

Civic Engagement of Korean Immigrant College Students in the United States

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Abstract

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As one of the largest Asian immigrant groups in the United States, Korean immigrants have received scholarly attention for their high educational attainment, cultural preservation, and successful socioeconomic adaptation. However, younger Korean immigrant generations have reported struggles over how to balance and integrate their Korean ethnic and American national identities. This dilemma affects how these youth grow as active U.S. citizens and participate in various civic engagement activities.

This study draws from the theoretical framework of an ecological model of human development, conceptions of citizenship, and ethnic identity development to investigate the current level of civic engagement and associated factors among young Korean immigrant generations. The educational contexts examined were parent and peer civic influences, community civic involvement, and school civic learning opportunities. Ethnic identity and three

conceptions of citizenship—personally- responsible, participatory, and justice-oriented—were examined as identity-relevant factors contributing to civic engagement.

Methodologically, this study used an explanatory mixed-methods design. In the quantitative phase, online survey data were collected from 62 students in two university campuses in the Pacific Northwest region of the U.S. The data were analyzed using multiple linear regression analyses to examine the relationships between educational contexts and civic engagement as well as identity-relevant factors and civic engagement. In the qualitative phase, semi-structured interviews and observations collected from nine participants provided in-depth explanations for the quantitative analyses results.

Findings suggested: (a) Korean immigrant college students were most involved in community service and volunteering activities and least engaged in political voice activities. Online participation is a popular technique for supporting their preferred political candidates and expressing opinions about social issues; (b) Among various educational contexts, peer civic involvement was the only significant factor affecting the participants' civic engagement. Parents, community, and high school civic learning opportunities did not influence civic engagement; (c) Among identity-relevant factors, participatory citizenship significantly and positively influenced civic engagement. However, ethnic identity had an even more significant influence on civic engagement.

With a broader definition of civic engagement, this study created a different profile from that of previous research that limited civic engagement to the conventional political participation of voting. By using an ecological model, this study sheds light on how various educational contexts and identity-relevant factors may affect the civic engagement of young Korean immigrant generations, whose civic engagement has been understudied.

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DEDICATION

To my beloved mom, Young Suk Kim,
who encouraged me to go on every adventure

To the LORD,
my refuge and strength

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Chapter I. Introduction

Asians [in the U.S.], who make up 6 percent of the population, have traditionally lagged in voting due to language and cultural barriers and minimal outreach from political parties. ... In the 2016 presidential election, for example, about 49 percent of eligible Asian voters cast ballots. That was less than the 65 percent for whites and 60 percent for blacks but slightly higher than the 48 percent figure for Latinos. – *abcNEWS (May 10, 2018)* – (Har, 2018)

Korean-American citizens have historically not been a politically active voting block: Nationally, about 46 percent of eligible voters nationally cast a ballot in 2016, compared with 61 percent among adult citizens overall.” – *The New York Times (May 10, 2018)* – (Medina, 2018)

After the passage of the Immigration Act of 1965, a wave of immigrants from Latin American, Asian, and Caribbean countries changed the racial and ethnic composition of the United States. Among these countries, South Korea has sent more than one million immigrants to the United States over the last 45 years (Min & Chung, 2014). The Korean immigrant population in the United States had grown to more than 1.8 million by 2015. The population now ranks fifth among Asian immigrant groups, following Chinese, Asian Indian, Filipino, and Vietnamese (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). Korean immigrants in the U.S. have received media and scholarly attention (Min, 2013b). Highly entrepreneurial Korean immigrants who opened small businesses have successfully adapted socially and economically to U.S. society. Their children have an achieved higher educational status than native-born White Americans and other immigrant groups (Min, 2013a, 2013c). This successful socioeconomic adaptation in the host society has

contributed to portraying Korean immigrants as a model ethnic minority in the United States (K. C. Kim & Hurh, 1983; Park, 2011).

Korean immigrants, however, have been considered lacking power and visibility in terms of their political participation in U.S. society as other Asian immigrant groups have illustrated. Their voting rates have been lower than other natives and racial groups. Their high levels of volunteerism have attributed to faith in God and religious perspectives rather than civic participation. In addition, recent younger generation Korean immigrants report that they experience inner struggles over how to maintain a balance between their Korean ethnic identities and American identity. These descriptions raised questions whether Korean immigrants and their young generations experience “failed citizenship” (Banks, 2015, 2017). According to Banks (2015, 2017), minority youth who do not develop a strong affiliation with the nation-state are likely to be disempowered and they participate at low levels in the political system. He calls this “failed citizenship”, which refers to a process in which minority groups “do not internalize the values and symbols of the nation-state, develop a strong identity with it, or acquire political efficacy” (Banks, 2015, p.151). Individuals and groups who experience failed citizenship develop complex identities with the nation-state, although participating in the political system at minimum levels. Ways in which young Korean immigrants are actually involved in U.S. society should be understood. To explore this, I use the concept of civic engagement.

Importance of Civic Engagement in Multicultural Democratic Society

There is a considerable range of definitions of civic engagement that limit its meaning in some way (P. R. Adler & Goggin, 2005; Sherrod, Flanagan, & Youniss, 2002). In this study, I define civic engagement encompasses a wide range of activities that involve public concerns. Civic engagement refers to actions or behaviors that address issues of public concerns to try to

improve them in both the *political* and *civic* realms (Levine, 2007; Putnam, 2000). The political realm of civic engagement includes electoral-related and political expressive activities such as voting, contacting public representatives, participating in political campaigns, donating money to political causes, boycotting or buy-cotting products, and protesting. The civic realm of civic engagement includes involvement in various voluntary associations (e.g. cultural, social, and religious affairs), regular volunteering and fundraising, and community problem solving. In many contexts, civic engagement is referred to as “citizen participation” and “civic action.”

Civic engagement is essential to sustaining a strong democracy. James Madison’s (1787-1788) “auxiliary precautions” (p.12)—the separation of power, checks and balances, judicial review, and federalism—have been durable and efficient in protecting liberal democracy for most of the last two centuries. However, strong states still need participation of citizens to monitor abuse of governmental power and to make people powerful (Barber, 1985; Levine, 2007). By participating in political and civil activities, people can govern themselves to the greatest extent possible with voice and vision of their own freedom and interest, not remaining as isolated individuals. In addition, civic engagement is educational (Levine, 2007). It enables people to learn to live together through participation in activities and organizations that make public decisions. According to Dewey (1916), democracy is “a mode of associated living, of conjoint communal experience” (p.93). When democracy is practiced, people can learn it. Barber (1985) explains that the direct participation of people in politics is “a completely successful form of civic education for democracy” (p.253). According to him, “individual members are transformed, through their participation in common seeing and common work, into citizens” (Barber, 1985, p.249).

In multicultural democratic societies, civic engagement is particularly important because it gives voice to people and experiences that have been long silenced (Gutmann, 2003). By participating in a wide range of associations and expressing their opinions, individuals from different ethnic, racial, and cultural backgrounds can declare what they consider as important aspects of their identities. Through this participation process, they develop their multiple and fluid identities. Furthermore, citizens' participation enables people to fight against discrimination and injustices, and to influence more equitable distributions of power and resources. That is, civic engagement could be a critical means to enhance equity and justice, and to transform a society.

The Civic Achievement Gap and Studying Immigrant Youth Civic Engagement

While scholars have agreed on the importance of civic engagement, they have expressed concerns that today's younger generations engage less than previous generations did (Parker, 2014). They argue that the lower levels of civic knowledge, decreased voting rates, and lower rates of involvement in civil associations might weaken democracy in the United States. (Galston, 2001; Niemi & Junn, 1998; Putnam, 2000). Furthermore, these concerns have been conjoined with discourse about equity. Some scholars argue that poor, racial and ethnic minorities, and immigrant youth have lower levels of good citizenship than middle-class, White, and native-born young citizens (Levinson, 2007; Torney-Purta, Barber, & Wilkenfeld, 2007). This disparity is called a *civic achievement gap* (Levinson, 2007). Regarding immigrants, scholars argue that foreign-born students have low civic and political knowledge test scores; difficulties in developing civic skills; low levels of voter registration and community involvement; and ambivalent attitudes about civic identity and civic duty. Levinson (2010), for example, emphasized that immigrant and minority youth actually received fewer systematic

opportunities to learn about and to practice civic participation and are systematically disempowered, calling these phenomena a *civic empowerment gap*.

The discourse of the civic achievement gap brought civic education back to the heart of education and schooling by encouraging vigorous discussion on public civic engagement of youth. However, some of the assumptions embedded in the concept are still problematic from the perspective of multicultural education that acknowledges multiple groups and their cultural diversity, and values social action for a transformative multicultural society (Banks, 2008; Gay, 1994; Nieto, 2009; Sleeter & Grant, 1999). First, it blatantly ignores the within-group variability that exists among racial, ethnic, and immigrant groups. Some people might ask where on the civic achievement gap spectrum one would locate a population group that does not fit into the dichotomy between poor, racial and ethnic minority, immigrant youth, and middle-class, White, and native-born. For example, the civic achievement gap does not explain the middle- or upper-middle classes of skilled immigrants from Asian countries who may have “flexible citizenship” (Ong, 1999). Immigrants are not monolithic; they include many different ethnic and cultural groups that could be distinguished by country of origin, cultural and language use, the length of stay in a host society, and educational and political experiences in their home country or in the host country.

Another problem is that the civic achievement gap often excludes various forms of civic engagement of youth from racial minority, economically disadvantaged, and immigrant backgrounds (Kuttner, 2016). As many scholars have shown, young people have been participating in many collective actions, rallies, marches, and protests surrounding social issues (Costanza-Chock, 2010; Lopez & Marcelo, 2008; Soep, 2014; Zukin, Keeter, Andolina, Jenkins, & Delli Carpini, 2006). One of the most active groups who participated in these events are

students from immigrant backgrounds, as well as from racial and ethnic minority groups. Despite such evidence, the discourse on the civic achievement gap has not acknowledged these youth who are committed to reforming society and promoting democracy. As a consequence, the concept of civic achievement gap holds deficit ideas about immigrant youth.

The discourse of civic achievement gap tried to improve understanding the nature of youth civic engagement by examining demographic variables such as class (poor versus middle-class), race and ethnicity (minority versus White), and immigration status (foreign-born versus and native-born citizens). These ascriptive variables are beyond young citizens' control; the variables may be helpful to understand the general pattern, but they cannot contribute to changing the status of civic engagement. Additionally, recent studies and media have shown that young people are actively participating in various civic engagement activities regardless of their race, ethnicity, and immigration status (Lopez & Marcelo, 2008). It may mean that class, race, ethnicity, and immigration status contribute less than scholars have indicated they would. If so, then what are other elements that can empower young people to be civically engaged in society? If they exist, then they need to be identified.

Comprehensive Understanding of Immigrant Youth Civic Engagement

Civic engagement does not emerge on one day; it results from socialization and is affected by various educational agencies and sites (Parker, 2001), and is influenced by one's identity development. Sherrod, Torney-Purta, and Flanagan (2010) summarized this process as follows:

Civic engagement does not develop as part of the natural growth of the organism in interaction with a proximal environment as does cognition, for example. Instead, civic engagement results from the person's interaction with her society and its institutions,

relying on underlying basic or natural development in cognition, emotion, or competencies.

Much civic identity development occurs in families and community organizations through informal education. A great deal of research also has examined civic education in schools where formal and planned education for civic engagement occurs. These sites may function differently for young people from immigrant backgrounds. Not only educational environments, identity matters as well. What young people think about a citizen's role, how they think about themselves, and attachment to a nation or society are included in the identity-relevant factors. Incorporating multiple socialization and developmental influences helps to understand civic engagement of young people from immigrant backgrounds in a comprehensive way.

Research Focus

The premise of this study is that multicultural citizenship education should help *all* youth develop the knowledge, attitudes, and skills needed to voice their opinions, participate in, and transform society. This premise also applies to immigrant youth.

This study focused on young people from Korean immigrant backgrounds in the U.S. It explored how they are involved in various civic engagement activities, and what educational related and identity-relevant factors influence their engagement. It provided a comprehensive understanding of a particular ethnic group influences of developmental variables on its civic engagement.

This study focused on *college students* who are late adolescents and young adults (aged 18-25). Exploring on this age group because they develop durable habits, attitudes, and values relevant to civic engagement during these "formative years," (Levine, 2008). Additionally, civic identities formed in these years are highly predictive of positions of later adulthood preferences

and behaviors (Flanagan & Levine, 2010). Young adults who completed compulsory education start working with people from more different social and racial backgrounds and facing more public issues. These young adults may have more opportunities for civic engagement activities associated with legal rights. These ideas of adulthood also apply to Korean immigrant college students.

This study also focused on the experiences of an *immigrant population*. Immigrant backgrounds here include first generation (immigrated to the U.S. above age 12), 1.5-generation (immigrate to the U.S. under age 12), and second generation (born in the U.S.). Since each generation goes through different experiences throughout their lives in the host society, their integration into the U.S. society and other immigration outcomes, including civic engagement, are different from each other in many ways. In this study, these differences were assumed to be linked to various educational contexts.

Theoretical Background

The theoretical framework that guides this study includes concepts and key ideas from different theories of an ecological model of human development (Bronfenbrenner, 1993), conceptions of citizenship (Banks, 2008; Westheimer & Kahne, 2002), and ethnic identity development (Gay, 1985). First, an ecological model of human development is the ideological anchor of this study. The educational contexts affect both conceptualizations and behavioral manifestations of civic engagement. Second, the conceptions of citizenship vary and affect purposes of civic engagement. Third, ethnic identity is multidimensional and dynamic, and it influences the community boundary of civic engagement. The major concepts and the interactive relationships among them are described in the next sections.

The Ecological Model of Human Development and Educational Contexts

According to Bronfenbrenner (1976, 1977), individuals learn and develop over time through multiple systems of influence. Thus, the human development process is “affected by relations obtained within and between the immediate settings, as well as the larger social context, both formal and informal, in which the settings are embedded” (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, p. 514). To be congruent with these claims, environments, and contexts should be integral components of educational research.

Several successive levels of educational contexts are proposed in the ecological model. These are microsystems, mesosystems, exosystems, and macrosystems. The microsystem is closest to individuals, is often personal, and is an immediate setting of learning. It includes individuals and societal institutions that directly interact with people through interpersonal relationships and activities. Depending on the age of the individual, different microsystems are more salient. For example, home and the family have the largest influence on young children. As they grow older and explore their surroundings, they become more influenced by peers and schools.

Second, the mesosystem consists of the interactions between individuals and settings of the microsystem. For example, parents can enhance children’s learning by participating in school activities, such as book fairs and field trips, and parent-teacher associations. These parents’ involvement can enhance children’s learning. By contrast, there have been arguments and conflicts about who has the legitimate authority of education between parents and schools (Parker, 2014)

Third, the exosystem refers to the interactions among subsystems that indirectly influence individuals. One of the most notable examples of an exosystem is neighborhood

community groups that affect the surrounding environments of families and schools. The neighborhood can affect the school's demographic and family's socioeconomic environments; moreover, considering larger neighborhoods, state policies may bring about the school's specific curriculum.

Last, the macrosystem is the most distal system. It comprises the ideological components of a given society and culture such as the beliefs, norms, and values. Although its effects are indirect, the larger societal processes permeate all stages and domains of development. For example, a cultural group's ideas on education or expectations of a good citizen may lead to different outcomes of an individual's learning and therefore civic development.

Each system plays a significant role in the civic development of youth, just as it does in general human development. However, the interactions among these systems of influence and their relation to civic engagement have rarely been systematically studied (Wilkenfeld, Lauckhardt, & Torney-Purta, 2010). In addition, Korean immigrants may have unique educational contexts that differ from other immigrant groups in the micro-, meso-, exo-, and macro-systems surrounding them. They may interact with their family, school, and community in different ways, maintain Korean cultural norms and values, and be influenced by social and political expectations and the climate in the nation. This study examines how these various levels of educational environments influence Korean immigrants' civic engagement in U.S. society.

Conceptions of Citizenship

Conceptions of citizenship developed by Westheimer and Kahne (2004) and Banks (2008, 2017) provide a lens for examining different types of citizenship. To conceptualize citizenship that marginalized population experience, Banks (2017) created a typology that

includes four levels of citizenship practices. These are failed, recognized, participatory, and transformative citizenship. Failed citizenship means individuals do not internalize the values of the nation-state, feel structurally excluded with it, and therefore do not participate in the political system. Recognized citizenship exists when the nation-state publicly recognized an individual as a legal member of the polity but it does not guarantee participation. People who exercise participatory citizenship takes action as minimal as voting. The actions of participatory citizenship maintain existing social and political structures. Transformative citizenship involves various actions to promote social justice and equality. Banks' conceptions of citizenship provide a framework for analyzing different forms of political engagement of marginalized population including immigrants who do not have full citizenship rights. However, by focusing on elements of political participation, it excludes people's engagement in a community.

Yet, noncitizen immigrants may engage in civic actions in public spaces beyond the boundaries of political participation (Becerra, 2014; Gonzales, 2008). Another model created by Westheimer and Kahne (2004) include civil activities as important practices for good citizenship as well as political activities. Their three versions of citizenship emerged from analyzing democratic goals and practices of programs in schools and community organizations. These are personally responsible, participatory, and justice-oriented citizenship. Personally-responsible citizenship is individualistic, which means people personally participate in civic activities, such as volunteering to help the less fortunate and contributing to food drives. This type of citizenship emphasizes an individual's altruistic and moral character. Participatory citizens try to solve social problems and improve society by actively participating in collective actions. Participatory citizens value initiating and organizing the activities. For justice-oriented citizens, social justice

is the most important elements of good citizenship. They critically analyze systematic structures that create inequities and believe that social change is the product of collective efforts.

These two notions of conceptions of citizenship describe not only people's behaviors but also embrace a set of norms of what people think people should be as a member of a community. For example, both transformative citizenship and justice-oriented citizenship illustrate the ideas of citizens who value various forms of actions that would promote social justice and equity. Although the relationships between norms and actual participation is still a complex, sets of norms link to participation (Bolzendahl & Coffé, 2013; Dalton, 2008).

Theory of Ethnic Identity Development

Ethnic identity is defined as a sense of belonging to a particular ethnic group, in which one shares ethnic attributes, such as values, beliefs, traditions, language, and behaviors (Branch, 2012). Like personal identity that develops over time and involves "reflection and observation" (Erikson, 1968) and "exploration and commitment" (Marcia, 1980), so does ethnic identity. Several scholars have developed models of ethnic identity development to explain its developmental stages (Cross, 1978, 2012; Gay, 1985; Phinney, 1989).

This study adopts Gay's (1985) three-stage paradigm of ethnic identity development. According to the model, ethnic identity changes over time, contexts, and experiences. The three stages of the model are Pre-Encounter, Encounter, and Post-Encounter. In the *Pre-Encounter* stage, individuals' ethnic identity has not been systematically and consciously incorporated into their attitudes and behaviors. Although ethnic minority and immigrant youth have learned about their own ethnic culture and heritage at home and in their communities, they do not simply apply the beliefs and values of their ethnicity to their behaviors. In another version or manifestation of this stage, conceptions of self are largely determined by the dominant cultural values and

standards. In the *Encounter* stage, individuals face incidents that cause them to question the merits of pre-encounter conceptions of their ethnic heritages and identities. They start thinking about their ethnicity for the first time in their lives, or rethinking their “ethnic innocence” and existing beliefs about their ethnic identity. One potential consequence of the exploration could be strong commitments to the ethnic inner group, and start to withdraw and reject mainstream norm and practices. Individuals who have progressed to the *Post-Encounter* stage feel self-confident, pride in their own ethnic identities, and internalize the achieved identities throughout their whole lives. The negative self-image of oneself is replaced by the acceptance of self as a member of ethnic minority group. Another important aspect of the Post-Encounter stage is that individuals become receptive to ethnic differences and endorse biculturalism and/or multiculturalism. As individuals have confidence in their own personal standards of their ethnic group, they become aware of the complex and multidimensional nature of their identities. These understandings become the basis of accept biculturalism and multiculturalism.

One of the strengths of the Gay model is that it emphasizes not only the personal process of exploration and commitment to identity clarification but also the sociocultural contexts in which ethnic minority youth are located. In the model, adolescents develop their ethnic identity by rethinking their beliefs and values in relation to dominant cultural influences. This model allows a researcher to consider ethnic-, dominant-, and immigrant-related sociocultural contexts of Korean immigrant youth.

