kids were influenced by socio-cultural factors such as learning another language, building peer relationships, and adjusting to different school systems and food cultures in their academic performance and cultural adaptation in the U.S. While the teachers' role was to support the Korean Parachute students' academic achievement, they were not used as a resource to improve the Korean Parachute students' peer relationships or future at school. Korean Parachute students' parents, they continued to impact their children's study in the U.S. through a form of distant control. They had high expectations for their children. They mainly focused on and intervened in their children's education rather than their social lives

or peer relationships while they studied in the U.S. The guardians also affected Korean Parachute students during their home stays in the U.S. The Korean Parachute students respected and complied more with the American guardians; on the contrary, they did not do so with the Korean guardians. Thus, racial and language differences between the guardians and the Korean Parachute Kids may have greatly impacted their behavior in their U.S. homes.

Implications for parents of Korean Parachute students

In this study, most parents answered that they were satisfied with their decision to send their children to the U.S. at an early age to study without parents. Since most Korean Parachute students' early study abroad is decided by their parents, it is important that Korean parents be aware of the pros and cons of early study abroad in the U.S. Thus, there are three points that I want to suggest to parents in Korea who are considering whether to send their child to study abroad in the U.S. First, and most important, is that the parents should prepare for how they will communicate in English with their children's teachers and American guardians. If parents cannot speak English, they can consider hiring a translator or find other alternatives. Teachers and American guardians commonly responded in this study that they seldom had a chance to directly communicate with Korean Parachute students' parents since their parents cannot speak English. This is very important point of which Korean parents should be aware. If parents cannot communicate with teachers and guardians in America, they cannot assess how their children's studies and lives are in the U.S. As the Victoria Education Center (1997) reported, one of the Korean parachute students who came to California with dreams of attending U.C. Berkeley in order to make his parents' dreams come true failed to go to the Berkeley. However, he pretended that he was a student of Berkeley to his parents by getting an apartment near the school for

whenever his parents came from Korea to see him. The parents would have been able to notice their children's academic and social issues if they were able to communicate with teachers and guardians in the U.S. Therefore, Korean parents who decide to send their children to the U.S. or any other country for an early study abroad should be equipped with English communication skills or they should be prepared to hire a translator.

Second, parents should not totally rely on or neglect guardians, but rather, parents should cooperate with them. Parents should check in with guardians on a regular basis about their children's life in the U.S. I would suggest that parents should visit their children's home-stay family when the student initially arrives in the U.S. and the parents should check meticulously whether the guardian is the right person for their children. None of the parents in this study visited their children's home-stay family while their children stayed in the U.S. Since the guardians would assume the role of the parents in the U.S, Korean parents should not neglect getting to know the person who may influence their children positively or negatively. Third, parents should be aware that all Korean Parachute students are not academically successful in the U.S. As Min (1996) reported, Korean parents have the high expectation that their children should acquire college degrees. However, parents should make a sound decision about whether their children can manage early study abroad without their parents. Two students in type III group studied in New Zealand for two years before coming to the U.S.; however, they still did not do well academically. Rather, they experienced difficulties with their studies in the U.S. In contrast, four students in the Type IV group responded that they were in the top 10 percent of their class in Korea. This suggests that students who did well academically while still in Korea may be more likely to succeed in America as well. As an alternative, if parents want their children to

acquire English skills at an early age, they may choose an exchange student program for middle and high school students between Korea and the U.S. According to the Saegye Daily (2011), the advantage of exchange student programs is that the United States Consulate hosts and monitors the exchange student programs. The program allows students to experience American culture while working on their English language skills for a year. Over the course of the year, parents can monitor how their children adjust to being in America in terms of their academics and their social lives and then they can make decision about studying in the U.S. Therefore, parents should not decide to send their children in order to avoid the competition of the college entrance exam in Korea, but should give deep thought to the idea of their children studying abroad.

Lastly, even though the participants of this study were all over 13 years old when they came to the U.S., unlike the population typically found in the literature, I believe that it is better to send Korean Parachute students to study abroad after the age of 13. According to the Korean Educational Development Institute (2007), there were 38 times as many elementary students (8148 students) studying abroad without their parents compared to the figures from 1998 (212 students). As Cooper and Fishman (1984) argued, the ability to acquire English language fluency was higher in the upper grade students compared to the elementary students. Likewise, the average age that the Korean Parachute students in this study arrived in the U.S. was 15 and 58% of them answered neutrally when asked if school work in the U.S. was difficult. In addition, 50% of them answered that they received good grades in their English classes and most students answered that they did not have problems communicating in English. It would be better to study in the U.S., not only for the opportunity to acquire English skills, but also for the cultural experiences. More than 50% of Korean Parachute students in this study responded that it was

easy to adapt to American culture. In addition, 65% of them answered that they felt that it was a good decision for them to come to the U.S. for early study abroad. However, Choi (2007) reported that 85% of Korean parents who sent their children to study abroad during elementary school responded that they regretted their decision, and 52% of students answered that they would not recommend early study abroad during elementary school, which means before age of 13. Therefore, those findings show us that it may be more effective to study abroad after the age of 13 for both the students' academic performance and their cultural adaptation.

Implications

The number of Korean Parachute students who come to the U.S. is increasing annually. 20,400 elementary, middle and high school Korean students went abroad for to study in 2005 and 40% of those students came to the U.S (Korean Education Developmental Institute, 2007). When we consider the number of Korean Parachute students who come to the U.S., it is critical that educators in the U.S. be aware of those students' traits and supports them to succeed in both academically and culturally. Thus, I want to suggest two things for educators in the U.S.