Conceptual Framework of the Current Study

In order to understand how Korean immigrant college students engage in U.S. society, I drew on theories of the ecological model of human development, conceptions of citizenship, and ethnic identity development. The ecological model explains the influences of educational

contexts on civic engagement, but it also potentially affect conceptions of citizenship and ethnic identity of Korean immigrant college students considering the perspectives of human development. The conceptions of citizenship and ethnic identity development explain the personal processes that are linked to civic actions. Together, these theories address how internal and educational factors affect the civic engagement of Korean immigrant college students. The synthesized concepts and interactive relationships among these theories are depicted visually in Figure 1.

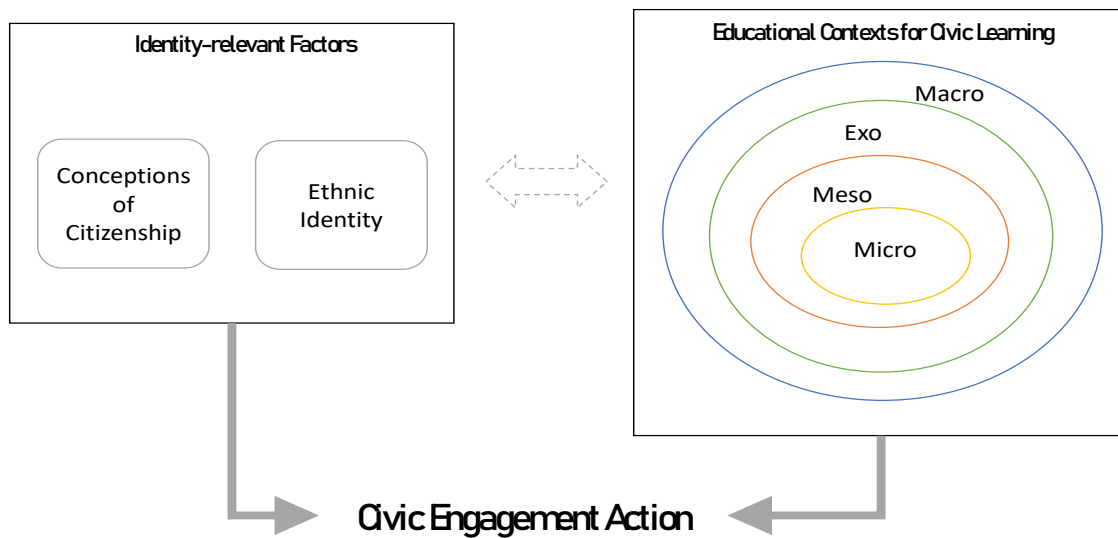


Figure 1.1. Conceptual Framework of the Study

Civic engagement is influenced by ecological educational contexts; they consist of micro-, meso-, exo-, and macro-systems. Korean immigrant college students are surrounded by immediate settings of micro-systems, such as family, peers, and schools. Schools are one of important learning sites that provide direct civic knowledge and various exercise opportunities. In the meso-system, these immediate settings interact with each other. The exosystem comprises various communities, such as neighborhood, religious, and ethnic communities. Cultural norms,

values, and attitudes of Korean immigrant college students permeate all domains of systems, leading to civic engagement.

Civic engagement may also be affected different conceptions of citizenship and ethnic identity. Individuals develop ideas about characteristics of a good citizen, and these ideas prompt actions and induce one to engage in particular civic actions. For example, if an individual believes that a good citizen obeys rules, then she may participate in activities within legal boundaries, and oppose activities that violate legal power. Another important factor is ethnic identity. While the lack of clear ideas about their own Korean ethnic and cultural identity might be manifested as avoiding active engagement in Korean ethnic communities, Korean immigrants college students who have established their own achieved identities may eagerly participate in ethnic and cultural-related civic activities, as well as in the broader multicultural society.

In this study, the educational contexts and identity-relevant factors in the model were distinguished. However, these elements were assumed to be interconnected. Korean immigrant college students reconstruct their educational contexts could depend on their ethnic identity or conceptions of citizenship. Identity-relevant factors may also be influenced by the various educational contexts surrounding them. Thus, the conceptual framework provided a comprehensive set of assumptions about processes of civic engagement of Korean immigrant college students in the U.S.

Summary

This chapter introduced the background of studying civic engagement of Korean immigrant college students in the United States. While civic engagement of youth and immigrant youth has been studied in the field, the idea of civic achievement gap has remained problems when studying immigrant youth civic engagement. To challenge deficit notions about immigrant

youth, this study adopted an expansive definition of civic engagement and chose an ethnic group that possibly may not fit into the idea of the civic achievement gap. This study specifically explored college students with immigrant backgrounds who were transiting from adolescence. By incorporating theories and concepts from an ecological model of human development, conceptions of citizenship, and ethnic identity development, this study aimed to provide comprehensive understandings of civic engagement processes of Korean immigrant college students in the U.S.

Chapter II. Review of Selected Research and Scholarship

In this chapter, I summarize current research and scholarship on immigrant youth involvement in civil and political activities, and factors that influence their engagement. Studies that examined various types of civic engagement among immigrant youth are firstly explored. In the second and third section, I draw upon a body of scholarship on factors affecting the civic engagement. Studies on Korean immigrants and their civic engagement are reviewed.

Korean immigrant youth have intersecting identities. For example, they are *youth*, have *immigration backgrounds*, and are a *racial minority group*. They may have patterns of civic engagement behaviors similar to other youth in general. In this case, it is necessary to study scholarship on *youth* civic engagement and understand the general trends of how younger generations participate in communities and political activities. Studies on *immigrant adults* could help to explain how the immigration experience influence civic participation in a host society. Some studies on minority adolescents also could contribute to this study. Specifically, many Latino and Asian Americans are recent immigrants (Portes & Rumbaut, 2014), and thus, studies on these two populations could provide useful explanations about civic engagement experiences of immigrant youth. Thus, research from all of these perspectives is included to create the broader context for this study.

Civic Engagement Patterns of Immigrant Youth

The engagement of citizen had been examined within the framework of representative democracy, which focuses on activities of selecting representatives and influencing government decisions (O'Neill, 2009). More recent scholarship on civic engagement uses an expansive definition that includes involvement in political spheres and with community activities (Flanagan, 2004; Putnam, 2000; Sherrod et al., 2002).

A broad definition of civic engagement has been supported by several empirical studies. Community service involvement and participation in youth organizations during adolescence were reported to have strong long-term connections with civic participation behaviors during adulthood, such as voting and membership in voluntary associations, even 25 years later (Youniss & Yates, 1997). Participating in social movements, such as civil rights, was found to lead to lifelong political activism, high rates of voting, and continuous involvement in social issues (Fendrich, 1993). According to Youniss et al. (2002), there is no definite boundary between the political and civil realms. Instead “there is a continuum between formal political acts such as voting, political actions such as protesting for a moral cause, and performing a service such as working in a rural literacy campaign” (p.126). Considering these long-term effects of civic engagement in youth, they concluded that “scholarships concerned with young people’s preparation for civic participation as adults would be wise to take into account the whole range” (Youniss et al., 2002, p. 126). Following these suggestions, this study views civic engagement as an expansive concept, comprising political and civil participation. Political participation includes electoral activities such as voting and making campaign contributions, signing petitions, and political voice activities such as expressing opinions online and on-onsite, and engaging in rallies or protests. Civil involvement includes community service and volunteerism.

Political Participation

Scholars have paid great attention to the voting patterns of naturalized immigrants as important indicators of political integration into host societies (Waters & Pineau, 2015).

Analyses have revealed voting gaps between native and foreign-born citizens and among racial and ethnic groups. For example, Bass and Casper (2001), Cho (1999), and DeSipio (2001)

reported that naturalized citizens were less likely to register and vote than native-born citizens. With regard to voting rate disparity among racial groups, the U.S. Census Bureau (2013) reported that Hispanics and Asians who comprise the largest recent immigrant groups, had lower voter turnouts than non-Hispanic Whites and Blacks in elections from 1996 to 2012. Two articles on the electoral participation of immigrant youth published in a 2008 special issue of *Applied Developmental Science* showed similar findings about immigrant youth's voting participation. Stepick, Stepick, and Labissiere (2008) conducted a survey in Miami, Florida, where the largest concentration of immigrants lived in the United States. The study included 1,334 college freshmen, 330 of whom were of African American, Haitian, West Indian, Cuban, Nicaraguan, and Mexican origins. The immigrant participants who claimed to be registered to vote were notably lower than their non-immigrant counterparts were. Lopez and Marcelo (2008) also found that first- and 1.5-generation immigrant youth were less registered to vote than native-born residents and second-generation immigrants. Their findings resulted from analyses of the 2006 National Civic and Political Health of the National Survey data.

While both studies showed lower participation rates of immigrant youth than non-immigrant youth in voting, different conclusions resulted from the analyses of the voting participation rate of immigrant adults. Lopez and Marcelo (2008) reported that once they controlled for demographic factors, such as gender and socioeconomic background, the estimated differences in political participation between immigrant and native youth were mitigated. This meant the differences were attributed more to gender and socioeconomic variables than to immigration backgrounds, even though immigrant youth have many barriers to full political participation. They concluded that "differences in being a regular voter, may reflect structural barriers to engagement that young immigrants face more than a desire not to get

involved” (Lopez & Marcelo, 2008, p. 72). Stepick and his colleagues (2008) revealed that cynicism and alienated feelings of immigrant youth are obstacles to their participation in electoral politics. These studies suggest that research focusing on electoral participation should be conducted with the consideration of structural and cultural barriers to developing comprehensive insights into the civic engagement immigrant population in host societies.

Political voice participation or expressive activity has been studied frequently in the scholarship. This type of participation includes participating in rallies, marches, and protests. Scholars have reported that immigrant youth participate in political expressive activities at a high level than native youth (Lopez et al., 2006; Lopez & Marcelo, 2008; Seif, 2011). For example, Lopez et al. (2006) reported that 23% of immigrant youth and 18% of children of immigrant parents participated in protest movements, while 10% of native-born youth engaged in similar activities. Yet research of these engagements is still relatively scarce. Levinson (2010) noted, “the data are too recent and context-specific to foster confidence about long-term reductions in the civic behavior gap” (p.340).

However, immigrant youth participation in various movements shows that this trend is not a transient or period-specific phenomenon. Particularly, the Internet is providing new opportunities for immigrant youth engaging in political expressive activities. A study conducted by Costanza-Chock (2010) revealed that undocumented immigrant youth used new media tools for their activism activities. During extensive public discussions on immigration acts in 2010, young immigrants not only used existing channels (such as generating phone calls for getting support for petitions) but also relied on new digital media and technologies, such as text messaging, social networking services, blogs, and websites to share information about their DREAM Act policy-related movements. This study suggested that immigrant youth actively

engage in “participatory politics” (Kahne, Middaugh, & Allen, 2014; Soep, 2014) as other young generations in general do. Participatory politics includes youth circulating information; engaging in dialogue; producing content using digital tools; investigating sources of information and opportunities to activate audiences; and encouraging others to act. In the current digital age, youth voice their opinions and exert influence on matters of public concern by using these interactive and peer-based practices.

Civil Involvement

Although the low political participation of youth has been a concern for decades, scholars have found that youth are actively engaged in community service activities (Syvertsen, Wray-Lake, Flanagan, Wayne Osgood, & Briddell, 2011; Youniss et al., 2002). Volunteerism is the activity that youth are more likely to participate more than any other type of civic engagement (Flanagan & Levine, 2010).

Like youth in general, immigrant youth have been reported to be highly engaged in volunteering and community activities (Ishizawa, 2015; Perez, Espinoza, Ramos, Coronado, & Cortes, 2010; Stepick et al., 2008). In the study conducted by Stepick and his colleagues (2008), over 80 percent of immigrant college students, including first-, second-, and 1.5 generation, who were mostly from Latino and Black backgrounds reported that they had participated in voluntary or community services while attending the high school. In a 2010 survey study, Perez and his colleagues (2010) found that over 70 percent of high school and over 55 percent of college-level undocumented Latino students were involved in community service and volunteer activities, such as tutoring and providing free childcare service through community-based organizations.

Research also has revealed that the types of volunteer activities that immigrant youth participate in are different from those of non-immigrant youth. Immigrants tend to engage in

activities related to their own communities, such as helping other recent immigrants, helping non-English speakers who cannot read or write in English (Stepick et al., 2008). Ishizawa (2015) found that first and second generation Hispanic and Asian immigrant high school seniors who speak a language other than English were more involved in volunteer activities than others were. Although Ishizawa did not identify the types of volunteerism the participants became involved with in her study, she suggested that this higher level of volunteer involvement may be connected with their bilingual abilities.

Factors Affecting Civic Engagement of Immigrant Youth

Civic participation does not suddenly emerge on one day; it is developed throughout one's life and is affected by various educational agencies and sites (Parker, 2001). Over the past three decades, scholars in a wide range of fields including political science, psychology, and education, have explored various factors impacting youth civic engagement, such as family (Jennings & Niemi, 1968, 1975; Jennings, Stoker, & Bowers, 2009), schools and civic education (Kahne & Sporte, 2008; Nie, Junn, & Stehlik-Barry, 1996), and community organizations (Catalano, Berglund, Ryan, Lonczak, & Hawkins, 2004; Dilworth, 2012; Flanagan, 2004). But there is a limited number of studies in this body of scholarship that focuses specifically on immigrant youth. Therefore, the research and scholarship reviewed in this section include the studies of political socialization of both youths in general and of the immigrant population.

Educational Contexts: Family, School, and Community Organizations

Family. There have been conflicting views regarding the importance of family as an agent of political learning for children. Some scholars argue that parents transmit their family values in fewer areas of political socialization than schools (Torney-Purta & Hess, 1967). Others contend that the family greatly affects children's political socialization (Jennings & Niemi, 1968,

1975; Jennings et al., 2009). Specifically, families influence children's values, which are a basis for organizing political views and positions on public issues (Flanagan, 2003; Jennings & Niemi, 1968; Tedin, 1974). According to Jennings, Stoker, and Bowers (2009), children adopt parental partisan orientations when the family is highly politicized, but, when the family environment is apolitical and the parents have less consistent political attributes, children and parents tend to have less similar opinions about politics, thereby less political transmission occurs.

Recent studies have found reverse and reciprocal political interactions between children and their parents (McDevitt & Chaffee, 2002a, 2002b; Shulman & DeAndrea, 2014). According to McDevitt and Chaffee (2002b), children who are stimulated by a civic curriculum in school initiate political discussion in the household, and expect responses from their parents. This “trickle-up influence” prompts parents to search for more knowledge about politics and to form particular political opinions. From this perspective, family plays a significant role not in transmitting political knowledge and dispositions, but in boosting civic efficacy, and mediating political stimulation from media, schools, and elections (McDevitt & Chaffee, 2002a).

Both of these models contribute to understanding the political socialization of immigrant children and their families. Terriquez and Kwon (2015) found that immigrant youth aged 18-26 in California with politically engaged parents were more likely to participate in civic engagement activities, such as volunteerism, community work, and protests. Their quantitative data supported a top-down transmission of political disposition from parents to immigrant youth. However, the qualitative data collected by the same authors also indicated “trickle-up” political socialization processes. Immigrant youth who were involved in grassroots campaigns for various social issues (such as educational inequality, health services, environmental justice, and immigrant rights) through Youth Organizations (YOs) learned how to engage in political processes. Once

immigrant youth obtained extensive experiences in YOs, they sought ways to influence their parents' political attitudes and behaviors. In other words, immigrant youth played an agency function by politicizing their families. Wong and Tseng (2008) also found that children of immigrants facilitated their parents' access to political information by translating and explaining U.S. political concepts, and institutions, governmental policies, major political events, and specific political measures. These findings suggest that the effects of family on civic participation among immigrant youth should be examined in both trickle-up and trickle-down ways.

Schools. Youth also gain civic knowledge, skills, and experiences from other educational environments as well as in family. Schools are one of the most important educational sites for political socialization. The effects of schooling on the development of citizens have been studied with a focus on two elements (Parker, 2001): school attendance and within-school processes, especially through both curricular and extracurricular approaches.

Studies have found that school attendance itself (called "educational attainment" or "level of schooling") can enhance political knowledge and engagement in politics. Nie et al. (1996) explained that academic attainment helps youth increase their cognitive and verbal proficiencies, and thereby enables them to better understand the norms and ideals of democracy. People with higher levels of formal education are more likely to be closer to the center of the social networks and community activities, which, in turn, increases their political participation.

Research on youth civic engagements within schools has focused on the effects of explicit and implicit curricula activities. The curricular approach includes social studies (or civic education) courses which may increase students' civic knowledge and political participation during adulthood (Chaffee, 2000; Galston, 2001; Niemi & Junn, 1998). According to Keeter and

Delli Carpini (1996), people who have more knowledge about politics are more likely to participate and are better able to advocate their interests through political actions. That is, civic knowledge fosters both efficacy and engagement in a democratic society. Analyses of the 1988 National Assessment of Educational Progress Civics Assessment test by Niemi and Junn (1998) revealed that the amount and recency of civic courses positively influence students' political knowledge. Research also indicates that implicit curricula, such as the climate of school and classroom, can affect youth civic engagement (Campbell, 2008). Torney-Purta (2002) found these effects of explicit and implicit curricula practices on civic engagement by analyzing an international civic study data set—1999 International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) Civic Education Study—in 28 countries.

The effects of education on electoral participation vary, depending on immigrant groups and immigration generations. For example, Cho (1999) found that for Latino immigrants, education level had almost two times positive effects on voter turnout than for the general population. But, there was no significant relationship between education level and voter turnout for Asian-origin immigrants. She also reported that the positive relationship between education and voting participation was weaker for first-generation immigrants than second and the subsequent generations. Her explanation for the results was schooling experiences in some foreign countries may not transfer to the political system in the United States. In the sample of her study, Latinos and other second-generation immigrants received their education in the U.S., while first-generation immigrants and Asian immigrants attained their college degree mostly in their home countries. These findings suggest that attending school in the host society is important for high levels of immigrant political participation.

An exemplary study about the relationship between civic education in schools and civic engagement of immigrant youth is described by Oberchain and Callahan (2015) in *Coming of Political Age*. Data from a national longitudinal study showed that immigrant youth who earned higher social studies GPAs and who took more social science courses were more likely to participate in voting and to have stronger partisan identification. Interviews with nine teachers and ten immigrant students from Latin countries revealed that immigrants become aware of partisan politics and developed better decision-making skills in class after taking social studies classes. With regard to experiences of immigrant youth in social studies classes in schools, Dabach (2014, 2015) provided several episodes of civics classes in which some immigrant youth were learning political knowledge and actively participating in discussions of political issues, such as election registration and immigration policies.

Community Organizations. Research has found that adolescent membership in non-school organizations positively affects political participation (Flanagan, 2003, 2004; Frisco, Muller, & Dodson, 2004; McFarland & Thomas, 2006). For example, Frisco et al. (2004) analyzed data from the National Educational Longitudinal Study of 1988-1994 (NELS) and found that adolescents who were members of voluntary youth associations were more likely to register to vote and actually participate in voting in elections. Similarly, McFarland and Thomas (2006) reported that adolescents involved in youth organizations were more likely to participate in political activities during adulthood, based on analyses of two national longitudinal data sets. Parker (2001) contended that people can develop citizen's identity through participating in voluntary organizations. In these settings, people can associate with others from different backgrounds from their family members; engage public problems that extend beyond their own

family boundaries; and learn various norms and values that could conflict with their own experiences.

However, not all memberships in youth voluntary organizations positively influence civic participation. The types of associations matter. In Frisco and her colleagues' study (2004), membership in scouts and religious youth groups positively affected voting registration and participation while others did not. They concluded that organizations having a mission of building moral and civil responsibility are more successful in influencing civic participation of youth. McFarland and Thomas (2006) found similar results. Organizations that successfully promoted civic engagement—called “politically salient youth organizations”—offered various activities that contribute to developing civic skills, knowledge, identity, and interest in the political system. These activities included public speaking, debate, community service, and communal representation and rituals.

Immigrant youth also join voluntary organizations and community-based organizations with strong advocacy orientations, leadership training, and civic engagement (Terriquez & Kwon, 2015). Yet, their membership may not be limited to those organizations. In an immigrant community, there are various ethnic organizations (Portes & Rumbaut, 2014), including family and district associations, business associations, and educational, alumni, and professional organizations. According to Portes and Rumbaut, these organizations provide immigrants with the foundation to achieve ethnic collective goals in the political system in the host society. Transnational organizations also could be linked to immigrant youth's civic development. Studies have revealed that transnational organizations established by immigrant groups accelerate the political integration of immigrant in the host society (DeSipio, 2006; Portes, Escobar, & Arana, 2008). Immigrants can learn how to create cultural affiliations and lobby

home-country governments by engaging in transnational political activities, helping them gain knowledge and attitudes about political processes in general. Despite the presence of many ethnic communities and transnational organizations, whether or not (or how) such communities and organizations in the neighborhood affect the civic engagement of immigrant youth has not been studied extensively. Given that immigrant youth devote considerable time to helping other immigrants, such as tutoring and providing linguistic and cultural translations (Seif, 2011; Stepick et al., 2008), it is possible that ethnic and transnational organizations provide various civic engagement opportunities for these youth.

Ethnic Identity and Cultural Motivation for Civic Engagement

Ethnic identity—which refers to an individual’s sense of self in terms of membership in a particular ethnic group (Liebkind, 1992; Phinney, 1990)—has been identified as one of the significant positive factors for civic participation (Olsen, 1970; Singles, 1981, on Black consciousness and political participation; Masuoka, 2008; Stokes, 2003, on Latino identity and political participation). Yet, for decades, the ethnic identity of immigrants has been considered as an obstacle to building a united and democratic society. For example, in the late eighteenth century, Benjamin Franklin (1751/1974) worried that German immigrant’s identities and cultures threaten American ideals. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth, there were public debates about whether immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe would be assimilated in American society (Portes & Rumbaut, 2014). From this perspective, the cultural identity of immigrants hinders their incorporation into the host society. More recently, Huntington (2004) argued that immigrants who maintain their own ethnic and cultural identities may have the possibility of pulling away from civic engagement in U.S. mainstream society. According to him, immigrants

who have their own ethnic affiliations put less effort and energy into civic associations, public life, and politics in the United States.

Recent studies with immigrant youth show that ethnic identity is a conduit for civic engagement rather than an obstacle. In a study using a semi-structured interview with Asian Indian and Salvadoran immigrant youth and parents, Jensen (2008) reported that about 46 percent of participants identified their cultural or immigrant sense of self as a motivation for civic activity participation. Three cultural themes represented were a cultural remembrance, the tradition of service, and welfare of immigrant and cultural communities. Specifically, immigrant youth participated in volunteering and political activities “to remember and maintain their cultural traditions” (cultural remembrance) (p.79), or because “engagement is grounded in my cultural and religious traditions” (tradition of service) (p.79). For some other students, their involvement was to improve the welfare of their immigrant and cultural communities. Similarly, in a study conducted by Flanagan, Syvertsen, Gill, Gallay, and Cumsille (2009) minority adolescents who were more aware of their ethnicity were more committed to civic activities, particularly those related to improving race relations and advocating for one’s ethnic group.

Other Motivations and Connections with Citizenship and Civic Engagement

Two studies (Ballard, Malin, Porter, Colby, & Damon, 2015; Jensen, 2008) reported motives other than culture for the civic engagement of immigrant youth. One of these identified by Jensen (2008) was “bridging communities,” which refers participating in civic activities to know others and U.S. society. As some immigrant adolescents explained, “we get to know this country better,” and “it’s very nice to see things in a different perspective and talk to different people...” (p.80). Another motivation was to “build a new social network”. An immigrant parent said, “I was waiting for my green card for 10 years and what helped me was to be involved in

helping, like in the church and to be in touch with the school.” (p.80). From this quote, Jensen argued that for immigrants, civic involvement was considered a way to learn about the host society and find new social support.

Ballard et al. (2015) found four different motives for participating in political and civil activities among Latino and Asian immigrant youth. They were classified as *helping identity*, *instrumental identity*, *personal issue*, and *weak motivation*. The helping identity is symbolized by comments like, “I’m the kind of person who helps others” (p.70). The instrumental identity is related to personal goals, such as to further my education or career goals, and to build skills. The personal issue motive was identified by participants’ responses of “to do something about an issue I care about.” (p.74). The weak motivation refers to the low probability of endorsing any of other three motivations.

These a few examples of civic engagement motivation suggest that immigrant youth participate in civic activities for their own ideas about who they are, what they care and believe, and what they would like to achieve through the participation. Furthermore, the values and beliefs found in studies indicate what people think about good citizens. For example, the helping identity in the study by Ballard et al. (2015) suggested that a person might envision a good citizen as one who helps others. Dalton (2008) strongly argued that a person’s own beliefs about becoming a good citizen shape political behavior. He called these sets of values and beliefs citizenship norm. According to him, today’s younger generations have different citizenship norm—the ideas about good citizens—from older generations, and they create different patterns of civic engagement of youth from those of past decades.

Korean Immigrants and Civic Engagement

Scholarship on the civic engagement of Korean immigrant youth has remained understudied. Broader research on Korean immigrants provides a guide for examining their civic participation in the United States. With regard to political participation, Korean immigrants received attention because of several business-related conflicts and their collective action before the 2000s. After immigrating the U.S., many Korean immigrants started small retail businesses, selling Korean imported goods in the late 1960s and then grocery/liquor and green grocery stores in the 1970s. Korean immigrants' high levels of human capital, business skills, and positive contexts of reception from the host society enabled them to become successful entrepreneur business owners. In the 1980s and 1990s, however, Korean merchants in Black neighborhoods in cities such as New York, Los Angeles, and other large metropolitan areas encountered many boycotts and acts of and physical violence, and other forms of rejection from customers from Blacks and other ethnic groups, such as White suppliers, and Latino employers. Korean immigrants used ethnic collective actions to protect their businesses and voice their opinions. For example, the Korean Produce Association in New York organized counter demonstrations and boycotts in response to White or Black boycotts and discrimination (Min, 2008). Many Korean churches held fund-raising campaigns to help during the Los Angeles riots in 1992.

In the 21st century, Korean immigrants have received more attention for their community services and volunteerism. From the 2000s, the number of racial conflicts between Korean immigrants and other minority groups have decreased. Instead, many Korean social service and civil empowerment organizations were established and expanded their influence on the Korean community. For example, the Korean American Community Foundation in the New York-New Jersey area, which was founded by a younger generation of Korean immigrants, has had a most

powerful influence in the local area by providing various educational and volunteer opportunities (Min, 2013). Korean and multiethnic churches that had functioned as sites for Korean immigrants to help their own community members become sites for providing community services to the broad local community (Ecklund, 2005).

Many Korean immigrants accept the Asian pan-ethnic label as part of their racial identity, but research suggests that being Korean (or Korean American) is generally far more important for them (Kibria, 1997; Wong, Ramakrishnan, Lee, & Junn, 2011). According to Wong et al. (2011), 64 percent of people of Korean descent identified themselves as ethnic Americans (Korean American), and even 70 percent of them identified themselves as Korean alone. Kibria (1997) found that for Korean immigrants, the Korean ethnic identity meant a deeper and richer sense of history, culture, social ties, and networks than pan-Asian ethnicity in the U.S. The strong ethnic identity has been fostered by various Korean ethnic and religious organizations (Chong, 1998; Min, 2008).

Another line of analysis for understanding Korean immigrants is their high level of educational attainment. A study by Waters and Pineau (2015) revealed that about 65 percent of Korean immigrants have a college degree while only 2 percent of them have less than a high school education. Although there is little research on the academic attainment of Korean immigrants, some studies on Asian American immigrants provide possible explanations. First, the high academic attainment of Korean immigrants could be attributed to the fact that the first-generation immigrants were highly selected in terms of academic attainment level (Barringer, Takeuchi, & Xenos, 1990; Hirschman & Wong, 1981, 1986). The U.S. policies that preferred professional occupation-related immigrants also might have contributed to the high level of academic attainment among Asian immigrants. Second, scholarship has revealed that parents of

Asian immigrant children usually have high family income that enables them to provide more educational resources for their children (Sakamoto, Goyette, & Kim, 2009; Sun, 1998). Furthermore, Asian parents tend to have high levels of academic expectation for their children (Mau, 1997), and Asian American children tend to spend more time doing homework and study than Whites (Hirschman, 2016; Peng & Wright, 1994).

These studies suggest that Korean immigrants and their children have favorable environments for engaging in civic activities in host societies with various ethnic and religious organizations in their community and high academic attainment. Yet, some other studies provide conflicting ideas. For example, Korean immigrant youth experience ethnic diffusion (Min & Chung, 2014) and identity tensions within the ethnic community over whether they were born in Korea or in the U.S. (Palmer, 2007). In school, some Korean immigrant youth attach little significance to U.S. history and feel marginalized from their country of origin (An, 2009, 2012; Choi, Lim, & An, 2011).

Summary of and Reflections on Scholarship Review

In this chapter, prior research and scholarship on immigrant youth (generally and Korean specifically) engagement were reviewed. Despite the growing number of immigrant children, understanding the experiences of immigrant youth is still limited. This is particularly true with respect to their civic and political lives. Existing research provides evidence that challenges claims about civic achievement disparity between immigrant and non-immigrant youth, which is primarily based on electoral political engagement. Contrary to earlier research, the recent electoral participation of immigrant youth is not significantly different from that of non-immigrant, and immigrant youth actively engage in political voice activities and volunteering

activities. Thus, the review of research and scholarship suggests the importance of understanding multiple and emerging dimensions of the civic life of immigrant youth.

Various educational contexts —family, school, and community— do affect civic engagement, but the research on how has produced mixed results. Studies revealed that (1) political socialization occurs in immigrant family through either trickle-up or trickle-down process; (2) schooling experience and civic education enhance civic engagement in general, but, for some immigrant youth, their effects are not significant; and (3) community-based organizations, including ethnic and transnational organizations, affect youth’s civic engagement, though they have been understudied. A few studies also have investigated what identity-related or internal motivations encourage engagement in civic activities. The review of existing studies suggests that each of the educational contexts and internal motivations need to be studied separately and in holistic ways.

Little research has been conducted on the civic engagement of young Korean immigrants. That which does exist provide mixed contexts for civic engagement. While their strong ethnic identity and high level of academic achievement may positively affect civic engagement, Korean immigrant youth also experience unfavorable environments for enhancing their civic participation in the United States. An investigation based on an ecological model could explain the complex influences from various educational contexts and internal factors for civic engagement of Korean immigrant youth.

Methodologically, quantitative methods, especially analyzing survey data—produced either by national research sources or researcher-collected—are the preferred approaches used in existing studies of civic engagement of immigrant youth. The quantitative data analyses have revealed general patterns on the subject, but they have not provided contextually specific

explanations. Kyriacopoulos (2012) argued that researchers should provide more robust data collections and analyses for understanding deeply nuanced perspectives of youth and their civic engagement. By focusing on one immigrant youth group (Korean-ethnic origin immigrant) and using mixed methods that can illustrate general patterns and provide specific in-depth narratives of an immigrant youth group, the current study may add knowledge about immigrant youth civic engagement, and inform educators of ways to extend both its quantity and quality.

Chapter III. Methodology

Using a mixed-methods design, this study explores civic engagement and associated factors among Korean immigrant college students. This chapter begins with an overview of the rationale for choosing an explanatory mixed-methods design. Next, the research setting and selection of participants are described, followed by the research questions and procedures for data collection and analysis. Since this study used a mixed-methods design, data collection and analyses are divided into quantitative and qualitative. The discussion of ethical issues embraces the idea of cultural sensitivity.

Research Design and Rationale

This study used a mixed-methods design. The basic premise of a mixed-methods design study is that combining quantitative and qualitative approaches provides a better understanding of a research problem than either one alone (Creswell & Clark, 2011; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). For example, quantitative research often is criticized for its weakness in understanding the contexts or settings in which a study is conducted. In contrast, a small number of participants in qualitative research limits the generalizability of findings. Proponents of mixed methods research argue that mixed-methods designs offset the weakness of quantitative and qualitative research. Further, mixed methods designs produce a synergistic effect (Hall & Howard, 2008). By including different methodologies, the mixed-methods design produces multiple perspectives on the research questions that are more than the sum of each approach.

The rationale for using mixed-methods design is justified by the purpose and contexts of the study. The intent of the study was to understand civic engagement of U.S. college students from Korean immigrant backgrounds by exploring various factors affecting their involvement, including various educational contexts, conceptions of citizenship, and ethnic identity.

Considering the multiple dimensions of civic engagement, ethnic identity, citizenship, and education, neither quantitative nor qualitative methods alone are sufficient to illuminate their complexities. This reasoning aligns with Bryman's (2006) "completeness" justifications for combining quantitative and qualitative methods because they "bring together a more comprehensive account of the area of enquiry" (p.106).

Initiation of this study grew from the need to address the civic achievement and civic empowerment gap. Some scholars have suggested that immigrant youth are located at the bottom of the civic achievement spectrum, and have lower knowledge, attitudes, and civic behaviors than youth from non-immigrant, White, middle-class backgrounds (Levinson, 2007, 2010). The idea of a civic achievement and empowerment gap rely on data primarily derived from limited measures and observations of political participation of immigrant youth. One way to challenge this claim is to present quantitative data that use multidimensional measures, alongside qualitative data that provide detailed civic engagement practices and perceptions of immigrant youth.

Mixed-mixed methods design research designs require decisions about the different ways that the quantitative and qualitative inquiries relate to each other. Creswell and Clark (2011) present four key elements that involve the decision. They are "(1) the level of interaction between the strands, (2) the relative priority of the strands, (3) the timing of the strands, and (4) the procedures of mixing the strands" (p.65). In this study, the quantitative and qualitative components interact with each other. These two methods were implemented sequentially, first quantitative then qualitative. Finally, quantitative and qualitative methods were mixed during data analyses. Detailed explanations of these decisions are described in the Data Collection and Data Analysis section of this chapter.

Consideration of the four key elements of mixed methods research resulted in an explanatory sequential design, in which quantitative data collection and analysis were conducted first, and the qualitative data collection and analysis followed (Creswell, Clark, Gutmann, & Hanson, 2003). According to Creswell and Clark (2011) explanatory sequential design is appropriate “when the researcher wants to assess trends and relationships with quantitative data but also be able to explain the mechanism or reasons behind the resultant trends” (p.82). It was particularly well-suited to this study of understanding trends in civic engagement of Korean immigrant college students and providing an in-depth description of the dynamics of associated factors of the involvement, such as ethnic identity, conceptions of citizenship, and various educational contexts.

An online survey was used to collect quantitative data on trends of civic engagement among the study population and associated factors. The results of the survey facilitated purposeful sampling of a smaller number of participants to complete semi-structured interviews and observations for the qualitative data collection. These individual interviews and observations were conducted with selected participants to characterize the dynamic mechanism of civic engagement by considering various educational contexts (parents, peers, schools, neighborhoods and community organizations) and identity-relevant motivations (ethnic identity and conceptions of citizenship). During the analysis phase of the study, the two data sets were merged. Explanatory sequential research designs usually prioritize the quantitative phase of data collection (Creswell et al., 2003). In this study, however, priority was given to the qualitative data collection because it allows in-depth explanations of results obtained from the quantitative data. Therefore, this study can be described as “quan → QUAL”, which means quantitative research was followed by qualitative research, but the qualitative data were given more

significance. Figure 3.1 provides a diagram of the explanatory sequential design method that guided this study.

Phase	Procedure	Product
Quantitative Data Collection	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Online survey (Collected $n = 62$) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Numerical data
Quantitative Data Analyses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Data screening ($n = 59$) • Descriptive analyses • Multiple linear regression analyses • IMB SPSS software v.19 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Screening missing data, checking assumptions for linear regression analyses • Descriptive statistics • Correlations and coefficients
Case Selection: Interview Preparation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Purposefully selecting participants based on civic engagement scores • Maximum variation sampling • Refining interview questions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Case selection ($n = 9$)
Qualitative Data Collection	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individual in-depth interviews (twice, 60-90 minutes) • Observations of online or on-site civic engagement activities • Elicitation techniques (Choosing a photo, ordering cards) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Audio-recording data, interview transcript • Field-note • Artifacts of card ordering
Qualitative Data Analyses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Within-case analyses, open coding • Cross-case analyses • Focused coding, thematic analyses • NVivo qualitative software 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Codes and themes • Similar and different themes and categories • Cross-thematic matrix
Integration of the Quantitative and Qualitative Analyses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Merge analyses results • Interpreting and explaining the quantitative and qualitative results • Writing up 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discussion • Recommendations

Figure 3.1. The Explanatory Design of the Study

Research Question

The major purpose of this study was to explore civic engagement experiences of Korean immigrant college students and investigate associated factors influencing their engagement. Various educational contexts—parents, peers, schools, and community—, and internal factors—conceptions of citizenship and ethnic identity—were examined. The following specific questions guided the design and data collection:

- How do Korean immigrant college students engage civically in U.S. society?
- How do educational contexts affect their civic engagement?
- How do conceptions of citizenship and ethnic identity affect their civic engagement?

Setting

This study was conducted on two campuses of a public university located in the Pacific Northwest region of the United States. The two campuses were located in the same county, which was the most populous county in the region and the 13th largest county in the U.S. demographically. Its population was racially diverse, including 65% of Non-Hispanic Whites; 15% Asian Pacific Islander; 9% Hispanic or Latino; 6% Black or African American; and 1% Native American (United States Census Bureau, 2018). Among those of Asian ancestry, Koreans were approximately 1.4% of the total population in the county.

Two campuses (Campus A and Campus B) were chosen as settings for this study because they had a relatively large number of students of Korean ethnic origin. The existence of a Korean Studies program, a Korean language program, and two Korean Student Associations at the university signified that a considerable number of Korean immigrant students attend the university and are involved in some level of campus activities. During the 2017-2018 academic year, there were over 46,000 students enrolled at the undergraduate program, including 24% of

Asian American population in campus A. In campus B, 26% of the total students of over 5,300 undergraduate students were of Asian American ancestry.

A year prior to the study, several elections took place throughout the U.S. and in the local area. For example, in November 2016, the U.S. presidential election coincided with other elections to the House of Representatives, the United States Senate, and various state and local offices. During the year of the study (2017), one of the cities in the county held a mayoral election. As one of the most liberal-voting counties in the state, the Democratic Party won all elections. The elections and political campaigns brought much interest in politics among residents of the county and students on campus. Large and small group rallies occurred in the local area, as well as across the nation. Several rallies and protests took place on campus providing visible and frequent evidence of political engagement, including a Black Lives Matter protest, Protest against the President's Travel Ban Executive Order, and Patriot Prayer Rally. In the local area, a Women's March drew tens of thousands of participants two years in a row. Media coverage of these rallies was widespread on television, through university listserv emails, and online social networking services, such as Twitter and Facebook. Since the data collection was conducted during late 2017 and early 2018, it allowed study participants to recall their participation during the various elections and campaigns in the previous years, as well as participation in ongoing political rallies and movements.

Participants and Sampling Strategies

The target population in this study was college students with Korean ethnic heritage who had reached the voting age for public elections. To participate in the study, participants were required to be between the ages of 18-25; have at least one parent and grandparent of Korean ethnic origin; and hold a high school diploma or an equivalent certificate in the United States. By

including the criterion of a high school diploma in the United States, I intended to consider their social studies education experiences in high school as an important factor in acquiring knowledge and attitudes for civic engagement. The target population included first-generation (foreign-born immigrant), 1.5-generation (foreign-born and immigrated to the U.S. before the age of 12), and second generation (children of immigrants) of Korean immigrants.

The target population of this study was not limited to U.S. citizenship holders. According to the Pew Research Center (2017), 52% of the Korean ethnic population living in the U.S. are non-U.S. citizens, while 48% are U.S. citizens. Reflecting these demographics, the target population of the study included some permanent resident visa holders as well as non-immigrant visa holders (e.g. E-2 Investor visa) whose family immigrated to the U.S. and resided in the U.S. Although non-U.S. citizens are not eligible to vote in public elections, they may be involved in U.S. society by participating in other political and volunteering activities. Since this study was interested in Korean-ethnic origin immigrants and children of immigrants who had stayed in the U.S., Korean international students whose parents live in South Korea and who were temporarily staying in the U.S. with F-1 visa were excluded from this study sample.