First, there should be an ESL teacher in the private high schools so that Korean Parachute students can acquire equivalent English skills as American students. I was surprised that there were no ESL classes or ESL teachers at the private high schools and one of the schools that I studied just began running the ESL courses for international students. One of school teachers in this study commented that most private high schools in the U.S. do not have ESL courses or ESL teachers due to the financial constraints. This may lead to Korean Parachute students' academic failure since most teachers pointed out that the students' English skills were so low that they had to design the class differently for Korean Parachute students. In addition, Korean Parachute

students paid exorbitant amounts of money on their studies due to the lack of ESL support from their schools. According to the Chosun Daily (2003), most Korean Parachute students from East Coast private high schools in the U.S. attended private English academies in Korea while they visited for their summer break. They paid \$10,000 for one month of lessons in reviewing and previewing academic subjects of high schools in the U.S. This shows us that Korean Parachute students did not understand the classes in the U.S. due to their English skills, and they would not pay the extra money if there was enough academic support from schools in the U.S. Thus, it is an urgent issue and teachers and administrators of private high schools in the U.S. should consider how supporting Korean Parachute students to improve their English skills by having ESL teachers or ESL classes at school.

Second, teachers and administrators should pay more attention to Korean Parachute students' peer relationships at school. As Zhou (1998) insisted, peer groups may play an important role in promoting or hindering the school success of Parachute students. Teachers in this study expressed that Korean Parachute students tend to form their own group and do not assimilate with American classmates which hindered Korean Parachute students' academic progress. However, teachers did not get involved in Korean Parachute students' peer relationships in class, but rather, allowed them to do what they wanted to do. The problem is that some of Korean Parachute students wanted to have relationships with their American classmates; however, there was peer pressure from other Korean Parachute students to not form friendships with non-Koreans. Nevertheless, some Korean Parachute students in this study responded that they avoided talking to Korean friends at school and instead, strictly associated with their American classmates in order to improve their English skills. Thus, teachers or administrators

should intervene and attempt to balance the peer relationships of Korean Parachute students at school so that the students can adjust well in school progress well academically.

Lastly, I believe that Korean educators and government should consider the issue of Korean Parachute Kids more closely. It is problematic that an increasing number of Korean students are going abroad for their studies. Furthermore, they are deciding to study abroad not only to escape from the high competition to enter college in Korea but also because they want to be free from the constraints of the Korean school system. Korean Parachute students in this study responded that they were happy to have the freedom to manage their studies without any pressure from the school system; they could decide their pace of study by their own will in the U.S. Korean Parachute Kids' parents in this study also responded that they were not happy with educational system in Korea, which forced their children to focus solely on college entrance exams. Parents were not happy that their children could not have free time and had limited chances to experience various activities at school or outside of school due to the intensive daily school schedule. Thus, Korean educators should be aware of the seriousness of the exodus of Korean students to study abroad and they should consider improving or reconstructing the educational system in Korea.

Suggestions for Future Research

This study is important in terms of finding new trends and differences regarding how Korean Parachute students succeed academically and adjust to living and studying in the U.S. However, this study does not exhaust the available data on Korean Parachute students since the researcher collected data from a small sample. In addition, it was hard to control for the effects of gender since there were not any previous data. Those limitations reflect the need for further

research and exploration on the subject of Korean Parachute students. In particular, there should be further study about how Korean Parachute students' academic performance and cultural adaptation may differ based on gender. Also, it would be interesting to examine how the age at which Korean Parachute kids' begin early study abroad may impact their academic performance and cultural adaptation in the U.S. In addition, there should be more scholarly research on Korean Parachute students broadly that includes Korean Parachute students in various locations such as California, Chicago, and Virginia. It will be interesting to compare how Korean Parachute students in other regions of the U.S. perform academically and adjust to life in the U.S.

REFERENCES

- Appelrouth, S., & Desfor Edles, L. (2008). *Classical and contemporary sociological theory*. Los Angeles: Pine Forge Press.
- Bialystock, E., & Hakuta, K. (1999). *Confounded age: Linguistic and cognitive factors in age differences for second language acquisition*. pp. 161-181, University of Texas.
- Birdsong, D. (1992). Ultimate attainment in second language acquisition. *Language*, 68, 706-755.
- Bhattacharya, D. (1999). *The college experience and the construction of cultural identity among first generation Indian American undergraduates*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Chang, J., Rhee, J., & Rhee., S. (2003). Acculturation, communication patterns, and self-esteem among Asian and Caucasian American adolescents. *Adolescence*, 38(152), 749-768.
- Chang, B. & Au, W. (2002). *Unmasking the myth of the model minority*. Rethinking Schools Online
- Chee, A., Eva Lam, W. S., Orellana, M. F., & Thorne, B. (2001). Transitional childhoods: The participation of children in processes of family migration. *Social Problems*, 48(4), 572-591.
- Cresswell, J. W. (2008). *Educational research: Planning, conducting, and evaluating quantitative and qualitative research*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson.
- Denzin, N.K. (1997). *Interpretive ethnography: Ethnographic practices for the 21st century*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Grabe, W. & Stoller, F.L. (1997). Reading and vocabulary development in a second language: A case study. In J. Coady & T. Huckin (Eds.), *Second language reading and vocabulary learning*, 98-122. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Hall, S. (1991). *The local and the global: Globalization and ethnicity*. In King, A. D. (Ed.) *Culture, globalization, and the world system*, pp. 19-39. London: Macmillan.
- Hamers, J., & Blanc, M. (2000). *Bilinguality and bilingualism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hernandez, D.J. (1993). *America's children: Resources from family, government, and the economy*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Ioup, G., Boustagui, E., El Tigi, M., & Moselle, M. (1994). *Reexamining the critical period hypothesis: A case study of successful adult SLA in a naturalistic environment*. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 16, 73-98.
- Jo, H. (1999). *Korean immigrants and the challenge of adjustment*. Westport: Greenwood Press.
- Kibria, N. (1997). The construction of Asian American: Reflection on intermarriage and ethnic identity among second generation Chinese and Korean Americans. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 20(3), 523-544.
- Kim, H.J. (2001). *Analysis on the early study abroad phenomenon and Koreans' consciousness on the issue*. Seoul: Korean Educational Development Institute.
- Kim, Y.M. (2002). *Collective neurosis of English fever*. *Education Review*, 9, 56-64
- Kim, Y.W. et al. (1994). *Today and tomorrow of overseas study*. New Education, 477, 105-130. Seoul, South Korea.

- Korean Educational Development Institute. (2007). *Korean students studying in China, over 57,000, number 1 in the world*. Center for Educational Policy Information. Retrieved from <http://edpolicy.Kedi.re.kr/Trend/Edpolicy/EdpolicyPrint.php>
- Korean Educational Development Institute. (2006). *Early study boom in China: Private academics for SAT are in back*. Center for Educational Policy Information. Retrieved from <http://edpolicy.Kedi.re.kr/Trend/Edpolicy/EdpolicyPrint.php>.
- Korean Educational Development Institute. (2001). *Proceedings of the first KEDI educational policy forum on reality of education in Korea & bright and dark sides of early study abroad*. Seoul: South Korea.
- Korean Association of Hakwon Daily. (2007). *The phenomenon of studying abroad among Korean students*. South Korea
- Korean Ministry Planning and Budget's Research. (2006). *An investigation of the conception of Korean parents in early study abroad*. Seoul, South Korea.
- Lecompte, M.D., & Preissl, J., & Tesch, R. (1993). *Ethnography and qualitative design in educational research* (2nd ed). San Diego: Academic Press.
- Lecompte, M.D., & Schensul, J.J. (1999). *Designing and conducting ethnographic research (Ethnographer's Toolkit, No. 1)*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira
- Lee, A.J. (2006). Asian American studies: Identity formation in Korean American parachute kids. *College Undergraduate Research Electronic Journal*. Retrieved from <http://repository.upenn.edu/curej/7/>
- Lee, S.Y., & Yoon, T.O. (1997). Study abroad or overspending or globalization? *Newsplus*, 69, 47-50.

- Lee, C. (1999). The perils of parachute kids. *Asian Week*, 20, 45.
- Lenneberg, E. (1967). *Biological foundations of language*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Mak, G.C.L. (1991). The schooling of girls in Hong Kong: Progress and contradictions in the transitions. In G.A. Postiglione and J.Y.M. Leung, *Education and society in Hong Kong: Toward one country and two systems* (pp.167-180). New York: East Gate.
- Min, P.G. (1996). The Entrepreneurial Adaptation of Korean Immigrants. In S. Pedraza and R. G. Rumbaut (Eds.) *Origins and Destinies: Immigration, Race and Ethnicity in America*. Belmont: Wadsworth.
- Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development, (2005), *An investigation on Korean civic perception about early studying abroad*, Seoul, Korea. Ministry of Education Press
- Park, B. S. (2003). What is the effectiveness of early study abroad? *The Civil and the Lawyer*, 115, 13-16.
- Park, S. H. (2005). *Consuming citizenship: Children of Asian immigrant entrepreneur*. Stanford: Stanford UP.
- Patton, M. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods*, Newbury Park: Sage.
- Phinney, J.S. (1992) *The multiple group ethnic identity measure*. *Journal of Adolescent Research*. 7(2), 156-157.
- Rumbaut, R. G. (1996). Ties that bind: Immigration and immigrant families in the United States. In A. Booth, A. C. Crouter, & N. S. Landale (Eds.), *Immigration and the family: Research and policy on U.S. immigrants* (pp.3-45). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Rod, E. (1997). *Second Language Acquisition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Singleton, D., & Ryan, L. (2004). *Language acquisition: The age factor*. Clevedon, UK:

Multilingual Matters.

Shanghai Daily. (2006). *Early study abroad boon in China: SAT preparing institutes are in bank.*

Seoul: Korea Educational Development Institute. Retrieved from

<http://edpolicy.Kedi.re.kr/Trend/Edpolicy/EdpolicyPrint.php>.

Stemler, S. (2001). An overview of content analysis. *Practical Assessment, Research &*

Evaluation, 7(17). Retrieved from <http://pareonline.net/getvn.asp?v=7&n=17>

Uba, Laura. *Asian Americans*. New York: Guilford, 1994.

Van, M. J. (1998). *Tales of the field: On writing ethnography*. Chicago: University of

Chicago Press.

Victoria Education Center. (1997). *The problem of early study abroad of Korean children.*

Retrieved from <http://www.sanet.co.kr/high/high-live.php>

Yu, J. H. (2005). *The psychological characteristics and propensity to values of students who*

abroad early. Seoul, Korea: Han Yang University.