Of the 75 people who received an online survey link for this study, 62 responded, which constituted a response rate of 82.7%. To meet the normality assumption for quantitative analyses, responses from three outlier participants were omitted and data of 59 participants were used for the final analyses. Demographic information about the online survey participants and final analysis sample are provided in Table 1. Half of the survey respondents were born in mainland U.S.; two-thirds were U.S. citizens; and about 70% of them were between the ages of 18 to 21. Over half of the participants were second-generation immigrants. Two-thirds of them had at least one parent who was a college graduate.

Table 3.1. Sample Characteristics for the Online Survey

Characteristics	Original Sample (<i>n</i> = 62)		Analyzed Sample (<i>n</i> =59)	
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
Gender	62	100	59	100
Female	43	69.4	41	69.5
Male	19	30.6	18	30.5
Age	62	100	59	100
18-19	19	30.6	18	30.5
20-21	24	38.8	23	39
22-23	10	16.1	10	16.9
24-25	9	14.5	8	13.6
U.S. Citizen	42	67.7	40	67.8
Born in U.S. mainland	31	50	29	49.2
Born in US territory	2	3.2	2	3.4
Born abroad US Parent	2	3.2	2	3.4
Naturalized	7	11.3	7	11.9
Non-U.S. Citizen	20	32.3	19	32.2
Immigrant generation	62	100	59	100
1st generation	10	16.1	8	13.6
1.5 generation	19	30.6	18	30.5
2nd generation	33	53.2	33	55.9
Educational Attainment				
Father	61	98.4	59	100
High school graduate or less	10	16.1	9	15.3
Some college	11	17.7	11	19
College graduate or more	40	64.5	38	65.5
Mother	62	100	59	100
High school graduate or less	16	25.8	15	25.4
Some college	16	25.8	15	25.4
College graduate or more	30	48.4	29	49.2

Participants for the qualitative follow-up phase were selected from the ones who already contributed to the quantitative data set. In selecting participants, an important consideration lies in collecting informative qualitative data that can explain the quantitative results (Creswell & Clark, 2011). Since the survey results revealed that Korean immigrant college students had engaged in civic engagement activities at varying levels, it was necessary to select participants

who represented these various levels of participation. A “two-tier/two-stage” sampling strategy (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Yin, 2014) was used to accomplish this goal. First, the total score of civic engagement was calculated by counting the number of civic engagement activities that each survey respondent participated in. Based on the total score results from the online survey, three *cases*—a high-level, average-level, and low-level civic engagement—were identified. Second, a purposeful sampling strategy was used to select the *sample* within every case. In order to select information-rich samples (Patton, 2015), I considered the types of civic engagement activities that study participants were involved, as well as their age, gender, immigration generation, and U.S. citizenship status. Fifteen individuals were contacted for the qualitative phase of the study and nine consented to participate. Demographic information on these nine participants is provided in Table 3.2.

Anna was a 1st-year college student, hoping to major in neurobiology. Her parents immigrated to the U.S. at a young age (under 15) and spoke English well. Her parents owned several restaurants and therefore they could afford to live in an affluent area. The high school that Anna attended had over 80% White students; 6% Latino; and 3% Asian. Anna took four social studies courses at her high school. She was one of the survey participants who responded as being involved with more than ten different civic engagement activities.

Rebecca was a 20- year-old junior, majoring in Law-related foundation and education. Her father was White and her mother was Korean-ethnic origin. Rebecca was born in Japan and came to the U.S. at the age of 11. Her parents worked for a Christian church and she spent much of her time helping them in the church. She was fluent in Korean and her whole interview was conducted in Korean per her choice.

David was a 1st-year college student, hoping to major in mechanical engineering. He and his parents moved to the U.S. when he was 9 years old. His parents lived in a densely populated Korean ethnic community and they owned a convenience store. David's family had applied for a permanent resident visa and was waiting for the results. He went to a large public high school in his neighborhood and took four Advanced Placement (AP) social studies courses. Three participants—Anna, Rebecca, and David—had a relatively high score on civic engagement on the online survey.

The three participants contacted due to their average score of civic engagement in the online survey was Jon, Mary, and Jane. Jon was born in the U.S. and had lived in Los Angeles. His mother moved to the U.S. for her undergraduate study and worked for the U.S. government. Jon moved to the local area for his study, majoring in Law. He took six AP social studies courses during high school.

Mary was born in Guam, one of the U.S. territories. When they were in Guam, the family owned a restaurant. She and her family moved to the U.S mainland when she was an 11th grader in high school. At her new school in the U.S mainland. she took three social studies courses including two AP courses and one general course. After moving to the U.S. mainland her parents worked a part-time job at a store. She was a senior, majoring in computer science at the university. She was hoping to move to South Korea after she graduates from the university.

Jane was a sophomore student majoring in education. Her paternal grandparents moved to the U.S. first, and then her father and mother moved to the U.S. after they were married. Her family lived in a densely populated Korean ethnic community. Jane was born in the U.S. and was fluent in English, but she remembered being very quiet during her childhood due to her limited English. She took the AP U.S. history course at her high school and took the exam, but she said

that she did not perform well on the exam. Jane and her family attended a Korean church regularly.

Sami was born in Korea and came to the U.S. when she was 10 years old; however, before she came to the U.S. her family lived in Australia for five years. Her grandparents moved to the U.S. first and then her parents followed them. Her family lived in an affluent and White dominant population area and they operated a franchise dessert store in the local area. Sami graduated from her high school in her neighborhood and remembered that her school had a few Asian students. She responded that she took six AP social studies courses. She was a third-year student majoring in business. Sami and her family had applied for a permanent resident visa and been waiting for the results.

Danny was a junior majoring in sociology and informatics. He moved to the U.S. when he was 5 years old and became naturalized U.S. citizen. All his family had U.S. citizenship. He completed all of his K-12 education in another state and then came to the area for his undergraduate studies. His father was a manager in a company and both his parents had above bachelor's degrees. His parents went to a Korean Christian church regularly.

Anne was born in the U.S. and had lived in the local area that many Korean populations lived. Her parents moved to the U.S. in their twenties. Anne's father worked for a developmental company as a manager. Anne was hoping to major in public health and business. Anne took four social studies courses but all of them were general courses. Instead, she took many AP science and math courses during her high school education. Sami, Danny, and Anne had a relatively low score in civic engagement in the online survey.

Table 3.2. Demographic Information of Interview Participants

Case Type	Name	Age	Gender	Citizenship (Arrival age)	Major	Social studies courses in high school	Father's education	Mother's education
Type 1 (High)	Anna	18	Female	U.S. Citizen - Born in the US	Neurobiology	4 (World History, AP US History, AP Psychology, AP US Gov.)	High school	Some college
	Rebecca	20	Female	U.S. Citizen - Born abroad US citizen	Law & Education	1 (AP US Gov.)	Some college	High school
	David	20	Male	Non-U.S. Citizen (9)	Mechanical engineering	4 (AP Human Geography, AP Economics, AP US History, AP Comparative Gov.,)	Bachelor's degree	Bachelor's degree
Type 2 (Avg)	Jon	25	Male	U.S. Citizen - Born in the US	Law	6 (AP US History, AP World history, AP European history, AP US Gov., AP Comparative Gov., AP Economics)	N/A	Master's degree
	Mary	22	Female	U.S. Citizen - Born in US territory	Computer science	3 (World History, AP US history, AP US Gov.)	High school	Less than high school
	Jane	20	Female	U.S. Citizen - Born in the US	Education	2 (World History, AP US history)	High school	High school
Type 3 (Low)	Sami	20	Female	Non-U.S. Citizen (10)	Business	6 (US History, World History, American Gov., AP Human geography, AP US history, AP World history)	Bachelor's degree	Bachelor's degree
	Danny	20	Male	U.S. Citizen Naturalized citizen (5)	Sociology & informatics	5 (American Gov., AP US history, AP World history, AP US Gov., AP Economics)	Master's degree	Bachelor's degree
	Anne	18	Female	U.S. Citizen Born in the U.S.	Public health & business	4 (US History, World History, American Gov., Other)	Some college	High school

Note. All names are pseudonym. Cases were identified by civic engagement scores that were calculated from the online survey

Data Collection

Data collection methods for this study are described separately for the quantitative and qualitative phases. In the quantitative phase, the survey administration procedure and measurement tools used in the online survey are described. The qualitative phase section includes explanations of the semi-structured interviews and observations.

Quantitative Data Collection

Data for the quantitative phase of the study were collected by using a web-based online survey. One-time survey for describing the characteristics of a sample at one point in time was used (Mertens, 2010). The survey was accessed through a URL, which was sent through an email invitation. To recruit study participants, online flyers were posted on social networking services and on-site flyers in campus buildings. To assist in recruiting participants, ethnic-related student organizations and classes, including the Korean student association and the Korean language classes also were visited. During these visits, students received printed flyers with survey information and the survey URL.

An informed consent form was posted on the opening page of the website (Appendix A). Participants were asked to read the consent form and provide their educational institution email address. When they entered their email addresses, an online survey link titled *Korean Immigrant Youth Civic Engagement Study* was sent to them. This two-step procedure was used to provide detailed information on the study and to ensure that only those who were eligible completed the entire survey.

Web-based surveys have several advantages according to Dillman, Smyth, and Christian (2014). Responses can be gathered from a large number of people in a short amount of time and at a fairly low cost. Participant responses are stored automatically in a database and can be easily

transformed into numerical data leading to efficient analysis. Despite these advantages, online surveys typically have low response rates. This was a concern for this study because the survey was conducted during the academic year, which is a busy time for college students. To increase the response rate, three strategies were employed. First, participants could complete the survey through computers or smartphones. The online survey software, Qualtrics helped create the online survey page which could be accessed by computer and mobile phones. Second, participants were given a \$5 gift card for their time and participation. Third, follow-up techniques were used to increase the response rate (Dillman et al., 2014). These included a reminder email sent five days after the initial distribution of the survey URL; a second e-mail reminder 12 days later; and a final email reminder was sent 20 days later that stated the importance of the participants' input in the study. The survey data collection lasted from late November 2017 to early February 2018. In general, most participants completed the survey, usually in less than 25 minutes.

Variables. The quantitative portion of this study included one dependent variable, civic engagement, and the three independent variables of educational contexts for civic learning, conceptions of citizenship, and ethnic identity. All of the original questions and survey items to measure these items are presented in Appendix B and Appendix C.

Dependent variable: Civic engagement. The primary focus of this study was civic engagement, defined as involvement in actions or behaviors that address issues of public concerns to try to improve them in political and civic realms. In this definition, civic engagement consisted of electoral participation, political voice participation, and community service and volunteering participation. Survey questions were majorly drawn from two longitudinal study questionnaires, *Youth Participatory Politics Survey Project, 2011* (Cohen & Kahne, 2016) for

political participation and political voice participation, and the study of Levine (2007) for volunteerism and community service participation. Most items were answered by indicating their participation (Yes = 1) or non-participation (No = 0).

Electoral participation was dominated by activities associated with elections and campaigns. A question regarding voting asked if the participant voted in the 2016 U.S. presidential election. It was followed by a series of follow-up questions such as whether they registered to vote and reasons for not voting or not registering to vote (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). Since the study intended to include actual voting participation for elections, the first question asking whether the participants voted in the 2016 U.S. presidential election was solely used for data analysis. Participants were also asked whether they participated in local elections (1 = Never, 2 = Rarely, 3 = Sometimes, and 4 = Always). Other electoral participation activities than voting were assessed by using questions drawn from the project of Cohen and Kahne (2016). Participants were asked to indicate their involvement in election campaigns with the prompt, “During the past 12 months, please tell us if you have supported a candidate, political party, or political issues by...” Response options included eleven items including various off-line and on-site participation activities (“Worn a campaign button;” “Worked on a campaign”), and online participation activities (“Written an email or a blog about a political campaign, candidate, or issue;” “Joined a political group on a social network site”).

Political voice participation focused on the activities of expressing opinions and trying to influence the world in ways that are not directly related to campaigns or elections. It was measured by asking, “During the past 12 months, please tell us whether you have done the following...” Six items that were used in the question included various ways to express one’s

political opinion, such as “taken part in a protest, demonstration or sit-in;” and “signed an online petition.”

Volunteerism and community service participation included activities for achieving a public good, usually through direct hands-on work in cooperation with others. The activities occurred in non-governmental organizations and rarely were directly connected to politics. Six survey items developed by Levine (2007) were used to assess this element, such as “regularly volunteered for non-political groups;” “raised money for charity;” and “been an active member of at least one community group or organization.”

Independent variable. Independent variables consisted of educational contexts for civic learning, conceptions of citizenship, and ethnic identity. Participants were asked to indicate their degree of agreement to each items using a 5-point Likert scale from 1 = Strongly Disagree to 5= Strongly Agree with 3 as a neutral position. The score of each variable was obtained by calculating the mean of each participant’s responses.

Educational contexts for civic learning. Various forms of this indicator were measured by using survey questions from Damon (2011) and Levine (2016). These included parents’ civic involvement, peer civic involvement, neighborhood and community opportunities, and social science learning and school opportunities. Parent civic involvement was assessed by asking about parents’ actual engagement in community (e.g., “my parents or guardians do volunteer work regularly in the community;” “my parents or guardians are active in local or national politics.”) and parents’ conversation with participants regarding current political and social issues and impact on their political behavior (“my parents or guardians often talk to me about problems in social and political issues;” “my parents or guardians encourage me to vote”). Peer civic involvement was measured by using three items such as “I talk with my friends about

problems in social and political issues;” “I have close friends who participate in political activities;” and “I have close friends who do volunteer work in the community.” Civic engagement opportunities in the neighborhood and community were assessed by considering the local neighborhood, religious, and ethnic communities. Participants were asked to indicate their level of agreement with six items, such as “in my local neighborhood, there are opportunities to volunteer in the community;” and “in my ethnic community, there are opportunities to engage in politics.”

School is the place where civic knowledge and opportunities are provided with various forms of curriculum on purpose. Civic learning opportunities in schools were measured in three ways. First, participants were asked to indicate all social studies courses, such as history, civics or government, including Advanced Placement (AP) and International Baccalaureate (IB) courses. Second, practices of the social studies classes were assessed by asking, “how much do you agree or disagree with the statements about the social studies course(s) you took in high school?” Items drawn from Levine (2016) included “I spent much time discussing current events;” “I did research on social, political, or community issues for that class;” and “I did a project in the community for that class.” Lastly, participants were asked about civic engagement opportunities provided by high schools, including volunteering in the community and participating in a student organization. Items developed by Damon (2011) were used.

Conceptions of citizenship. Three types of conceptions of citizenship—personally responsible citizen, participatory citizen, and justice-oriented citizen—as described by Westheimer and Kahne (2002, 2004) were measured using the prompt, “To be a good citizen, how important is it for a person to...” Three items representing each type of citizenship were provided such as “be kind to other people” (personally responsible citizen); “be active in

national, state, and local politics and issues” (participatory citizen); and “challenge inequalities in society” (justice-oriented citizen). Two more items that could be relevant to ideas of being a good citizen were added. They were “work hard and do one’s best” and “be patriotic and loyal to a country.”

Ethnic identity. Although all study participants were from Korean ancestral backgrounds, they could have different ideas about their racial and ethnic identity labels and feel differently about their affiliation with the identity group. To identify the race-ethnicity self-classification of participants, they were asked, “What is your primary ethnic and/or racial identity?” The objective of this question was to allow participants to self-identify their preferred single raciality or ethnicity if they had to choose only one. Considering the survey population, the options provided were Korean, Korean American, Asian, Asian American, and American. An open-ended option was also provided under the label of Other so that participants could write a response other than the provided items. The sense of belonging to the selected primary identity group was measured by using Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) developed by Phinney and Ong (2007). The survey question began with “When considering your primary identity, how much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statement?” Related items included three about their ethnic exploration behaviors (e.g., “spending time to find out my own ethnic group;” “talking to other people to learn more about ethnic group”), and three other items asked participants about their ethnic commitment behaviors (e.g., “feeling a strong attachment toward own ethnic group;” “understanding pretty well that my ethnic group membership means to me”).

Qualitative Data Collection

Qualitative data for this study were generated from semi-structured interviews, and on-site and online observations. These multiple methods (known as *triangulation*) were used to come “closer” to capturing reality, ensuring trustworthiness, and providing a holistic description of the phenomenon under study. These techniques were pursued to heed Glesne’s (2011) claim that “the more sources contributing, the richer the data and the more complex the findings” (p.48).

Two 60-90-minute semi-structured interviews each were conducted with nine participants. These were designed to acquire detailed information about Korean immigrant participants’ civic engagement activities and in-depth understandings of how educational contexts, conceptions of citizenship, and ethnic identity affected civic engagement. Participants may not be comfortable at first sharing their personal stories and views about ethnic identity and citizenship. To counteract this possibility, two separate interviews were conducted to help build rapport between the researcher and participants, and to better understand their personal experiences in a more comfortable climate. In the first interviews, participants were asked to describe civic engagement activities they had been or were currently involved in. This interview allowed the researcher to acquire knowledge on their civic activity participation in detail. The second interviews were conducted two weeks after the first, and focused on participants’ ideas about good citizen and their ethnic identity. Additionally, civic engagement participation and individual educational contexts, such as family, peer, school, and neighborhood, were discussed in-depth. Participants answered interview questions in their preferred language, either English or Korean. All interviews were audio-recorded and later transcribed. Protocols used for the first and second interviews are presented in Appendix D.

During the two interviews, multiple formats for eliciting responses were used. For example, at the end of the first interview, participants were asked to self-evaluate their civic engagement on a sheet with three horizontal bar charts titled political participation, political voice participation, volunteerism and community service participation. By locating themselves on each bar chart which had a low level (far left) and a high level (far right), they explained whether they were active participants and why they were or not (See Appendix D in first interview protocol #11). Since participants compared themselves with their peers, family, or neighborhood community to explain their location on the bar chart, it also provided additional information on their educational contexts regarding civic engagement.

In the second interviews, two elicitation techniques introduced by Barton (2015) assisted facilitating conversations. In the first technique called *ordering*, some terms written on cards were provided that might be related to their racial and ethnic identity, such as Korean, Korean American, Asian, Asian American, and American. The participants were asked to place the terms in order of importance in their lives and explain the reasons for the sequences. This allowed them to characterize different aspects of their ethnic identity. If the participants wanted to add a new term, they wrote it on an empty card and added it to the others. The second technique involved *photo-elicitation*. I provided interview participants with some photos and short explanations representing different conceptions of citizenship (See Appendix D in the second interview protocol #6). After viewing the photos, the participants were asked which individuals and attitudes constituted good citizenship and why. Another ordering technique was having participants order 12 cards that included civic behaviors of citizens, such as helping people in need, participating in voting, and protesting injustice law. This activity helped participants convert their abstract ideas of citizenship in descriptive words.

The second source of qualitative data was on-site and online observations. According to Merriam and Tisdell (2016) observations are distinguished from interviews in two ways. They take place where events and other phenomena of interest naturally occur, and allow researchers to view the phenomena with their own eyes rather than obtaining a secondhand account through interviews. Since the goal of this study was to explore civic engagement practices, observations of activities were important to record the involvements in real time as they actually happened. I observed two participants with on-site activity participation at the university campus. The observations focused on what was happening, interactions between the study participants and others, and civic engagement settings. The protocol used to guide the observation is presented in Appendix E.

When collecting information as an observer, a researcher's stance can range from being a full participant to a being a spectator (P. A. Adler & Adler, 1998; Gold, 1958). My role was an *observer as participant*, which is also called a *peripheral membership role* (P. A. Adler & Adler, 1998). I was known to the people in the civic activity, and had access to many people and a wide range of information, but did not have an active role in the groups or activities. I took field notes and collected documents generated in the meetings or activities. In instances when the participants were involved in online instead of on-site activities, they were asked to explain their online activity participation during the two interviews. Donating money through online means, signing petitions on websites, reposting friends' social media posts, and clicking "Like" buttons on social networking service pages were some examples of online engagement. These online observations were considered as samples of online civic engagement activities, and were used to validate emerging findings from other data sources.

Data Analysis

Since this study used a sequential explanatory mixed method design, quantitative data were analyzed first to test the relationships among variables. Qualitative analyses explored potential explanations to better understand the quantitative data.

Quantitative Phase

To answer the three research questions proposed for the study, the quantitative analyses asked three sub-questions. These were:

- To what extent are Korean immigrant college students involved in civic engagement activities?
- Do educational contexts for civic learning, such as parent civic involvement, peer civic involvement, community civic opportunities, and high school civic learning opportunities, significantly predict civic engagement of Korean immigrant college student?
- Do ethnic identity and conceptions of citizenship significantly predict the civic engagement of Korean immigrant college student? If so, which conceptions of citizenship predict civic engagement?

The first question was answered by conducting descriptive analyses to examine the mean, standard deviation, and the frequencies of responses to each item on instruments. The dependent variable, civic engagement data, were disaggregated to four parts, including voting, electoral participation, political voice participation, and community service and volunteering participation. The analyses provided information about the general trends of civic engagement and distribution of the dependent variable.

The second and third questions examined by conducting three steps of statistical analyses. Descriptive analyses determined the general trends of independent variables including various educational contexts, conceptions of citizenship, and ethnic identity. The direct relationships as well as unique (non-redundant) relationships between independent variables and the dependent variables were analyzed by conducting zero-order correlations. The zero-order correlation analyses also examined relationships among independent variables (X-X predictor-predictor relationships) to determine if there was a multicollinearity problem. The major analyses conducted to respond to the second and third questions were multiple linear regression analyses with sequential predictor entry. Sequential predictor entry specifically allowed for testing incremental variance accounted for as predictors were added to the model. Assumptions of normality, linearity, and homoscedasticity of residuals were examined for each model to ensure that linear regression model assumptions were tenable. Specific analyses models for the second and the third research questions are explained in detail below.

In the second research question, predictors of educational contexts were entered sequentially. Block 1 included parent civic involvement, Block 2 included peer civic involvement, and Block 3 included community civic engagement opportunities. In Block 4, three predictors were included. These were civic engagement opportunity provided by high school; the number of social studies course taken in the high school; and best practices of social studies classes. The final model was as follows:

$$\text{Civic Engagement} = b_0 + b_1 * \text{Parent civic involvement} + b_2 * \text{Peer civic involvement} + b_3 * \text{Community opportunities for civic engagement} + b_4 * \text{High school opportunities for civic engagement} + b_5 * \text{Number of social studies classes taken in high School} + b_6 * \text{Best practices of social studies classes}$$

To answer the third question, predictors of conceptions of citizenship and ethnic identity were entered sequentially. The three conceptions of citizenship—personally responsible, participatory, and justice-oriented—were entered in order (Block 1, Block 2, and Block 3) and then ethnic identity were included last (Block 4). The final model was as follows:

$$\text{Civic Engagement} = b_0 + b_1 * \text{Personally responsible citizenship} + b_2 * \text{Participatory citizenship} + b_3 * \text{Justice-oriented citizenship} + b_4 * \text{ethnic Identity}$$

Across all the models above, civic engagement was equal to the sum of all civic engagement activities, including electoral participation, political voice participation, and community service and volunteering participation. For ease of interpreting the results, all predictors except the number of social studies course taken were standardized. IBM SPSS Statistics version 19 software program was used to analyze the data.

Qualitative Phase

According to Merriam and Tisdell (2016) qualitative data collection and analysis are ongoing processes that can extend indefinitely, but the organization and management of data should begin early. Each audio-recorded interview, set of field notes, and online information and collected documents were transcribed and prepared for initial analyses. Descriptive notations, including pseudonyms, interview/observation location, and types of main civic engagement activities, were added so that I could access particular data as needed in the analyses. As I moved between emerging initial analyses and raw data of interviews, field notes, and documents, I actively engaged in recursive and dynamic processes of data analysis throughout the qualitative research phase. The data analysis began during data collection and became more intensive as the study progressed.

Once all the data were collected, they went through a *within-case analysis* and *cross-case analyses* (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). First, each participant's responses were treated as a comprehensive case to be analyzed in holistic and intensive ways. During these within-case analyses, deductive codes from the conceptual framework and research questions guided the coding process (See Table 3.3), along with an open coding strategy to capture segments of data that were not predetermined. In the open coding processes, I assigned codes focusing on a repeat of the exact word(s) of a participant, types of civic engagement activity, concepts related to ethnic identity and citizenship, and educational contexts. For example, *hagwon* (a for-profit private institute or cram school), the Korean student association and Korean churches were found as institutions that helped participants engage in volunteering for their local communities. Participants addressed their ideas about patriotism and other races and minority groups, such as Whites, Blacks, and Latinos. New codes, such as hagwon, Korean student association, Korean church, Patriotism, and Other races (White, Black, and Latino), were added to the list of coding schemes.

Once the within-case analyses were completed, cross-case analyses among the nine participants were conducted. The cross-case analyses allowed the researcher to identify themes among cases that had different immigration histories and U.S. citizenship statuses. At this stage, the data generated from the first within-case analyses were grouped into axial coding, which goes beyond descriptive coding and where patterns and regularities in each participant's data become categories or themes to cover many examples. Matrices that were created to respond to each research question were used to arrange data (See Figure 3.2). This process decontextualized the data from the individual and a particular instance, and abstracted them to a more generalized mode of description (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996).

Table 3.3. Initial Codes for the Data Analyses

Conceptual Construct	Codes
Types of Civic Engagement	Electoral participation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Voting, campaign participation, wearing stickers and badges, Financial support, searching information, following/forwarding postings Political voice participation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Signing petition, boycotting or buycotting, rally or protests participation, expressing opinions on social media Community service and volunteering participation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Donation for charity, volunteering regularly, an active member of an organization, helping raise money for charity Online/ On-site participation
Educational contexts for civic learning	Parent civic involvement Peer civic involvement Community civic involvement opportunities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neighborhood, ethnic community, religious community High school civic learning opportunities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • School extra curricula activities, social studies classes, teacher, practices in class (debate, news/social affairs, project)
Conceptions of citizenship	Personally responsible citizenship Participatory citizenship Justice-oriented citizenship Others
Ethnic identity	Primary ethnic or racial identity <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Korean, Korean American, Asian, Asian American Immigrant identity <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immigrant, Korean immigrant

While coded data should be interrogated and systematically explored to generate meanings, it was also important to recontextualize the segmented data and place them again within the contexts of each participant. Observation notes and collected documents from elicitation techniques were closely linked to interview data, reconstructing each participant's

contexts and providing evidentiary warrant for emergent assertions. This allowed the researcher to make concrete descriptions and interpretations of the analyzed data results. In this procedure, focused codes emerged and were used to capture important phenomena. For example, “volunteering ‘American’ thing” was one of the themes that emerged from interconnecting ethnic identity and various types of civic engagement activities. Recontextualizing each participant’s interviews in their lived experience made this theme more visible. NVivo software program assisted the whole process of qualitative analyses.

	Electoral Participation	Political Voice Participation	Community Service and Volunteering Participation
Educational Contexts <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parent Civic Involvement • Peer Civic Involvement • Community Civic Opportunity • School Civic Opportunity Conceptions of Citizenship Ethnic Identity			

Figure 3.2. Matrix for Arranging Data

Three strategies of triangulation, reflexivity, and member checks were used to increase the credibility of the findings (Denzin, 1978). The use of interviews, observations, and online sources in data collection satisfied the triangulation requirement. Reflexivity refers to “awareness of the influence the researcher has on what is being studied and simultaneously, of how the research process affects the researcher” (Probst & Berenson, 2014, p. 814). I kept a journal to record my biases, dispositions, assumptions, and perceptions regarding the study throughout the research process. The last strategy was member checks, which is also called respondent validation. Interview participants were asked to verify the accuracy of the information that they provided in the interviews. They were also offered the preliminary findings of the study and

asked to critically review them to determine if the researcher's interpretation of the data "rings true" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 246).

Issues Concerning Data Collection and Analysis Procedures

Several issues of the data collection and analysis procedures deserve to be mentioned. First is the size of the sample and sample characteristics in the quantitative data collection and analyses. Of the 62 college students who responded to the online survey, responses of 59 students were used for data analyses. G*power program was used to calculate the minimum required number of samples size for the analyses. Due to the relatively small size of the sample, the large effect size was assumed and the number of variables that were entered in the multiple linear regression models was limited to six. Since the sample of the study was limited to college students who were attending two campuses of a university, the sample may be skewed in terms of their education level, and an implied symbolic economic level.

Potential interview participants were contacted by considering various types of citizenship status—U.S. citizen, U.S. residential visa holder, Non-immigrant visa holder—to reflect the proportion of survey respondents' citizenship status. While diverse U.S. citizenship holders (U.S. born citizen, citizen born in the U.S. territory, naturalized U.S.) and non-immigrant visa holders participated in the interviews, none of the U.S. resident visa holders responded to the interview requests and therefore were not included in the data.

A limitation of the interview process was the language used. Most of the interview participants were bilingual and seemed to be able to communicate in both Korean and English. The participants were allowed to answer questions in their preferred language, but questions were asked in English to convey the meaning of the questions accurately. Choosing a language to interview participants was important since the interviews include questions about ethnic identity

that may be influenced by the language used in the interview. While most of them preferred using English to Korean except for David and Rebecca, they sometimes used particular Korean words while conversing in English. To avoid any misinterpretation and miscommunication between the two languages, I asked interview participants to clarify any unclear vocabularies used during the interviews.

Summary

The research methods used to explore civic engagement of Korean immigrant college students and the contributing factors including various educational contexts, conceptions of citizenship, and ethnic identity were presented in this chapter. The study took place on two campuses of a university located in the Pacific Northwest of the United States. Using an explanatory mixed methods design, quantitative data were produced by an online survey completed by 59 participants and qualitative interview data were collected from nine participants. In the quantitative phase, data were analyzed using descriptive statistics, zero-order correlations, and multiple linear regression analyses. In the qualitative phase, data were collected by semi-structured interviews with elicitation techniques, on-site observations, and online observations. Qualitative data analyses included recursive processes from within-case analyses, cross-case analyses, decontextualizing data, and recontextualizing data. Concerns about data collection and analyses procedures were also discussed.

Chapter IV. Civic Engagement among Korean Immigrant College Students

In Chapters IV through VI, the findings from the analyses of quantitative and qualitative data derived from an online survey, semi-structured interviews, and on-site and online observations are presented. Analyses to answer to the first research question—“How do Korean immigrant college students civically engage in U.S. society?”—are presented in this chapter. The presentation begins with the overall pattern of civic engagement, followed by three sub-categories of civic engagement, which are electoral participation, political voice participation, and community service participation.

Civic Engagement

In order to answer the first research question, descriptive data analysis was conducted (See Table 1). The total score of civic engagement of survey respondents was 5.9, which means participants participated in about six civic engagement activities, out of the total 22 different activities listed. Community service participation that includes volunteering for non-profit organizations was the most frequent form of civic engagement among the survey respondents ($M = 2.17$), followed by electoral participation ($M = 2.10$) and political voice participation ($M = 1.66$). These data are summarized in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1. Descriptive Statistics for Civic Engagement Participation

	<i>M</i>	(<i>SD</i>)	Maximum	Minimum
<i>Civic Engagement</i>	5.93	4.41	16.00	0.00
Electoral Participation	2.10	2.12	7.00	0.00
Political Voice Participation	1.66	1.65	5.00	0.00
Community Service Participation	2.17	1.62	6.00	0.00

Note. $N = 59$.

Table 4.2 shows that the three sub-categories of civic engagement were significantly correlated to each other. The relationship between electoral participation and political voice participation was fairly strong ($r = 0.66$), but other relationships such as electoral participation and community service participation, political voice participation and community service participation showed a moderate correlation ($r = 0.45$ and 0.35 , respectively).

Table 4.2. Zero-Order Correlations for Sub-categories of Civic Engagement

	1.	2.	3.
Electoral Participation	--		
Political Voice Participation	0.66**	--	
Community Service Participation	0.45**	0.35**	--

Note. $N=59$. Pearson's r used for data analysis. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

In two open-ended questions, participants provided additional examples of civic engagement activities apart from those listed on the survey (See Table 4.3). In the political activity category, self-identified activities included personal communication activity, information collection activity, and ethnic community-related political activity. Participants reported that they intentionally initiated political conversation with their family or peers, or talked with candidates in person who visited their houses (personal communication). Survey respondents who read pamphlets about candidates or searched for online news articles, tweeters, and Facebook postings indicated that they actively collected information as a way to participate in political activities (information collection activity). Three respondents wrote that they were involved in political activities through the Korean community (ethnic community-related political activity), such as participating in a voter registration campaign or conferences to encourage Korean American community members to vote in the 2016 and 2017 elections.

In the volunteering and community participation category, the types of volunteering activities reported were cultural event-related volunteering, religion-related volunteering, and bilingual ability-related volunteering. Two respondents reported that they volunteered for planning and organizing Korean cultural events on campus and in their local area (cultural event-related volunteering). Religion-related volunteering was one of the frequent responses to the open-ended question in the volunteering and community participation category. Five respondents reported that they helped disadvantaged and special needs population through church activities and three went on mission trips to overseas countries and other states in the United States. Translating and working as interpreters for citizenship or cultural events were examples of bilingual-ability related volunteering activities mentioned by the survey respondents.

Table 4.3. Civic Engagement Activities: Types and Examples from Open-ended Questions

<p><i>Political activity</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Personal communication: I've had conversations about these topics with my friends directly affected; Intentionally bringing up politics during conversations • Information collection: I read pamphlets of both the candidates for the senator position and decided whom I wanted to vote for on my own. • Ethnic community-related participation: I was a director for Queen County & Korean American Coalition's Voter Registration Campaign for 2016 and 2017. I've made a field plan for 6-month campaign encouraging more Korean Americans to vote and receive ballots in Korean; Attended Korean American Conference to lobby current sitting senators and representatives. <p><i>Volunteering and community service activity</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural event-related volunteering: Performed in ethnic cultural festivals in my local area; I participated in a cultural event, held on campus, as a member of Koreans to introduce the Korean culture to people who do not know well about Korea. • Religion-related volunteering: I helped a Korean American church with their special needs program; Involved in M mission- an organization that helps people with disabilities. • Bilingual ability-related volunteering: Translation services; Citizenship clinic Korean interpreter
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Electoral Participation

Electoral participation included voting and other activities associated with elections and campaigns. Quantitative and qualitative data on voting are presented first, followed by analyses of other electoral participation activities than voting.

Voting in the 2016 Presidential Election and Local Elections

In the federal and local elections, only U.S. citizens are eligible to vote. Therefore, non-citizen immigrant respondents were not asked to answer voting questions on the online survey. Of the 41 respondents who were U.S. citizens, 24 reported that they voted in the 2016 presidential election. Six of 17 participants who did not vote in the 2016 presidential election indicated that they did not register to vote because of age restrictions or residency requirements. The other 11 participants who were eligible to vote reported various reasons why they did not register to vote or did not cast their ballot. The reasons included “did not know where or how to register;” “not interested in the election or not involved in politics;” “felt my vote wouldn’t make a difference;” “forgot to vote;” “transportation problems;” and “too busy, conflicting work or school schedule.” Considering the age and residency requirement, the total number of eligible voting respondents to the survey was 35. The data revealed that the presidential election voting rates of eligible birthright citizens and naturalized citizens were different, 71.4% and 57.1%, respectively (See Table 4.4).

Table 4.4. Voting for the 2016 Presidential Election and Local Elections by Citizenship Sources

	Birthright Citizen			Total	Naturalized Citizen	Total
	Born US mainland	Born US territories	Born abroad US parent			
<i>2016 Election</i>						
Voted	17 (70.8)	2 (100)	1 (50)	20 (71.4)	4 (57.1)	24 (68.6)
Not Voted	7 (29.2)	0 (0)	1 (50)	8 (28.6)	3 (42.9)	11 (31.4)
Total	24 (100)	2 (100)	2 (100)	28 (100)	7 (100)	35 (100)

Note. The eligible voting population was $N = 35$ without any age or residency requirement restriction.

Table 4.5 shows the extent of U.S. citizen respondents who participated in voting for other federal and local elections. 39% of U.S. citizenship holders responded that they never cast a vote for any smaller elections. At least one-time voters comprised 61.8% of the birthright citizens and 57.2% of the naturalized citizens. Only two participants responded that they vote in every election.

Table 4.5. Voting for other federal and local elections by citizenship sources

	Birthright Citizen			Total	Naturalized Citizen	Total
	Born US mainland	Born US territories	Born abroad US parent			
<i>Local Elections</i>						
Always	2 (6.7)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (5.9)	0 (0)	2 (4.9)
Sometimes	8 (26.7)	1 (50.0)	0 (0)	9 (26.5)	2 (28.6)	11 (26.8)
Rarely	8 (26.7)	1 (50.0)	1 (50.0)	10 (29.4)	2 (28.6)	12 (29.3)
Never	12 (40.0)	0 (0)	1 (50.0)	13 (38.2)	3 (42.9)	16 (39.0)
Total	30 (100)	2 (100)	2 (100)	34 (100)	7 (100)	41 (100)

Note. $N = 41$ including birthright citizen and naturalized citizen population in the survey.

Interview data provided explanations about why respondents did or did not vote in the presidential election and other smaller local elections. For all interview participants, regardless of their citizenship status or eligibility, voting was a duty to their country and an exercise they felt they should be involved in. David, who is a naturalized citizen, said: “I voted because I felt like it was my duty at least vote to do something I guess for my country whether it is good or bad.” Anna, who was under 18 at the time of the presidential election, and Sami, who was not eligible to vote due to her citizenship status stated that they would have voted if they were eligible to do. Moreover, they believed that voting in the presidential election was particularly important because a president makes decisions that could affect their everyday lives. Since Sami and her family had applied for a U.S. residential visa and was waiting for the results, she related the importance of participating in a vote in the presidential election, saying:

It's annoying because I wanted to vote, but I couldn't. I knew the general arguments, like what Hillary and Trump wanted. But since if I can't vote, then there's no point. So I didn't really engage myself in the electoral process. But I really wanted to vote.... And you know, I'm an immigrant. I took it personally.

For participants who were U.S. citizens, the presidential position was considered the only representative of the entire country and influencing power on the political attitudes of people and political climates across the nation. Jon explained:

I think internationally, what our country or who our country is represented by, is really important how people view America, view Americans.... Maybe you won't experience all these legal changes or legal laws, but how people act towards each other or people speak about each other, and a lot of them are influenced by government and what a president says... I was very conscious of these things when I voted because I didn't want someone

like Trump to take off or influence cultural ways. So I think it [voting in a presidential election]'s really important in that sense.

About other federal and local elections, such as a state governor, city mayor, or U.S. members of the Senates or House of Representatives, interview participants interpreted the impact of the election results differently. For some, these smaller elections were as important as the presidential election because they could affect their lives and make changes in the long run. This belief, therefore, led them to participate in voting in the county, city, or state elections. Mary mentioned that she usually tried to participate in the everyday election, because,

I think during presidential elections, we always get involved in politics around that time, but in reality, the everyday life things are affected or impacted by smaller elections I think. Although it doesn't seem like my vote makes a huge impact, but in the long run, we need a vote in small elections to make a real big difference. That's my opinion. That's why I started voting.

Other participants did not tend to participate in local elections in general because they thought they were not as influential as presidential elections. Jane, who voted in the presidential election for the first time in her life and enjoyed the experience said, “I don't think I'm gonna vote for my county or mayoral election. I'm more interested in bigger ones. Smaller elections are not important for me. I have no interested in [local elections].” Sami and David provided some imaginary conditions for voting in smaller elections. If they voted in a local election, it would be because of their personal connection with a candidate (e.g. “if I had friends whose parents are running and they need my support”), or its direct impact on their personal lives (e.g. “like sugar taxing just happened, if I could've prevented that, then I would've voted;” or voted for “bills that can protect me”).

One of the common reasons for participants not voting in in local elections was the lack of information about candidates or campaigns. Whereas they could get enough information about presidential elections online or through personal communications, collecting information about smaller elections was sometimes impossible, or it required more time and effort. Jon explained why he did not vote in local elections during 2016 and 2017, saying:

I think it [voting for elections] has something to do with following candidates and really knowing what each person stands for. For smaller elections, it's just not as public, publicized, so I don't know exactly who's fighting for what, and I don't wanna make a bad choice.