Yun, T. O. (2000). The successful way in the early study in the U.S. Retrieved from

<http://www.goivy.co.kr>

Zhou, M. (1998). Parachute kids in Southern California: The educational experience of Chinese

children in transitional families. *Educational Policy*, 12(6) 682-704.

Zhou, M. & Kim, S.S. (2006). Community forces, social capital and educational achievement:

The case of supplementary education in the Chinese and Korean immigrant communities.

Harvard Educational Review, 76(1), 1-29.

APPENDIX A: STUDENT SURVEY

I'm trying to learn about your experiences while studying in the U.S. There are no right or wrong answers and your responses will be kept confidential. If you do not want to answer a question, you can skip it, or if you would like to stop taking the survey at any time, please let me know.

Thanks for your help!

Keunah Lee

A. Background questionnaire for Korean Parachute Students

The questions below are for research purposes only, and your individual answers will not be made available to anyone. Please answer the following questions or check the proper answers.

1. Gender: ____ Male ____ Female
2. Age: _____ years old/ D.O.B. _____
3. How old were you when you started to study in the U.S.? _____ years old
4. Which grade are you in now? _____ grade
5. How long have you been in the US for study?
_____ years _____ months
6. Who is your caretaker during your stay? What is your relationship to him or her?

7. How was your English proficiency before you came to study in the U.S.?
 - Could not communicate in English
 - Could communicate in daily conversation
 - Had no difficulty in listening to native lecturer in English Institute or school
8. How did you perform in school in Korea before you came to the U.S.?
 - Well
 - Fair

- Poorly

II: Specific Items

Directions: Each of the following questions is designed to learn about your opinion on early study abroad of Korean students in the U.S. Please check or write your answer for every question.

A. Questions about motivation of early study abroad in the U.S.

1. Were you the one who decided to come to the U.S. for study at an early age? If not, who was? _____

B. Questions about adjustment during study in the U.S.

1. It was easy to adapt to American life.

1) Strongly agree 2) Agree 3) Neutral 4) Disagree 5) Strongly disagree

2. Living without my parents was hard when I first came to the U.S.

1) Strongly agree 2) Agree 3) Neutral 4) Disagree 5) Strongly disagree

3. If you answered 1) or 2) in Q3, what were the things that you felt were hard about living without your parents? _____

4. School life was good when I began to study in the U.S.

1) Strongly agree 2) Agree 3) Neutral 4) Disagree 5) Strongly disagree

5. Making friends was difficult when I first came to the U.S.

1) Strongly agree 2) Agree 3) Neutral 4) Disagree 5) Strongly disagree

6. Adaptation to American culture was easy.

1) Strongly agree 2) Agree 3) Neutral 4) Disagree 5) Strongly disagree

7. I was sometimes bullied at school.

1) Strongly agree 2) Agree 3) Neutral 4) Disagree 5) Strongly disagree

8. School work was difficult for me to keep up with.

1) Strongly agree 2) Agree 3) Neutral 4) Disagree 5) Strongly disagree

C. Questions about English acquisition and academic performance

1. I got private lessons in English before I came to the U.S.

1) Strongly agree 2) Agree 3) Neutral 4) Disagree 5) Strongly disagree

2. I currently have a private tutor for English or school work in the U.S.

1) Strongly agree 2) Agree 3) Neutral 4) Disagree 5) Strongly disagree

3. I usually get good scores in the subject of English.

1) Strongly agree 2) Agree 3) Neutral 4) Disagree 5) Strongly disagree

4. If you don't get good scores in English, what subject is your best? _____

5. What is the most difficult subject for you? _____

6. When you have difficulties in your study, how do you try to improve your study?

D. Questions about future perspective on early study among Korean students in the U.S.

1. Coming to the US for early study abroad was a good decision for you.

1) Strongly agree 2) Agree 3) Neutral 4) Disagree 5) Strongly disagree

2. You would recommend early study abroad in the U.S. to your friends or young family members who are in Korea now.

1) Strongly agree 2) Agree 3) Neutral 4) Disagree 5) Strongly disagree

3. I do not think there are many problems for kids who study in the U.S. without their parents.

1) Strongly agree 2) Agree 3) Neutral 4) Disagree 5) Strongly disagree

4. I think that my schooling in the U.S. is better than what I would have experienced in Korea.

1) Strongly agree 2) Agree 3) Neutral 4) Disagree 5) Strongly disagree

5. Please share the 3 best things about your early study abroad experience in the U.S. and why.

6. Please share the 3 worst things about your early study abroad experience in the U.S. and why.

Thank you for your participation!

APPENDIX B : STUDENT INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

I'm trying to learn about what you think and feel about studying and living in the U.S. at an early age without parental supervision. You can feel free to tell your story what you experience in schools and society in the U.S. in general. There are no right or wrong answers, and your responses will be kept confidential. If you don't want to answer a question, or if you'd like to stop at any time, please let me know. Do you have any questions?

A. First Interview

a) Introduction

1. When were you born?
2. Where were you born?
3. Have you lived anywhere else before coming to the U.S.?
4. At what age did you arrive to the U.S.?
5. Did anyone accompany you?
6. How would you identify yourself ethnically?

b) Language

1. What language do you use when speaking with your parents?
2. What language do you use when speaking with your friends?
3. Did you learn English in Korea? If so, for how many years did you study English?
4. When you first came to U.S., did the English language pose obstacles for you? If so, how so?
5. Does the English language still pose obstacles for you? In what ways? If not, why not?
6. Which language, Korean or English, would you say you are the most comfortable speaking in the United States now?