Danny offered similar reasons in declaring, “I didn't want to vote because I didn't know any information about it. So I didn't wanna make a wrong choice. I like to be informed before making a decision.” For Jon and Danny, non-voting in local elections was a way to avoid making bad choices. Lack of information also meant that they did not know enough about other people's opinions in their neighborhood and the local community. Rebecca reasoned similarly that, “For smaller elections, I don't know much about people's stance. So I'm not sure what would be a good choice [for my local area].”

Other Electoral Participation

Electoral participation other than voting included on-site and online activities that were associated with elections and campaigns. The survey results revealed that online electoral participation was more common than on-site participation in general (See Table 4.6). The most popular electoral participation activities were all online ones, “expressing support through social network sites” (45.8%); “forwarding or posting someone's political commentary or news” (28.8%); and “commenting on a news story or blog you read online” (25.4%). However, some

online electoral activities that needed relatively more time and effort for creating and expressing opinions were less popular. For example, only two respondents reported that they contributed to online political discussions by creating their own articles, opinion pieces, pictures, or videos.

Of the four different activities of on-site electoral participation listed on the survey (See Table 4.6), eight respondents indicated they attended “a meeting, rally, speech or dinner” and “wore a button, putting a stick or placing a sign.” The other two activities of “working on a campaign” and “raising or donating money offline methods” had four and one respondent out of 59 survey participants, respectively.

Table 4.6. Electoral Participation except for Voting

	Yes	No
<i>On-site electoral participation</i>		
Attending a meeting, rally, speech, or dinner	8 (13.6)	51 (86.4)
Working on a campaign	4 (6.8)	55 (93.2)
Wearing a button, putting a sticker or placing a sign	8 (13.6)	51 (86.4)
Raising or donating money offline methods	1 (1.7)	58 (98.3)
<i>Online electoral participation</i>		
Expressing electoral support through a social network site	27 (45.8)	32 (54.2)
Raising or donating campaign money online	5 (8.5)	54 (91.5)
Starting or joining a political group on a social network site	11 (18.6)	48 (81.4)
Forwarded or posted someone's political commentary or news	17 (28.8)	42 (71.2)
Contributed own article, opinion piece, picture or video	2 (3.4)	57 (96.6)
Commented on a news story or blog you read online	15 (25.4)	44 (74.6)
Writing an email or a blog	6 (10.2)	53 (89.8)

Note. $N = 59$.

Semi-structured Interviews revealed that engaging in online participation to on-site participation was preferred due to its convenience. In general, on-site participation was less accessible and took more time, money, and physical efforts than online participation. Responses,

such as, “I had something else going on at that time [presidential election campaign]” (Anne) and “I didn’t go [to] any campaign because I put my priority on studying as a student” (Jon) demonstrated that participants thought on-site participation a more time-consuming activity. For some, on-site participation also was considered for people more knowledgeable about candidates and passionate about campaigns. Anne said she would not go to any campaign even if she had enough time because

I don't think I'm as passionate as other people. Cause I know when you go rally, yelling stuff, and a presidential candidate has a motto, like Trump "make America great again." I didn't even know B [A political candidate she supported]'s motto. So I don't think I would go there, would not be the best for me, since it's not truly supporting him 100 percent. I don't know enough, and I'm not engaged with anyone who I wouldn't know.

David and Anna, who were high school students at the time of the election campaign went to political party caucuses and visited a campaign booth in their local area. They were able to do so because of time availability. In addition, there was no pressure to support a certain candidate since they were not eligible to vote at that time due to their age restriction and citizenship status. In the caucuses and the campaign booth area, they looked around, observed other people, and asked them why they supported a particular candidate; what they thought about an issue and a candidates’ stance on it; and how the presidential candidate’s pledges can benefit their future or current status. David and Anna received campaign stickers and pins and wore them during their visits. Although they both supported a particular candidate, the purpose of the visits to the caucuses and campaign booth was not an endorsement. They were more interested in exploring and learning about candidates, people’s preferences, and the political procedures happening in the local area. This curiosity allowed them to be involved in on-site activities.

For all participants interviewed, social media on the Internet provided an accessible and convenient way to learn about candidates and campaigns and to express their opinions. This former kind of online electoral participation meant searching for information about candidates or campaigns, and reading online postings or internet news on their newsfeed on Facebook. If they became interested in a particular issue or candidate after reading the posts, they voluntarily spent more time visiting a candidate's website or searching for more information on other websites. Danny and Anna used the Internet to collect unbiased information about candidates and campaigns during the 2016 presidential election.

Danny: I take time searching online. If I see something on FB, and that interests me, then I could stop there, but it could be just one side of the view, so it's better to see both sides. That's why I search for more information. There are two ways to see everything.

Anna: I looked up fact-check online website. It gives more information about the situation, and whether the statement is true or false. I wanna know at least about what they're talking about. That's non-biased source, so I could see Trump said something lied, Hillery said something wrong.

Participants also used the Internet to express their support for a candidate. There were different levels of involvement, and the most common and easiest way was to click a "like" button on Facebook or Twitter. When they did "like" to a post, it seemed that they first examined whether the post or tweet had been supported by many people or not, and whether it was too extreme or not. For example, Sami said, "sometimes I liked it. It was already liked it over 100, then I liked it. But if it's too extreme, I didn't 'like' it."

Other participants sometimes re-posted or re-tweeted their friends' posts on their social media sites. Since this forwarding activity could imply that they agreed with the content of the

post or tweet, it could be interpreted as a more active way to express their opinion that goes beyond just “like”ing somebody’s post. Most participants did not add comments when they reposted or re-tweeted. Mary thought that using social media was a way to share important information with people, so she wanted to share more facts about the candidate whom she supported, not her opinion. She explained that

I don't really like putting my opinions there because I know there are gonna be opposing opinions obviously. I just wanna put facts out there, the situations, not wrap up my opinion. Whoever reads it, they can think whatever they want to. I mean, you can see one thing but everyone has different opinions on it. I don't wanna put my opinion if it's not truth or something like that. That's how I see it.

Jon and Anne did not add their opinion on their social media sites either but for other reasons.

They doubted the effectiveness of expressing their opinion on the Internet. Jon said:

I think, online conversations are pointless. People feel so strongly about their opinion that it's hardly anything productive. Online people just getting angry and write crazy things. So it's much easier for me to talk about it in person and with people who I can see face to face.

Anne made a similar point that commenting on online social media was not effective. She believed that policymakers or politicians would not keep their eyes on social media and therefore expressing her opinion on the Internet would be useless:

Everyone does it [commenting and replying to a post] but the people who should see do not. For example, the actual government people or politicians, they probably don't see

them. And they won't care about people posting things. I think, it's not worth it in the end.

Rebecca was the only participant who openly expressed her opinion and added comments when she reposted news articles on Facebook. On her social media pages, she initiated political conversations by posting her favorite candidate's video clips, news articles, and tweets. When she re-posted someone else's posts, she added comments on them. She thought that re-posting and commenting on Facebook could be an effective way to persuade some of her friends who had different views from hers. She hoped that any of her friends would see them and become convinced by the posts and her comments. As an enthusiastic supporter of a candidate during the presidential election, Rebecca also actively participated in various types of on-site electoral participation activities. During the election, she put a sticker on her laptop and attached a badge on her bag. Even though the candidate she supported did not win the election; she went to a book signing event to listen to his speech. These online and on-site activities represented Rebecca's strong involvement in political activities.

Political Voice participation

Political voice participation focused on activities like expressing opinions and working to make an impact on social issues in ways that are indirectly related to campaigns or elections. Among the five listed activities, more than half of the survey participants (52.5%) responded that they signed an email or other online petition which was followed by signing a paper petition (33.9%). Buy-cotting or boycotting, and contacting or visiting public officials had a lower participation rate of 27.1% and 23.7%, respectively. The smallest participation rate was that of taking part in a protest, demonstration, or sit-in, which could demand physical attendance and more time and determination. Only seven (11.9%) out the 59 survey participants responded that

they engaged in a protest, demonstration, or sit-in activity during the past 12 months (See Table 4.7).

Table 4.7. Political Voice Participation

	Yes	No
Contacting or visiting public official to express opinion	14 (23.7)	45 (76.3)
Buying or boycotting	16 (27.1)	43 (72.9)
Taking part in a protest, demonstration, or sit-in	7 (11.9)	52 (88.1)
Signed a paper petition	20 (33.9)	39 (66.1)
Signed an email or other online petition	31 (52.5)	28 (47.5)

Note. *N* = 59 of total respondents in the survey.

The semi-structured interviews with participants confirmed that Korean immigrant college students were more involved in online petition activities than other activities. Participants shared various topics they had signed online petitions for, such as Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), immigration policy, Tax reform, Common Core, and Net neutrality. Seven participants said that they saw internet news articles or Facebook posts on the issues and then became interested in them. Jon and David, who usually gained information from online news channels or a discussion website like Reddit, could easily find a link to sign an online petition for the topic of their interest—net neutrality. The interviewees also sometimes participated in an online petition on their Facebook page. Jane explained that

I think there were a lot of different Facebook postings [on the DACA issue], like, "oh, we should change this or we should keep it."... Facebook has a webpage where you can make a petition. Or sometimes people make a website for a petition and then it goes around Facebook. I just signed on the Facebook page.

Although online petition was usually a one-time event, most of the participants were following the up-to-date news about the issue that they signed a petition for. They also sometimes received emails from the organizations and it led them to sign a subsequent petition. David, who participated in an online petition and even called local representatives to express his opinion about a bill on Net Neutrality, said that he sometimes searched for the latest information about the issue.

From 2016 to early 2018, before or around the time of this study, there were small and large rallies held in the local community and on campus. However, most study participants did not participate in any movement or protest during the past 12 months. Instead, Jon indicated he was “supporting mentally or emotionally but doing nothing more than that.” There were various reasons that participants interviewed were not involved in rallies. For some participants, safety was a concern. For example, Jon mentioned a gunshot injury on campus during a protest that made him avoid participating in future protests. Sami also expressed her fear about participating in a rally, saying that “I’m scared what if there’s a gunshot (Sami).” David explained this fear more connecting to his parents’ experience in South Korea. He said:

I think maybe my parents won't like me to participate in a march. They think I might be wound if I go there. In Korea, you know, police officers are there when there are demonstrations. Police officers block protests... My parents lived in South Korea for a long time, so they had seen people were hit by police officers, so they might think it would happen in the U.S. So they may be against my participating in protests. So when I think of my parents, I don't want them to be worried.

Some others pointed out that protesting would not be a good way to address the issue of concern. Sami and Jane questioned the effectiveness of protests. Sami was uncertain whether

participating in protests would generate more support for the issue of concern. In expressing similar doubts, Jane said, “people going outside and say ‘you guys should do this’ like something, but I don’t think there’s huge impact [of protesting]. People are too lazy to go out and see these movements.” Mary felt there was a gap in understanding “the protest culture.” Jon added a similar opinion. He acknowledged protests worked positively back in the 1960s and 1970s during the civil rights movement, but today’s protests were not effective and it would be rather a distraction. He explained,

I think sometimes, it [a protest] does more harm than good. I think [if you succeed,] you need a really clear message, you need everyone to be on the same page. But that thing is really hard to do, make everyone be on the same page, especially as group gets bigger.... Especially now, protests become so ignored, in [my local area], protests are [happening] all the time, and I feel like it doesn't really create positive things all the time. It's done an obviously amazing thing back in the 60s civil rights movements like that, and it's obviously so effective back then. I think we're just in time now not everyone agreeing on what their protesting, so it's just creating miscommunications I guess... We have so many protests in the area, but I don't know what is their messages, I don't know anything about that, I just know people are on the streets. So I think it's not a really effective way to getting your message.

Another reason participants did not get involved in protests was the connection between their racial identity and the issue of the protests. This connection will be explained in more depth in chapter VI. In many of these cases, participants followed the issues of protests on the Internet. Even though when or if they encountered a protest, they were more likely to observe rather than to actively participate in it.

Rebecca and Anna, the interviewees most engaged in the various types of political voice participation activities took part in the Black Lives Matter protest and Women’s March in their local area. However, Rebecca did not participate in the whole protest of the Black Lives Matter, staying about 30 minutes. And she did not join the protest again. Joining the Black Lives Matter protest was Anna’s first experience of participating in a protest. It was an interesting experience for her because she could “see all these different people collectively [working together].” In answer to the question about actions someone would observe if following her, Anna said, the observer would notice her speaking with people, looking around, observing the protest, and walking around without a sign. She believed that, “It [attending a protest] gets people to be interested and [makes people] talk about it. It's important.” What picked her interest the most during the protest was listening to people’s opinions and observing what others were doing besides giving a speech, or intensely yelling or screaming.

Volunteerism and Community Service Participation

The survey respondents were more engaged in the listed activities related to community service and volunteering than other on-site activities listed in the electoral participation and political voice participation categories. The survey results (See Table 4.8) revealed that 37 of 59 respondents (64.4%) were active members of a community group or organization. Over 40% of participants reported that they were involved in regular volunteering through a non-political organization (42.4%), and donated money to charity (44.1%). Personally walking, running, or bicycling for a charitable cause was the least popular way of participating but it was still supported by nine respondents.

Table 4.8. Volunteering and Community Service Participation

	Yes	No
Being an active member of community group or organization	38 (64.4)	21 (35.6)
Regularly volunteering for non-political groups	25 (42.4)	34 (47.6)
Working together informally to solve problem in the community	18 (30.5)	41 (69.5)
Donating money for charity	26 (44.1)	33 (55.9)
Personally walking, running, or bicycling for a charitable cause	9 (15.3)	50 (84.7)
Helping raise money or a charitable cause by donating money	12 (20.3)	47 (79.7)

Note. $N = 59$.

Participants in the semi-structured interviews shared various examples of their volunteering and community service participation activities. Most were involved in one or two volunteering activities at the time of the interviews. Some participants even shared three or more different volunteering experiences they engaged in during the past 12 months. Volunteering places included hospitals, clinics, schools (a kindergarten, preschool, and elementary school), a private academy (called *hagwon* in Korean), a public library, missionary organizations, and the university campus. The location of the places where volunteering occurred dictated the various activities participants engaged in, such as tutoring and teaching children, assisting teachers in schools, reading books for children in a library, cleaning up the community, and assisting nurses or helping patients in hospitals or clinics. In the case of missionary trips and volunteering with missionary organizations, interview participants spent their time not only preparing for service of a religious purpose, but also were involved in non-religious activities, such as providing food and clothes, repairing elderly people's houses, and helping needy people generally.

Many of the participants interviewed chose to be involved with a volunteering place associated with their future careers. For example, Anna, who intended to major in biology, was interested in the medical field and she volunteered at a children's hospital in the local area.

Majoring in education, Jane volunteered at different schools ranging from kindergarten to *hagwon* (a private academy mostly tutoring high schoolers for AP or SAT exams). She chose to volunteer at schools, because

When I started college ... I wanna become a teacher, but I never knew what grade level, cause in high school, I was so focused on teaching math [at a hagwon]. And coming to college, it's actually so many more eye-opening and more options. So [I thought], 'I am gonna volunteer and see what kind of grade level I like', that's why I tested out different grade levels. I think though mostly I focused on elementary school... At T house [indicating the hagwon], I taught older kids, so I already had that experience, so I wanna see what level I wanna teach.

Anne's and Mary's examples also confirmed that participants were considering their future career when they engaged in volunteering activities. Anne, a first-year college student, had been volunteering at a preschool helping children from low-income families. She had started volunteering in her junior year of high school. Volunteering at schools about 8-12 hours per week, she found that it was not easy to teach young children. Since she wanted to pursue a major in public health, she planned to change her volunteering place from schools to hospitals. Conversely, Mary, who used to pursue a pre-health major, did not continue her volunteering at a hospital and an adult clinic after she changed her major in engineering. She explained the reason, saying that:

Mary: I have less motivation. If I was gonna become a doctor they'll look at volunteer work a lot. I was kind of thinking my major at that time, so that was kind of less of my worries.

Researcher: Then if you chose to go to medical school, would you continue volunteering [at hospitals]?

Mary: That may have been inevitably an important part of my process going to medical school. That's not usually the focus, so if I wanna do something towards my career, it would be more beneficial to do [engineering] projects in my free time, instead of volunteering.

As survey results revealed, participants in the semi-structured interviews were involved in community groups or organizations, and they engaged in the volunteering and community service activities through these organizations. The participants were involved in various organizations but the most common were the Korean church and Korean student association on campus. Although the members of the organizations were mostly people of Korean ethnicity, their services were not just for people in their religious and ethnic community. For example, Jon, who actively engaged in religious activities in his Korean church, shared his experience with Love R [local area name] and Birthday Dream services that he volunteered for with church people. In the Love R event, he helped with making food and giving Refugee children backpacks that included pencils, papers, and crayons. Birthday Dreams involved having a birthday party for homeless children. Other volunteering activities Jon was involved in through the church were taking trips to homeless shelters and helping out at the food bank. Jane and Rebecca also shared their volunteering experience of gifting children whose parents are in jail during the Christmas season and working for food bank held in their church.

These participants went to church and volunteered through it, but others did not go to a church. Some of them used to go with their parents but they stopped going after they moved away from home and entered colleges. For participants who did not go to a Korean church, the

Korean student association on campus provided volunteering opportunities. The association regularly hosted donation events every winter season, cultural showcase events to promote cultural diversity on campus, and sometimes had special information sessions for helping a particular group such as homeless or refugee populations. Participants who were affiliated with the organization sometimes assisted with the events as small group leaders.

Comparing their volunteering involvement to others, participants of second-generation Korean immigrants stated that their friends of first or 1.5-generation Korean immigrants tended to volunteer more. However, the desegregated online survey data of the community service participation by citizenship status, immigrant generation, and gender, was different from their assumptions. Like other civic engagement activities, such as electoral participation and political voice participation, second immigrant generation participants were engaged in a higher number of volunteering activities. Table 4.9 shows that U.S. citizen participants, second immigrant generation participants, and male were engaged in a higher number of volunteering and community service activities than non-citizen, first or 1.5 generation, and female respondents.

Table 4.9. Electoral participation, political voice participation, and community service participation by citizenship status, immigrant generation, and gender

	Electoral participation except for voting	Political voice participation	Community service
	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>
<i>Citizenship Status</i>			
US Citizen	1.95 (1.99)	1.93 (1.82)	2.48 (1.69)
Non-US Citizen	1.21 (1.75)	1.11 (1.05)	1.53 (1.26)
<i>Immigrant Generation</i>			
1st generation	0.70 (1.06)	1.25 (1.04)	1.50 (1.41)
1.5 generation	1.83 (2.09)	1.67 (1.85)	2.11 (1.45)
2nd generation	1.97 (1.99)	1.76 (1.68)	2.36 (1.75)
<i>Gender</i>			
Female	1.71 (2.05)	1.61 (1.72)	2.12 (1.58)
Male	1.72 (1.67)	1.78 (1.52)	2.28 (1.74)

Note. *N* = 59 of total respondents in the survey.

Summary

Results from descriptive statistics on the online survey and semi-structured interviews provided diverse civic involvement of Korean immigrant college students. The online survey data revealed that Korean immigrant college students were involved in volunteering activities most. In the open-ended questions, additional types of political and civil participation activities were found. While about 70 percent of Korean immigrant U.S. citizens voted in the 2016 U.S. presidential election, they were not likely to be involved in local elections as much as possible they were in the presidential elections. In the electoral and political voice activities, online participation was more popular techniques than on-site participation. Engaging in protests or rallies was the least popular activity among the survey respondents. Many Korean immigrant college students were engaged in career-relevant community service activities. Data drawn from the interviews illustrated specific examples of civic engagement activities and provide explanations why they involved those activities or not.

Chapter V. Educational Contexts and Civic Engagement

Responses to the second research question— “How do educational contexts affect civic engagement of Korean immigrant college students?” are presented in this second chapter of findings. Descriptive analyses from the survey data demonstrate the overall landscape of educational contexts—parent, peer community, and school—that may be associated with the civic engagement of Korean immigrant college students. Results from multiple linear regression analyses address direct relationships between civic engagement and educational contexts. Qualitative data derived from semi-structured interviews provide potential explanations of variables in the findings from the quantitative data analyses.