B. Second Interview

a) Culture

- 1) Do you think of yourself as an American sometimes and as a Korean at other times? When do you think of yourself as American? When do you think of yourself as Korean?

- 2) How difficult has it been for you to accept American ideas, values, and customs?
- 3) What are some of the ideas, values and customs that you have found difficult to adopt?

Do you think that your views have changed over the course of your stay in America? If so, why and in what ways have they changed? If not, why not?

- 4) What are some of the things that you miss the most from Korea?

b) Academics

- 1) In terms of schooling, when you first came to America, did you continue in the next grade level from the one you left in Korea?
- 2) Are your friends predominantly of any one ethnicity?
- 3) Does your high school have any Asian American or Korean American student organizations? Are you involved in any of them? Why or why not?
- 4) What subjects are the most difficult to study?
- 5) Do you need an extra help in terms of your English acquisition?
- 6) Do you have private tutor or do you go to the private academy?

C. Third Interview

a) Parental influences

- 1) When was the last time that you saw your parents? How often do you talk to your parents?
- 2) How do you feel about the fact that your parents are not living with you in the U.S.?
- 3) Are your parents involved in your academics? If yes, how do they support your academic performance?
- 4) Do you miss your parents? If so, when do you miss your parents the most?
- 5) Do your parents proud of you that you study in the U.S. without them?

b) Future aspirations

- 1) What do you see yourself doing 10 years from now?
- 2) Do you plan to attend college in the U.S. or do you want to go back to Korea after

you graduate high school??

- 3) Do you plan to stay and work in the US after you graduate college?
- 4) What kind of career path or college concentration do your parents think you should pursue?
- 5) What do you think the most different things in your future if you lived and studied in Korea instead of the U.S.? in the U.S. instead of Korea?

APPENDIX C : TEACHER INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

I'm trying to learn about what you think about South Korean Parachute students in your classroom. Throughout this interview I will invite you to share with me your experiences with teaching South Korean Parachute students and your relationships with these students in general. There are no right or wrong answers, and your responses will be kept confidential. If you don't want to answer a question, or if you'd like to stop at any time, please let me know. Do you have any questions?

Identity

1. What's your name and how long have you been teaching?
2. Do you identify yourself as a member of a race or ethnic group, and if so, how do you self-identify? (Notice gender).
3. How long have you taught at your school and how did you begin teaching here?
4. What subjects do you teach?

Classroom

1. How many Korean Parachute students do you have in your classroom?
2. How their peer relationships look like in the classroom?
3. Is there anything that you do differently or think you do differently when teaching Korean Parachute students?
4. Do you face any challenges or difficulties to teach them?
5. Do you invest extra time for them if they ask you for the extra help on their study?
6. Do you recognize that they are distinct or somewhat behind in your classroom?
7. How does your relationship with them?
8. Do Korean parachute students in your classes take their education seriously? How do you know?
9. Do you ever discuss students' futures after high school with them- either as a class or individually?

Students

Now I'm going to ask you some questions about __ (student participant) __.

1. Do you think that _____ adjust well in your school in general?
2. Do you witness that there any aspects that they act differently or respond differently in their school activities?
3. How would you describe her achievement in your class?
4. How would you describe her engagement in your class?
5. How well do you and _____ get along?
6. Have you had any contact with _____'s guardian? How often? What was the general topic of discussion- academics, discipline (positive? negative?)?
7. Have _____ asked you for the extra help in her study before? How often? What was her main concern about her study?

Do you have any questions for me? *Thank you for your participation!*

APPENDIX D: PARENT INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

I'm trying to learn about South Korean Parachute students' academic and social lives in the U.S. Throughout this interview I will invite you to share with me your story about how you decided to send your child to the U.S. for early study abroad and how your child is handling the experience. I am also interested to learn what your beliefs are about early study abroad in the U.S. There are no right or wrong answers, and your responses will be kept confidential. If you don't want to answer a question, or if you'd like to stop at any time, please let me know. Do you have any questions?

Identity

1. What is your name and relationship to _____ (student name) ?
2. Is _____ the only child you have sent to the U.S. at an early age for the educational purpose without your supervision?
3. Do you have other aged children? If so, where do they attend school? Korea or America?
4. Where do you live in Korea? Do you live in Seoul or other city in Korea?
5. What do you work for living? Both of you work?
6. What is your educational level? ?

Study abroad at an early age

1. What made you decide to send your children at an early age without your supervision?
2. How did you find the school that you sent your children in the U.S.?
3. How old was your child when he/she went to the U.S.?
4. How often do you meet her/him?
5. How often do you talk on the phone with your child?
6. Do you contend with your decision about sending your children to the U.S. ?

Academics

1. Do you think your child is successful in her/his academic outcomes in the U.S. now?
2. Are there any difficulties that your child tells you about his/her study in the U.S.?
3. Does your child have a private tutor or attend private academy after school in the U.S.? How often?
4. What was your child's English level before she/he left?
5. How is your child's GPA or SAT score? Do you contend with it?

Culture

1. Does your child adjust well in American culture?
2. What would be the most difficult thing that your child would experience in the U.S.?
3. Does your child have many friends except Korean students?
4. How is your child's peer relationship in the U.S. in general?

Do you have any questions for me?
Thank you for your participation!