Descriptive Findings about Various Educational Contexts

Descriptive data analyses were conducted to examine the patterns of educational contexts associated with civic engagement of Korean college students. Table 5.1 shows means and standard deviations of all survey items about four educational contexts, including parents, peers, communities, and schools, with a 5-point Likert scale from 1 = Strongly agree to 5 = Strongly disagree. Overall, survey respondents evaluated all of their educational contexts somewhat positively: agreeing on each statement with means ranging from 2.97 to 3.79.

The data revealed that parents or guardians were the most active in their ethnic communities ($M = 3.25$), talked about social and political problems with their children ($M = 3.19$), and encouraged their children to vote ($M = 3.17$). However, survey participants perceived that their parents or guardians were not as active in local or national politics ($M = 2.37$). Survey data on peer civic involvement revealed that respondents had close friends who volunteered to work in the community ($M = 3.87$) and participated in political activities ($M = 3.29$). Talking with friends about social and political problems received the most responses ($M = 3.97$).

Regarding civic involvement opportunities in communities, they could volunteer in their neighborhood ($M = 4.00$), religious community ($M = 3.44$), and ethnic community ($M = 3.68$). The respondents had fewer opportunities to engage in politics in their neighborhood community ($M = 3.32$), religious community ($M = 2.20$), and ethnic community ($M = 2.95$).

Survey respondents reported that in their high school, they had the most opportunities to volunteer in the community ($M = 4.49$) and take on leadership roles in clubs and organizations ($M = 4.32$), but fewer agreed opportunities to get involved in political activities ($M = 2.95$). The average number of social studies courses they took was 3.44. Among 14 courses listed—including four general courses, eight AP courses, and two IB courses, the most participants took AP U.S History (53%), followed secondly by World history (51%), U.S. History (49%), AP U.S. Government and Politics (32%), and American Government (27%). In their high school social studies classes, they spent time discussing current events ($M = 3.59$) and researching social, political, or community issues ($M = 3.49$). Fewer respondents did a project in the community for that class ($M = 2.78$).

Table 5.1. Means and Standard Deviations of Educational Contexts Related to Civic Engagement: Parent, Peer, Community, School Variables

Educational Contexts	<i>M</i>	<i>(SD)</i>
<i>Parent Civic Involvement: My parents or guardians...</i>	2.97	(0.86)
Encourage me to vote	3.17	(1.15)
Are active in local or national politics (e.g. city council, party)	2.37	(1.24)
Do volunteer work regularly in the community	3.00	(1.45)
Are active in their ethnic communities	3.25	(1.27)
Often talk to me about problems in society and political issues	3.19	(1.22)
Want to hear my opinions about current events and politics.	2.85	(1.31)
I often talk to them about problems in society and political issues.	2.98	(1.42)
<i>Peer Civic Involvement: I have close friends who...</i>	3.69	(0.99)
Participate in political activities	3.29	(1.26)
Volunteer work in the community	3.81	(1.22)
I talk with my friends about problems in society and political issues	3.97	(1.05)
<i>Community Civic Opportunity: In my... there are opportunities to...</i>	3.27	(0.76)
Neighborhood... volunteer in the community	4.00	(0.85)
Neighborhood... engage in politics	3.32	(1.21)
Religious community... volunteer in the community	3.44	(1.71)
Religious community... engage in politics	2.20	(1.57)
Ethnic community... volunteer in the community	3.68	(1.01)
Ethnic community... engage in politics	2.95	(1.12)
<i>School Civic Opportunity: In my high school, I had an opportunity to...</i>	3.79	(0.83)
Be involved in making decisions about the school	3.56	(1.29)
Take on leadership roles in clubs and organizations	4.32	(0.94)
Volunteer in the community	4.49	(0.80)
Work on social issues or causes (e.g. environment or human rights)	3.56	(1.10)
Get involved in political activities	2.95	(1.18)
Participate in a student government	3.83	(1.21)
<i>Number of Social Science Course Took in High school</i>	3.44	(1.44)
<i>Best Practices in Social Science Courses: In my social science class...</i>	3.40	(0.99)
I spent much time discussing current events	3.59	(1.19)
Teachers encouraged students to discuss political and social issues	3.63	(1.19)
I did research on social, political, or community issues	3.49	(1.30)
I did a project in the community for that class	2.78	(1.52)
I were required to keep up with politics or government, either by reading the newspaper, watching television news	3.42	(1.32)
I would say that knowledge that I got from that class is useful in my current, everyday life.	3.49	(1.15)

Note. *N*= 59. A 5-point Likert scale was used for each statement, from 1 = Strongly disagree to 5= Strongly agree with 3 as a neutral position.

Multiple Linear Regression Findings

Multiple linear regression analysis was conducted to answer the second research question. Correlations among variables, including one dependent variable and six independent variables, are presented first, followed by the findings from multiple linear regression.

Correlations

To obtain the preliminary relationships among dependent and independent variables, zero-order correlations were calculated. The results among all variables are shown in Table 5.2. Among the given variables, only peer civic involvement was positively correlated with the dependent variable of civic engagement, with $r = 0.49$, $p < 0.001$, indicating, at a preliminary level, that having peers who engage in politics, volunteering, or discussing social issues will likely contribute to participants' civic engagement. Other educational contexts, such as parent civic involvement, community civic opportunity, and school-related variables, were not significantly correlated to the dependent variable.

Some X-X predictor-predictor relationships were found. Parent civic involvement was correlated with peer civic involvement and community opportunity, with $r = 0.32$, $p < 0.05$ for peer civic involvement and $r = 0.34$, $p < 0.01$ for community opportunity, respectively. Among the school variables, school civic opportunity and social science experience were positively correlated, with $r = 0.50$, $p < 0.001$. This finding indicates that schools that provide civic involvement opportunities are more likely to have a high quality of social studies classes with “best practices” or vice versa. Since the correlations among X-X predictor-predictor were far less extreme than $\pm .90$, they did not have a multicollinearity problem for conducting a multiple linear regression analysis.

Table 5.2. Descriptive Statistics and Zero-Order Correlations

Measure	<i>M</i>	(<i>SD</i>)	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
<i>Outcomes</i>									
1. Civic Engagement	5.93	(4.41)	--						
<i>Block 1 Predictors</i>									
2. Parent Civic	2.97	(0.86)	.17	--					
<i>Block 2 Predictors</i>									
3. Peer Civic	3.69	(0.99)	.49 ***	.32 *	--				
<i>Block 3 Predictors</i>									
4. Community Opportunity	3.27	(0.76)	.20	.34 **	.15	--			
<i>Block 4 Predictors</i>									
5. School Opportunity	3.79	(0.83)	.14	.10	.11	.22	--		
6. Social Sciences	3.44	(1.44)	-.07	-.11	.07	.10	.05	--	
7. Social Science Experience	3.40	(0.99)	.20	.22	.10	.21	.50 ***	.10	--

Note. $N=59$. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. Social Science = the number of social studies courses took in the high school; Social Science Experience = the degree of experience to best practice in their social studies classes

Regression Models

Multiple linear regression with sequential predictor entry was used to test the incremental variance in civic engagement accounted for by each of the respective predictors. As shown in Table 5.3, Block 1, the parent civic involvement predictor did not account for significant variation in civic engagement, $R^2 = 0.03$, $F(1, 57) = 1.71$, $p = 0.196$. In Block 2, peer civic involvement, which had a significant zero-order (direct) correlation of $r = 0.49$ with civic engagement, accounted for 21% of variation in civic engagement, after controlling all other variables, $F_{\text{change}}(1, 56) = 15.41$, $R^2_{\text{adjusted}} = 0.21$, $p < 0.001$. Block 3, which included community civic involvement opportunity, was not significant, with $R^2_{\text{change}} = 0.02$, $F_{\text{change}}(1, 55) = 1.35$, $p = 0.250$. As expected, Block 4, which included school-related variables—school civic opportunity, the number of social studies classes taken in the high school, and best practice experiences in the classes—did not account for significant unique variation in civic engagement after accounting for other variables, $R^2_{\text{change}} = 0.04$, $F_{\text{change}}(3, 52) = 0.96$, $p = 0.418$.

In the final model (with all predictors entered), the mean predicted civic engagement for Korean college students with average level of parent and peer involvement, community civic opportunity, and school-related components (school civic opportunity, social studies course taking, and social studies classes experiences) was estimated to be involved in $b = 7.47$ activities ($SE = 3.91$), $t(52) = 5.49$, $p < 0.001$. Among all educational contexts predictors, only having civically engaged peers uniquely predicted civic engagement, $b = 2.17$, $SE = 0.55$, $t(52) = 3.97$, $p < 0.001$, $sr^2 = 0.21$, holding all other variables constant. This indicates that for every standard deviation increase on having civically engaged peers, there was an expected increase of 2.18 activities on civic engagement.

Except for peer involvement, other variables were not uniquely predictive of civic engagement. Parent involvement was predictive in a negative direction, $b = -0.40$, $SE = 0.59$, $t(52) = -0.67$, $p = 0.506$. Having civic involvement opportunities in the neighborhood, religious community, and ethnic community was positively predictive of civic engagement holding all other variables constant, $b = 0.64$, $SE = 0.13$, $t(52) = 0.56$, $t(52) = 1.13$, $p = 0.263$. Among school-related variables, school civic involvement opportunity and the number of social studies courses negatively predicts civic engagement, $b = -0.07$, $SE = 0.60$, $t(52) = -0.12$, $p = 0.906$, and $b = -0.45$, $SE = 0.37$, $t(52) = -1.22$, $p = 0.229$. Experience of best practices in social science course was positively predictive of civic engagement with $b = 0.74$, $SE = 0.61$, $t(52) = 1.21$, but it did not uniquely predict with $p = 0.233$.

Results from the multiple regression analyses revealed that among educational contexts, only peer civic involvement positively influences civic engagement of Korean immigrant college students (effect size of $sr^2 = 0.21$). Compared to the findings from substantive studies that have shown that parents, community organizations, and schools affect youth civic engagement, the

results of these analyses were worthy of note. They indicated that the civic engagement of Korean immigrant college students may be influenced by other educational contexts and their interactions than the variables found in existing scholarship. These results suggest the necessity of further examination to better understand why each educational context affects or does not affect civic engagement of Korean immigrant college students and how the different contexts interact with each other. Qualitative findings presented in this chapter provide some possible explanations for these quantitative results.

Table 5.3. Multiple Regression Model with Sequential Predictor Entry Results

	Block 1					Block 2					Block 3					Block 4				
	R^2_{change}	R^2_{total}	R^2_{adj}	b	sr^2	R^2_{change}	R^2_{total}	R^2_{adj}	b	sr^2	R^2_{change}	R^2_{total}	R^2_{adj}	b	sr^2	R^2_{change}	R^2_{total}	R^2_{adj}	b	sr^2
<i>Model Fit</i>	0.03	0.03	0.01			0.21 ***	0.24 ***	0.21			0.02	0.26 **	0.22			0.04	0.30 **	0.22		
<i>Coefficients</i>																				
Intercept				5.93 ***					5.93 ***					5.93 ***					7.47 ***	
Parent Civic Involvement				0.75	0.03				0.06	0.00				-0.15	0.00				-0.40	0.01
Peer Civic Involvement									2.13 ***	0.21				2.11 **	0.20				2.17 ***	0.21
Community Opportunity														0.63	0.02				0.64	0.02
School Opportunity																			-0.07	0.00
Social Sciences																			-0.45	0.02
Social Science Experience																			0.74	0.02

Note. $N=59$. Block 1 F -change test $df = 1, 57$; Block 2 $df = 1, 56$; Block 3 $df = 1, 55$; Block 4 $df = 3, 52$. Parent civic, peer civic, community opportunity, school opportunity, and social science experience standardized ($M = 1, SD = 0$). Social science = the number of social science course took in high school (raw number). Civic engagement = the number of electoral, political voice, and volunteering and community service activities participants were involved in (raw value).

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Parents and Civic Engagement: They Do Their Things and Respect What I Do.

One of the findings from the multiple linear regression analyses was that parents' civic involvement had a small negative effect on their children's civic engagement, although it was not statistically significant. This finding was different from other existing studies on youth civic engagement where parents' involvement was likely to predict their children's civic engagement. Semi-structured interviews suggested some possible explanations about this finding.

Each of the nine participants interviewed described differently whether their parents were active or inactive in politics. With regard to their parents' electoral participation, two participants reported that their parents voted in the 2016 U.S. presidential election, and strongly supported a particular candidate. Parents of three interview participants were not able to vote in the election due to their citizenship status. Citizenship status, however, did not seem to influence the parents' interest and participation in politics. Even though some parents were U.S. citizens and therefore eligible to vote, they did not participate in voting. Other parents were not eligible to vote, but they discussed politics and expressed their wish to vote. When it came to political voice participation, none of the participants shared their parents' involvement in protests, petition signing, or other activities.

Despite these different levels of involvement in politics, parents of interview participants had several characteristics in common. First, most parents did not have many conversations about politics with their children, but they were perceived as having discussions among themselves. In answer to whether she had a conversation about politics with her parents, Jane answered, "Very little. When the election was happening and then we talked about it but that's it. There's no more [conversation on] political things." Sami also said that in her family she did not have much political discussion. However, she thought her parents discussed politics with each

other either related to the United States or to Korea. She said, “they don't talk about politics with me, but I heard them sometimes, and I think they are [having a conversation about politics]. But I just never asked them. Maybe they are, because my dad sometimes watches Korean news.”

Lack of political conversation may have been to avoid any conflicts that would be caused by different political views between parents and children. However, interview participants explained that they did not anticipate any conflicts or difficulties if they had discussed politics with their parents. Rather, they felt that their parents would respect their political views. For example, Jane, who did not have much political conversation with her parents, thought it would be fine even if she had different opinions from her parents. Jane explained, “Let's say if I was democratic or republican and my parents were opposite, there would be no conflict, cause my parents just let me do whatever I think.” Jon, who mentioned that he did not have any conversation on the presidential election with her mom, shared a similar idea, saying:

I don't know why we haven't talked about it [politics]. She [mom] just really kind of respects my privacy. She doesn't want to ask politically personal questions. She just lets me do my own thing. But she always makes sure I voted. Nothing really more than that.

Although interview participants did not usually have conversations about politics or political issues, the U.S. presidential election initiated some conversation and conflicts in their families. Three participants had different views on presidential candidates from those of their parents. But, even so, they felt comfortable sharing opposing opinions with their parents. For example, when she found her father had different opinions about a presidential candidate, Anna printed online news articles on political candidates and attached them to the walls in the living room at home so that her father could read them. She shared the following scenario about interacting with her dad during the 2016 U.S. presidential campaign:

My dad, he is fairly anti-[a presidential candidate], so we had a few fights about that. My family is really relax, so we don't necessarily yell at each other. We were just passive aggressive. He made a point 'I'm gonna vote for [a president candidate]' and I was 'No!' I'm not a kind of person who fights, so I printed out a bunch of news articles about [father's favorite candidate, in a negative way] stuff and then posted them in the house. We really didn't mention it. 'Here you go [and you can see them]'. We both ended up not voting.

While addressing this episode, she described her father as an atypical Korean parent. She was able to express her opinion freely because she felt that it would be fine to share the articles with her father.

A similar tendency of expecting parents to respect their opinions and behaviors was found in the interviewed participants' community volunteering participation. Participants said that their parents were involved in their own volunteering activities but instead of their parents forcing them to participate together, they were encouraged to do their own volunteering. All interview participants except one said that their parents went to Korean church and were highly involved in community volunteering through it. These parental activities influenced their own church-based community volunteering service during their high school years. Danny recalled that while in high school his parents pushed him to volunteer. He said:

My volunteering is through church a lot. I went on mission trips, went to help can food, I helped at a tutoring center things that the church did. I had more free time during my high school, and my mom sort of forced me to do. She is more [the most] religious of the family. So she forced me to do it.

When Danny went to college, the church influence decreased. Although all interview participants said their parents still go to church in the Korean community regularly and volunteer, they seemed to become independent from their parents' influence after becoming college students. Yet, they said their parents would support their volunteering no matter where it was. Anna, whose parents were heavily involved in church activities, explained that her mother supported her volunteering at an organization even though it was against her parents' religious belief. She said

[My parents] encouraged me to do volunteering, 'if you want, do it.' My mom said 'We will help you whatever you want.' When I told them 'I'm volunteering and I didn't have a job' and she had to pay for the gas and everything [for the volunteering], [she said] 'if you want to do it, we will help you, pay for you to do it' ... And [my parents] do not specifically tell you 'do this volunteering'"

These stories show that parents' role in college students' civic engagement was limited to supporting their children's activities. Although they may have been indirectly affected through subliminal socialization, Korean college students were not directly influenced by their parents' particular political or volunteering involvement.

Community Civic Opportunity: Sites for Volunteering but Not for Political Engagement

As described in Chapter IV, during the semi-structured interviews participants revealed that they had volunteering opportunities in their neighborhood, religious, and ethnic communities. One community that is important but was not described previously was college. While attending the university, participants were involved in community services by joining a volunteering club or a program, or taking a class. For example, Anne joined a program called JumpStart in the university and regularly volunteered for 8-12 hours per week. Her goal was to

achieve 300 hours of volunteering before applying for a scholarship. Danny was not a regular volunteer, but one of his major courses required him to volunteer at an elementary school. Two other participants interviewed were involved in a university student association working as officers representing the organization.

Another site that provided volunteering opportunities for Korean immigrant college students was a *hagwon*, which refers to a for-profit private institute, academy, or cram school in Korean language. A *hagwon* is usually for Koreans and some other Asian ethnic origin groups, such as Chinese students, who go there to prepare for the SAT or AP exams individually. Interview participants initially went to the *hagwon* as students in their high school junior or senior year. Then they started tutoring younger students as volunteers. Although *hagwons* have characteristics of a for-profit cram school since students must pay tuition, participants stated that they not only tutored their ethnic community students, but were also regularly involved in donating or helping others through the *hagwon*. For example, David explained, “We also do donations through *hagwon*. Every year, around Christmas, the principal, teachers, and students go to ToysRus together, buy toys and donate them to Children’s hospitals.”

While colleges, *hagwons*, Korean churches, and Korean student associations provided plenty of volunteering opportunities, the participants did not find many opportunities that involved political activities in these communities. Sometimes they gained some information that was related to politics from their friends who were involved in the organizations, but community organizations were not the sites they worked for political activities. For example, Anne learned about DACA issues from colleagues when she was volunteering in a *hagwon*. She became interested in the issue and followed some online news articles, but she did not engage in any political activity within the *hagwon*.

High School Influence: Quality of Social Studies Classes Matters

High schools provided volunteering opportunities for students through various extracurricular activities. Four participants interviewed described volunteer clubs they had been members for two or three years during high school. Through these clubs, they engaged in various local and community volunteering activities, including holding local events, assisting teachers, and tutoring children in local elementary schools. One of the most important reasons to join the club was to make their resumes look better for college entrance applications. When they entered college most of them stopped volunteering through these clubs and found new affiliations, depending on their interest or career plans. This implies that students' volunteering experiences and interests obtained from their high schools might not transfer to their college years.

When the participants interviewed were asked about their motivations for being involved in political activities, the responses related mostly to the social studies classes they took in high school. Most participants took three or four social science courses including general courses and one or two AP or IB courses. However, taking social studies classes involved spending more time to prepare for the exams. David commented that it was normal for some Korean immigrant high school students to take 8 to 12 AP exams, which was especially true for those who attended hagwons. According to Jane, in their junior or senior years, some high school students who attended hagwons sometimes stayed there until midnight for cram courses or online practice tests in class. These long hours of study might help them gain knowledge and memorize important concepts and facts about politics or U.S. history, but did not guarantee active political engagement.

While the number of social studies classes may have little influence over civic engagement of students, the quality of social studies classes seemed to matter. During the semi-

structured interviews, all participants except two stated that their social studies classes provided them with various types of learning activities including projects, discussing current affairs, and debating social issues with their classmates. David described his experience in his AP U.S.

Government class as follows:

Every day the class starts off with current events. Everyone who wanted to would announce what was going on in today's world. We had conversations [about] those things [for] about 10 minutes, we would either do lectures or work on our projects. . . .