APPENDIX E : GUARDIAN INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

I'm trying to learn about your experiences serving as the guardian for South Korean Parachute students. Throughout this interview I will invite you to share with me your experiences caring for South Korean Parachute students in your home and about your relationships with these students in general. There are no right or wrong answers, and your responses will be kept confidential. If you don't want to answer a question, or if you'd like to stop at any time, please let me know. Do you have any questions?

Identity

1. What is your name and relationship to _____(student name) ?\
2. Do you identify yourself as a member of a race or ethnic group, and if so, how do you self-identify? (Notice gender).
3. How long have you been a guardian for _____(student name)?
4. How long have you been worked as a guardian so far?
5. How many students do your take care at home?
6. Where is your home located in?
7. What is your educational level?

Home stay life

1. How is your relationship with home stay students? Do you get along well?
2. What is your perception of your student so far? Does she/ he behave well at home?
3. What is the most difficult challenges that you face while your living with the student?
4. When you experience any troubles with your student, how do you solve it?
5. How often do you talk to his/her parents?
6. Does your student study hard at home?
7. What does she/he do during the weekend?
8. What are their complains if they have about their home stay?
9. How often do you talk to his/her teacher? Was it about negative or positive?

Do you have any questions for me?

Thank you for your participation!

APPENDIX F: CODES AND DEFINITIONS

Conceptual Codes

Cultural adaptation: Korean students who study abroad may expect to experience depression, anxiety and low self-esteem until they adjust to their school lives, academics, and the culture of their new country of residence (Kim & Kim, 1993, 1999)

Assimilation: considered to be a process of social disorganization, adjustment, and eventual Americanization as traditional ethnic, family, and kinship ties to the country of origin are dissolved (Liu, 2002)

Ethnic Identity: Ethnic identities are based on how Asian Americans identify themselves (“self-making”) as well as how others, such as the mainstream, defined them (“being-made”) (Gudykunst, 2001)

Educational achievement: Parachute families hope to use the knowledge and networks their children acquire abroad as entrée into the country and as part of an entrepreneurial strategy for widening their economic fields of operation (Ong 1999). In the case of South Korean Parachute Kids, this strategy allows parents and children to avoid the intensified competition for slots in top Korean universities that resulted from the development of a new middle class and the opening of educational achievement as a dominant source of upward mobility (Cho, 1996).

Parental Influence: There is evidence that Asian American families are particularly likely to use an authoritarian parenting style that emphasizes parental authority and punishment for poor school performance (Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts, & Fraleigh, 1987). Perhaps the most significant difference in Asian and American parental attitudes toward school is that Asian parents emphasize the importance of hard work to academic success, whereas, American parents are more likely to attribute degrees of academic success to differences in native ability (e.g., Damon, 1995; Singleton, 1989; Yamamura, 1986) Min (1996) notes the general emphasis that Korean Parents place on their children’s education. “Due to their parents’ absence, Korean students who study abroad may feel unstable, depressed and lose their confidence. Those things may significantly influence their academic performance.(Kim, 1993)”

Peer pressure: “peer groups play an important role in promoting or hindering the school success of Parachute children (Zhou, p. 702, 1996).”

Second language acquisition: “It can be defined as the way in which people learn a language other than their mother tongue, inside or outside of a classroom (Ellis, p.3, 1997).”

Early Study abroad: “It can be defined as students who do not attend school in their native country, but instead attend school in another country for more than six months (Korean Educational Development Institute, 2007)

- Typification: “It is the process of constructing personal “ideal-types” based on the typical function of people or things rather than their unique features (Schutz, p. 107)”

Students’ study abroad experience Codes

Schooling: includes how a student describes their current attainment of the material he/she is learning and may include grades

-Future career: includes the student’s aspirations for a career after college

Peer relationship: includes how students build friendships with their classmates

English language: includes students’ English language proficiency in speaking and writing

Separates from parents: includes their experience to being apart from their parents in Korea

Teachers’ teaching experience Codes

Designing class: includes the teacher’s method of teaching;. in particular, the methods used to teach the ESL students in the class

Relationship with parents or guardians: includes their frequency of communicating with students’ parents in Korea and guardians in America

Perception of Korean Parachute students in terms of education and peer relationship: includes their observation about Korean Parachute students’ interaction with their peers in class

Challenges: includes teacher’s difficulties in teaching Korean Parachute students

Parents’ experience Codes

Educational level: includes Korean Parachute students’ parents’ educational background (i.e. have they completed a Bachelor, Masters or Doctoral degree)

Decision for early study abroad: includes parents’ motivation for sending their children to America at an early age to attend school alone

Absence of parenting: includes parents’ experience and feelings about being apart from their children

Satisfaction with children's academic achievement in the U.S.: includes parents' degree of contentment with their children's study abroad

Guardians' experience Codes

Ethnicity: includes guardians' nationality as American or Korean

Educational level: includes guardians' educational background (i.e. Bachelor, Masters or Doctoral degree)

Challenge: includes guardians' difficulties living with Korean Parachute students in their homes

Perception of Korean Parachute students: includes guardians' preconceived notions about Korean Parachute students

Communication with parents: includes the frequency of communicating with Korean Parachute student's parents in Korea

APPENDIX G: STUDENTS PARTICIPANT ASSENT FORM

Principal Investigator's Name: Will Jordan, Ph. D.

Student Investigator's Name: Keunah Lee Han

Department: Educational Leadership and Policy Studies, Temple University

Research Title: Academic Performance and Cultural Adaptation of South Korean Parachute Kids

As a graduate student in the Urban Education Program of Temple University, I am currently engaged in a study of academic performance and cultural adaptation of South Korean Parachute Kids. To help me gather information about the social and cultural factors that determine Korean Parachute Kids' academic performance, I would greatly appreciate your participation in this study. By agreeing to participate in this study, you agree to the following:

- 1) Complete a 30-minute questionnaire
- 2) Participate in 3 45-minute personal interviews over 3 months
- 3) My access to your academic records, which I will ask you to share with me

Students can participate in the questionnaire portion of the study at their convenience after school and it will take approximately 30 minutes to complete. For the interview portion of the study, students will be asked to participate in three interview sessions over the course of three months. During these interviews students will be asked to talk about their experiences studying and living in the U.S. and respond to questions about language and cultural differences, parental influences, and their future aspirations. Each interview will last approximately 45 minutes and occur at a time and place convenient to the student.

You will be also asked to share with me your academic records so that I can have access to information such as your GPA and SAT and TOEFL test scores.

If you become upset or begin to feel uncomfortable during the interview, the researcher will ask you whether or not you would like to continue with another question or whether you would like to end the interview. If you exhibit feelings or shares thoughts of homesickness, the researcher will suggest that you participate in Korean youth group activities sponsored by the Korean churches in Philadelphia so that you can meet others and feel less lonely. The researcher has a list of Korean youth groups in Korean churches in Philadelphia and the list is as follows:

1. Youngsang Presbyterian church : Pastor Lee Yong Gil 215-542-0288
2. Montgomery Presbyterian church: Pastor Choi hae keun 610-222-0691
3. Bucks County Pres. Church: Pastor Kim Paul. W. 215-945-1512

4. The first generaion Church: Pastor Lee Eung Do 215-869-5703
5. Antioch Church of Philadelphia: Pastor Jacob Kim 610-828-6760
6. Korean United Church of Philadelphia: Pastor Kim Joe Sung 215-927-0630
7. Zion Pres. Church: Pastor Kwak Hyun young 215-362-7830
8. Bethel Korean Pres. Church: Pastor Ahn Joe Do 215-549-1489

Although the study team has placed safeguards to maintain the confidentiality of my personal information, there is always a potential risk of an unpermitted disclosure. To that degree, all documents and information pertaining to this research study will be kept confidential, unless required by applicable federal, state, and local laws and regulations to be disclosed. I understand the records and data generated by the study may be reviewed by Temple University and its agents, the study sponsor or the sponsor's agents (if applicable), and/or governmental agencies to assure proper conduct of the study and compliance with regulations. I understand that the results of this study may be published. If any data is published, I will not be identified by name.

If I have any questions about my rights as a research subject, I may contact the Institutional Review Board Coordinator at (215) 707-3390. The IRB Coordinator may also be reached by email: IRB@temple.edu or regular mail:
 Institutional Review Board Coordinator
 Temple University Research Administration
 Student Faculty Conference Center
 3340 North Board Street – Suite 304
 Philadelphia, PA 19140

Signing your name below indicates that you have read and understand the contents of this Assent Form and that you agree to take part in this study.

Print Participant's name

Participant's Signature Date

Researcher's Signature Date

APPENDIX H : TEACHER AS PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Principal Investigator's Name: Will Jordan, Ph. D.

Student Investigator's Name: Keunah Lee Han

Department: Curriculum, Instruction & Technology in Education (C.I.T.E.)

Program: Urban Education

Research Title: Academic Performance and Cultural adaptation of South Korean Parachute Kids

I am currently engaged in a study of academic performance and cultural adaptation of South Korean Parachute Kids in the Urban Education program at Temple University. To help the researcher to gain further information about social and cultural factors that determine the level of success of Korean Parachute Kids' academic performance, she will ask you to:

- Participate in oral interviews
-

Teachers will be asked to address their story about teaching Korean Parachute Kids and their school life. Teachers also will be asked their perception of Korean Parachute Kids in terms of peer relationships, relationship with teachers. The interview will last approximately 30 minutes.

Although the study team has placed safeguards to maintain the confidentiality of my personal information, there is always a potential risk of an unpermitted disclosure. To that degree, all documents and information pertaining to this research study will be kept confidential, unless required by applicable federal, state, and local laws and regulations to be disclosed. I understand the records and data generated by the study may be reviewed by Temple University and its

agents, the study sponsor or the sponsor's agents (if applicable), and/or governmental agencies to assure proper conduct of the study and compliance with regulations. I understand that the results of this study may be published. If any data is published, I will not be identified by name.

If I have any questions about my rights as a research subject, I may contact the Institutional Review Board Coordinator at (215) 707-3390. The IRB Coordinator may also be reached by email: IRB@temple.edu or regular mail:

Institutional Review Board Coordinator
Temple University Research Administration
Student Faculty Conference Center
3340 North Board Street – Suite 304
Philadelphia, PA 19140

Signing your name below indicates that you have read and understand the contents of this Consent Form and that you agree to take part in this study.

Print Participant's name

Participant's Signature

Date

Researcher's Signature

Date

APPENDIX I: PARENT AS PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Principal Investigator's Name: Will Jordan, Ph. D.

Student Investigator's Name: Keunah Lee Han

Department: Curriculum, Instruction & Technology in Education (C.I.T.E.)

Program: Urban Education

Research Title: Academic Performance and Cultural adaptation of South Korean Parachute Kids

I am currently engaged in a study of academic performance and cultural adaptation of South Korean Parachute Kids in the Urban Education program at Temple University. To help the researcher to gain further information about social and cultural factors that determine the level of success of Korean Parachute Kids' academic performance, she will ask you to:

- Participate in phone interviews

Parents will be asked to address their story about how they decide to send their children to the U.S. at an early age without parental supervision, and how they believe their absence may impact their children's lives in America. Parents will be also asked how they found the means to send their children to the U.S., and how content they with their decision to send their children to the U.S. The interview will last approximately 30 minutes.

Although the study team has placed safeguards to maintain the confidentiality of my personal information, there is always a potential risk of an unpermitted disclosure. To that degree, all documents and information pertaining to this research study will be kept confidential, unless required by applicable federal, state, and local laws and regulations to be disclosed. I understand the records and data generated by the study may be reviewed by Temple University and its agents, the study sponsor or the sponsor's agents (if applicable), and/or governmental agencies to assure proper conduct of the study and compliance with regulations. I understand that the results of this study may be published. If any data is published, I will not be identified by name.

If I have any questions about my rights as a research subject, I may contact the Institutional Review Board Coordinator at (215) 707-3390. The IRB Coordinator may also be reached by email: IRB@temple.edu or regular mail:

Institutional Review Board Coordinator
Temple University Research Administration
Student Faculty Conference Center
3340 North Board Street – Suite 304
Philadelphia, PA 19140

Signing your name below indicates that you have read and understand the contents of this Consent Form and that you agree to take part in this study.

Print Participant's name

Participant's Signature

Date

Researcher's Signature

Date

APPENDIX J: GUARDIAN AS PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Principal Investigator's Name: Will Jordan, Ph. D.

Student Investigator's Name: Keunah Lee Han

Department: Curriculum, Instruction & Technology in Education (C.I.T.E.)

Program: Urban Education

Research Title: Academic Performance and Cultural adaptation of South Korean Parachute Kids

I am currently engaged in a study of academic performance and cultural adaptation of South Korean Parachute Kids in the Urban Education program at Temple University. To help the researcher to gain further information about social and cultural factors that determine the level of success of Korean Parachute Kids' academic performance, she will ask you to:

- Participate in oral interview

Guardians will be asked to address their story about how they perceive Korean Parachute Kids during their homestay and the most difficult challenges that they deal with when caring for Korean Parachute Kids. They will be also asked about their backgrounds such as their hometowns, ethnicity, and the length of time that they have worked as guardians. The interview will last approximately 30 minutes.

Although the study team has placed safeguards to maintain the confidentiality of my personal information, there is always a potential risk of an unpermitted disclosure. To that degree, all documents and information pertaining to this research study will be kept confidential, unless required by applicable federal, state, and local laws and regulations to be disclosed. I understand the records and data generated by the study may be reviewed by Temple University and its

agents, the study sponsor or the sponsor's agents (if applicable), and/or governmental agencies to assure proper conduct of the study and compliance with regulations. I understand that the results of this study may be published. If any data is published, I will not be identified by name.

If I have any questions about my rights as a research subject, I may contact the Institutional Review Board Coordinator at (215) 707-3390. The IRB Coordinator may also be reached by email: IRB@temple.edu or regular mail:
Institutional Review Board Coordinator

Temple University Research Administration
Student Faculty Conference Center
3340 North Board Street – Suite 304
Philadelphia, PA 19140

Signing your name below indicates that you have read and understand the contents of this Consent Form and that you agree to take part in this study.

Print Participant's name

Participant's Signature

Date

Researcher's Signature

Date

APPENDIX K: GUARDIAN CONSENT FORM

Principal Investigator's Name: Will Jordan, Ph. D.

Student Investigator's Name: Keunah Lee Han

Department: Curriculum, Instruction & Technology in Education (C.I.T.E.)

Program: Urban Education

Research Title: Academic Performance and Cultural adaptation of South Korean Parachute Kids

I am currently engaged in a study of academic performance and cultural adaptation of South Korean Parachute Kids in the Urban Education program at Temple University. To help the researcher to gain further information about social and cultural factors that determine the level of success of Korean Parachute Kids' academic performance, she will ask you to:

- Permit researcher for students' survey and interview

The researcher will conduct a 30minutes long survey for students and the interview will be conducted 45 minutes in different time frames such as three different dates and time. All survey, and interview responses will be kept entirely confidential and will have no direct impact on any student's experience at their schools.

Although the study team has placed safeguards to maintain the confidentiality of my personal information, there is always a potential risk of an unpermitted disclosure. To that degree, all documents and information pertaining to this research study will be kept confidential, unless required by applicable federal, state, and local laws and regulations to be disclosed. I understand the records and data generated by the study may be reviewed by Temple University and its agents, the study sponsor or the sponsor's agents (if applicable), and/or governmental agencies to assure proper conduct of the study and compliance with regulations. I understand that the results of this study may be published. If any data is published, I will not be identified by name.

If I have any questions about my rights as a research subject, I may contact the Institutional Review Board Coordinator at (215) 707-3390. The IRB Coordinator may also be reached by email: IRB@temple.edu or regular mail:
Institutional Review Board Coordinator
Temple University Research Administration
Student Faculty Conference Center
3340 North Board Street – Suite 304
Philadelphia, PA 19140

Print Participant's name

Participant's Signature

Date

Researcher's Signature

Date