Sometimes we had only lectures, but some other days we had debates in that class. You pair with a partner and pick a topic and then you were given two weeks to prepare for the debate. You will debate half of the class in front of everyone. We also had a lot of group projects. One group project I remember was we had to simplify the process of electoral college, so my friend and I made a storybook using Minions. And we took those books and went to an elementary school and then we read it to the kids. That was one of the group projects we did.

Anna and Mary, who were high- or average-active in civic engagement activities at the time of the study, pointed out that social studies classes influenced their involvement most. Anna explicitly stated that her AP U.S. Government classes motivated her to go to a caucus voluntarily during the 2016 U.S. presidential election campaign. She explained:

In AP Gov course, we talked a lot about social issues, too. And I really like that class. It's kind of motivating. He [AP Gov teacher] didn't encourage us to be involved in politics, but he encouraged us to be active and know what's going on. So he talked a lot about what's happening. That was during the 2016 election. So it had a lot going on. We talked a lot about what's happening, how we can be involved, what we can do.

Mary also acknowledged that her AP social studies courses made her knowledgeable of and receptive to political participation. Mary explained how her AP Government and US History courses affected her current active political participation and stance:

To be involved in politics you need to know what's going on, and I think if I never took that [AP Government] class, then I would have never learned what I learned in that class. I kind of understand that so many people have no knowledge of what's going on politically and [in] the government. So they have all these opinions and they wanna do something but they don't know how to do it. And, they just do it their own way but it doesn't make any impacts or [lead] to different directions.

Other participants also shared memorable stories about how they learned about the political process and what kind of opportunities were provided to engage in politics, such as, watching the presidential election process on television in class (Sami), and being encouraged to go to political campaigns for extra credits (David).

Peers and Civic Involvement: I Don't Like to Do Things Alone

For political and volunteering involvement of Korean immigrant youth, having friends who can work on the activities together was very important. Most of the interviewed participants mentioned their friends who joined them in volunteer and political activities. Sometimes, they recruited their friends to join an activity, but other times they followed their friends' suggestions to be involved in an event. For example, both Anna and David went to caucus and campaign events in a group of two or three friends. Having peers also was the first and most important factor when they chose sites or programs for their volunteering activity. In answer to the question why they joined a particular volunteering club or activity, most participants agreed with David that "First of all, my friends were volunteering there."

The importance of peers also was salient for not engaging in some activities. Sami said she did not participate in the women’s march despite her desire to join, because “if I had people who say ‘Oh, we should go together,’ then I would go, but no one around me really went.” Anne said she “probably would go there [any rally] with friends. I don't like to do things alone. This is because sometimes things go violent, so for safety reasons, I wouldn't go there by myself.” For these Korean ancestry college students, peers as partners in civic engagement make them feel like they are in their comfort zone.

The participants interviewed in this study thought that their Korean-ethnic or other Asian friends were not politically-engaged. As Sami comparing her high school White friends and Asian friends, and observed “In general, Asians aren't civically engaged. . . . They don’t go to any marches or protests, not at all.” Anna and David agreed that their Korean ethnic friends were less engaged in politics. When they participated in campaigns, they were not only with Korean ethnic friends but also with friends from other racial groups. As they made more Korean ethnic friends in college and communicated less with their high school friends who used to participate in civic engagements together, their involvement in political activities decreased. However, the interview participants thought that Korean ethnic friends were more likely to be involved in community services.

Summary

Analyses of multiple linear regression with the sequential entry of educational contexts variables—parent involvement, peer involvement, community civic opportunity, and school-related factors (school civic opportunity, social science course taking, best practice experience in social science courses)—revealed that only peer civic involvement significantly influenced the civic engagement of Korean immigrant college students. The participants who were interviewed

mentioned each educational context. Although in their family, participants did not have many political conversations with their parents, they felt their political views were respected at home. Parents' volunteering in their ethnic-religious community was one of the factors that made participants begin volunteering during their high school years, but after they entered college, their parents did not force them to volunteer in church and they let their children choose their own volunteering activities. Besides Korean church and Korean student associations, university clubs and hagwons provided the most volunteering opportunities for participants. However, as descriptive analyses of the survey data revealed, there were not many opportunities for Korean immigrant college students to be involved in political activities in their neighborhood, religious and ethnic communities. During high school, participants were provided extracurricular club activities, but after entering college, the level of volunteering activity of participants declined significantly or in some cases were discontinued entirely. Participants took three or four social studies classes, but taking many classes put an extra academic burden on the students, as they had to prepare and take more exams. Experiencing various pedagogical practices in their social studies classes seemed to positively influence students' civic engagement. For Korean immigrant college students, however, having close friends who were involved in political and community service activities was the most significant influential factor for civic engagement.

Chapter VI. Conceptions of Citizenship, Ethnic Identity, and Civic Engagement

In this chapter, analyses of responses to the third research question—“how do conceptions of citizenship and ethnic identity affect civic engagement?”—are presented. Survey participants’ ideas about good citizens, their primary ethnic identity, and the degree to which ethnic identity has been achieved as derived from descriptive analyses also are presented in this chapter. The results of multiple linear regression analyses which reveal the relationships among conceptions of citizenship, ethnic identity, and civic engagement are summarized. Finally, analyses of semi-structured interviews with nine participants provide possible explanations for the statistical results are included.

Descriptive Findings about Conceptions of Citizenship and Ethnic Identity

Conceptions of citizenship and ethnic identity were measured using a 5-point Likert scale (from 1= Strongly Disagree to 5 = Strongly Agree), and survey respondents were asked to indicate the degree of agreement to each statement provided in the online survey. The descriptive analyses results are provided below.

Conceptions of Citizenship

Three conceptions of citizenship – Personally responsible, participatory, and justice-oriented —were measured with a prompt “To be a good citizen how important is it for a person to...” Table 6.1 shows means and standard deviations of all survey items about conceptions of citizenship and two additional items. Overall, the results revealed that survey respondents agreed the most with the idea of personally responsible citizenship with a mean of 4.25, followed by justice-oriented citizenship ($M = 4.11$), and participatory citizenship ($M = 3.81$). Respondents expressed a greater belief that helping those in need is important to being a good citizen ($M = 4.49$), followed by being kind to other people ($M = 4.39$). Being active in national, state, and

local politics and issues was the least important ($M = 3.63$), followed by being active in voluntary organizations and obeying laws and regulations ($M = 3.88$ for both items) among the nine indicators of the three different types of citizenship. The two items added to the survey showed that respondents least agreed that being patriotic and loyal to a country were important to being a good citizen ($M = 3.27$).

Table 6.1. Means and Standard Deviations of Conceptions of Citizenship

	<i>M</i>	(<i>SD</i>)
<i>Personally-responsible citizen</i>	4.25	(0.52)
Be kind to other people	4.39	(0.67)
Help people in need	4.49	(0.77)
Obey laws and regulations	3.88	(0.85)
<i>Participatory citizen</i>	3.81	(0.62)
Always vote in elections	3.93	(0.83)
Be active in voluntary organizations	3.88	(0.97)
Be active in national, state, and local politics and issues	3.63	(0.83)
<i>Justice-oriented citizen</i>	4.11	(0.57)
Protest bad and injustice law	3.93	(0.83)
Think critically about laws and government	4.19	(0.78)
Challenge inequalities in society	4.22	(0.79)
<i>Others</i>		
Work hard and do one's best	4.34	(0.71)
Be patriotic and loyal to a country	3.27	(1.10)

Ethnic identity

Although all survey participants were Korean ethnic-origin immigrants or children of Korean immigrants, they could have different about levels of attachment or affiliation. Among four different labels –Korean, Korean American, Asian, Asian American—and Other, most respondents self-identified as Korean American (56%), followed by Korean (34%), Asian American (8%) and other (half-Korean half-Caucasian, 2%). Table 6.2 shows the primary ethnic identity regarding participants' immigrant generation. All eight 1st-generation immigrant

respondents reported their primary identity as Korean, but 1.5-generation and second-generation participants preferred to self-identify as Korean American. All five respondents who indicated their primary identity as Asian American were second-generation immigrants.

Table 6.2. Primary Ethnic Identity and Immigrant Generation

<i>Generation</i>	Korean	Korean American	Asian	Asian American	Other	Total
1st gen	8	0	0	0	0	8
1.5 gen	7	10	0	0	1	18
2nd gen	5	23	0	5	0	33
Total	20 (34%)	33 (56%)	0 (0%)	5 (8%)	1 (2%)	59 (100%)

Table 6.3. Ethnic Identity Achievement of the Selected Primary Identity

	<i>M</i>	<i>(SD)</i>
I feel a strong attachment towards [the selected ethnic identity].	4.44	(0.84)
I have a strong sense of belonging.	4.34	(0.90)
I understand pretty well its membership means to me.	4.20	(1.05)
I have often done things that will help me understand ethnic identity background better.	4.12	(0.79)
I have spent time to find out more about [the selected ethnic identity], such as its history, traditions, and customs.	4.22	(0.83)
I have often talked to other people in order to learn more about the ethnic identity group.	3.90	(1.06)
Total	4.20	(0.65)

The degree to which the selected primary ethnic identity has been achieved was measured by using six items of the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure-Revised (MEIM-R) developed by Phinney and Ong (2007). Means and deviations for each item are presented in Table 6.3. The data revealed that respondents have achieved their selected primary ethnic identity at a high level with a mean of 4.20. Respondents agreed least with the statement that they often talk to other

people to learn more about their ethnic identity group ($M = 3.90$). The remaining items had means over 4.

Multiple Linear Regression Findings

Multiple linear regression analyses with sequential entry were conducted to examine the influence of conceptions of citizenship and ethnic identity on civic engagement. Preliminary relationships among variables are discussed, followed by the results of these analyses.

Correlations

The zero-order correlations among dependent and independent variables are presented in Table 6.4. These analyses revealed that civic engagement correlated with participatory citizenship and social justice-oriented citizenship, with $r_s = 0.34, 0.41$, both $p < 0.01$. Ethnic identity also significantly correlated with the dependent variable, with $r = 0.29, p < 0.05$.

Additionally, some X-X predictor – predictor relationships were found among the three types of citizenship. Personally responsible citizenship and participatory citizenship were correlated, with $r = 0.34, p < 0.01$. Participatory citizenship also correlated with social justice citizenship, with $r = 0.53, p < 0.01$. These findings indicate that the three citizenships are not exclusively distinguished but could be correlated with each other. However, there were no significant correlations between any type of citizenship and ethnic identity. Since the correlations among X-X predictor-predictor were far less than $\pm.90$, they did not have a multicollinearity problem for conducting a multiple linear regression analysis.

Table 6.4. Descriptive Statistics and Zero-Order Correlations among Civic Engagement, Conceptions of Citizenship, and Ethnic Identity

Measure	<i>M</i>	(<i>SD</i>)	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
<i>Outcomes</i>							
1. Civic Engagement	5.93	(4.41)	--				
<i>Block 1 Predictors</i>							
2. Personally Responsible Citizenship	4.25	(0.52)	-.06	--			
<i>Block 2 Predictors</i>							
3. Participatory Citizenship	3.81	(0.62)	.34 **	.34 **	--		
<i>Block 3 Predictors</i>							
4. Social Justice Citizenship	4.11	(0.57)	.41 **	.06	.53 **	--	
<i>Block 4 Predictors</i>							
5. Ethnic Identity	4.20	(0.65)	.29 *	.15	.05	.21	--

Note. *N*=59. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Regression Models

Multiple linear regression with sequential predictor entry was used to test the incremental variance in civic engagement accounted by each of the respective predictors. Table 6.5 shows the complete results. In Block 1, the personally responsible citizenship predictor did not account for significant variation in civic engagement, $R^2 = 0.00$, $F(1, 57) = 0.225$, $p > 0.05$. In Block 2, participatory citizenship accounted for 15% of variation in civic engagement, after controlling all other variables, $F_{\text{change}}(1, 56) = 9.752$, $R^2_{\text{adjusted}} = 0.12$, $p = 0.003$. Block 3, which included social justice-oriented citizenship, was not significant, with $R^2_{\text{change}} = 0.06$, $F_{\text{change}}(1, 55) = 4.016$, $p = 0.050$. In Block 4, ethnic identity accounted for 7% of variation in civic engagement, $R^2_{\text{change}} = 0.07$, $F_{\text{change}}(1, 54) = 4.845$, $p = 0.032$.

In the final model (with all predictors entered), the mean predicting civic engagement for Korean college students with average levels of personally responsible citizenship, participatory citizenship, social justice-oriented citizenship, and ethnic identity was estimated to be involved

in $b = 5.93$ activities ($SE = 0.51$), $t(54) = 11.71$, $p < 0.001$. Among predictors entered, only ethnic identity uniquely predicted civic engagement, $b = 1.17$, $SE = 0.53$, $t(54) = 2.20$, $p = 0.032$, $sr^2 = 0.07$, holding all other variables constant. This indicates that for every standard deviation increase on ethnic identity, there was an expected increase of 1.17 activity on civic engagement. The other variables were not uniquely predictive of civic engagement. Personally responsible citizenship was predictive in a negative direction, $b = -0.94$, $SE = 0.56$, $t(54) = -1.678$, $p = 0.099$. Participatory citizenship was positively predictive of civic engagement holding all other variables constant, $b = 0.127$, $SE = 0.65$, $t(54) = 1.95$, $p = 0.226$. Social justice-oriented citizenship was positively predictive of civic engagement with $b = 0.92$, $SE = 0.63$, $t(54) = 1.47$, but it did not uniquely predict with $p = 0.170$.

Two other findings are worthy of note. First, participatory citizenship that was significant in Block 2 was not significant in Block 3 (when social justice-oriented citizenship was added) and Block 4 (when ethnic identity was added). This result could be because of the correlation between participatory citizenship and social justice-oriented citizenship ($r = 0.53$). It requires further investigation of the relationship among these three types of citizenship. Second, results from the multiple regression analyses revealed that among conceptions of citizenship and ethnic identity predictors, only ethnic identity positively influence civic engagement of Korean immigrant college students (effect size of $sr^2 = 0.07$). These findings suggest that further examination is needed to better understand why ethnic identity affects civic engagement but citizenship conceptions do not in the final model. Qualitative findings provide possible explanations for these quantitative results.

Table 6.5. Multiple Regression Model with Sequential Predictor Entry: Conceptions Citizenship and Ethnic Identity on Civic Engagement

	Block 1					Block 2					Block 3					Block 4				
	R^2_{change}	R^2_{total}	R^2_{adj}	b	sr^2	R^2_{change}	R^2_{total}	R^2_{adj}	b	sr^2	R^2_{change}	R^2_{total}	R^2_{adj}	b	sr^2	R^2_{change}	R^2_{total}	R^2_{adj}	b	sr^2
<i>Model Fit</i>	0.00	0.00	-0.01			0.15 **	0.15 *	0.12			0.06	0.21 **	0.17			0.07 *	0.27 **	0.22		
<i>Coefficients</i>																				
Intercept				5.93 ***					5.93 ***					5.93 ***					5.93 ***	
Personally Responsible				-0.28	0.00				-0.89	0.04				-0.72	0.02				-0.94	0.04
Participatory Citizenship									1.80 **	0.15				1.08	0.04				1.27	0.05
Social Justice Citizenship														1.26	0.06				0.92	0.03
Ethnic Identity																			1.17 *	0.07

Note. $N=59$. Block 1 F -change test $df = 1, 57$; Block 2 $df = 1, 56$; Block 3 $df = 1, 55$; Block 4 $df = 3, 54$. Three types of conceptions of citizenship and ethnic identity were standardized ($M = 1, SD = 0$). Civic engagement = total number of electoral, political voice, and volunteering and community service activities participants were involved in (raw value).

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Qualitative Findings on Conceptions of Citizenship

Quantitative analyses revealed that Korean immigrant respondents agreed with ideas of personally responsible citizenship the most but only participatory citizenship significantly influenced their involvement in civic activities. However, when ethnic identity was entered in the model, the effect of participatory citizenship disappeared. Findings from semi-structured interviews conducted with using photo elicitation and card ordering strategies provided possible explanations for these findings.

Recognizing Social Justice Using Different Techniques

Each of the nine participants interviewed described their ideas about good citizenship differently. They used various words when they were asked to complete a sentence starting with, “A good citizen is someone who...”, and they provided different explanations for why they chose a particular visual image from four as representing a good citizen. When they were asked to arrange sticky notes that included characteristics of a citizen in order of importance (from most important to the least), no one produced the same arrangement.

Despite these differences, the interviews revealed that all participants believed in working for equity and social justice and actively participating in society as important elements of being good citizens. When participants were asked to arrange sticky notes in order of importance, they were provided a sheet of paper to throw away non-essential features of a good citizen. No one disposed the sticky notes that represented participatory citizenship and justice-oriented citizenship. These were: always vote in elections; be active in national, state, and local politics and issues; and be active in voluntary organizations; challenge inequalities in society; protest bad and injustice law; and think critically about laws and government.

Participants had different ideas about personally-responsible citizenship. Five participants interviewed stated that good citizens were distinguished from good people. Both Anna and Sami threw away the sticky note of “help people in need” in the trash sheet. Explaining the reason of putting it in the trash sheet, Anna (See Figure 6.1) said:

When you say citizen, I feel that means more directly related to the government, 'cause you can say a good citizen is someone kind, who [has] this kind of quality, but I would say that's more being a good person. I would make that distinction between a citizen and a person. If someone asked me, somebody who's involved in the community participates in government. I wouldn't really add the qualities of being a good person because it's two separate things.

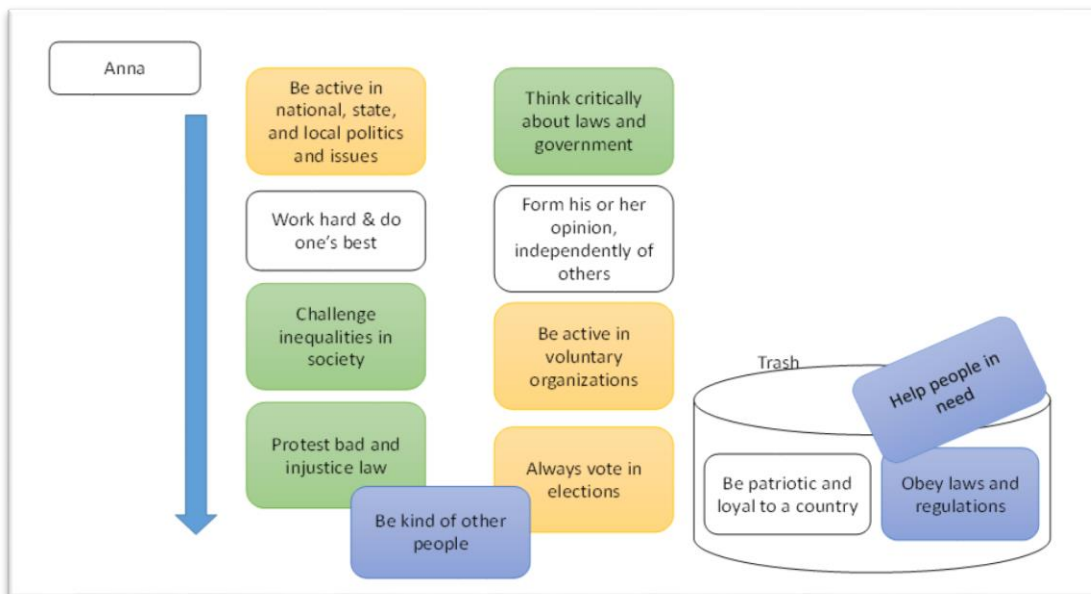


Figure 6.1. Anna's Sheet on Conceptions of Citizenship

Jon, Mary, and Danny had similar ideas that characteristics of a good citizen are different from those of a good and moral person. Although they did not discard the sticky notes of personally-responsible citizenship, they placed them at a lower rank in order. The main reason was their

belief that helping people or being kind to others have limited influences in society. Jon explained his sticky card arrangement (See Figure 6.2) by saying that

These three [help people in need, be active in voluntary organizations, be kind to other people] are kind of lower level of help, but [only] a small number of people are doing [these] great things. I think good citizens talk or should be changed at the bigger level. You need to help people rather than just help a couple of people at a time.

Mary used an example to explain a similar idea (See Figure 6.3). She stated:

It's [helping others] good. But instead of trying to buy every homeless person food, ... it is so dependent on you individual, versus if you vote to systematically help those people, then everyone has access to that. It's good but the effects are so little.

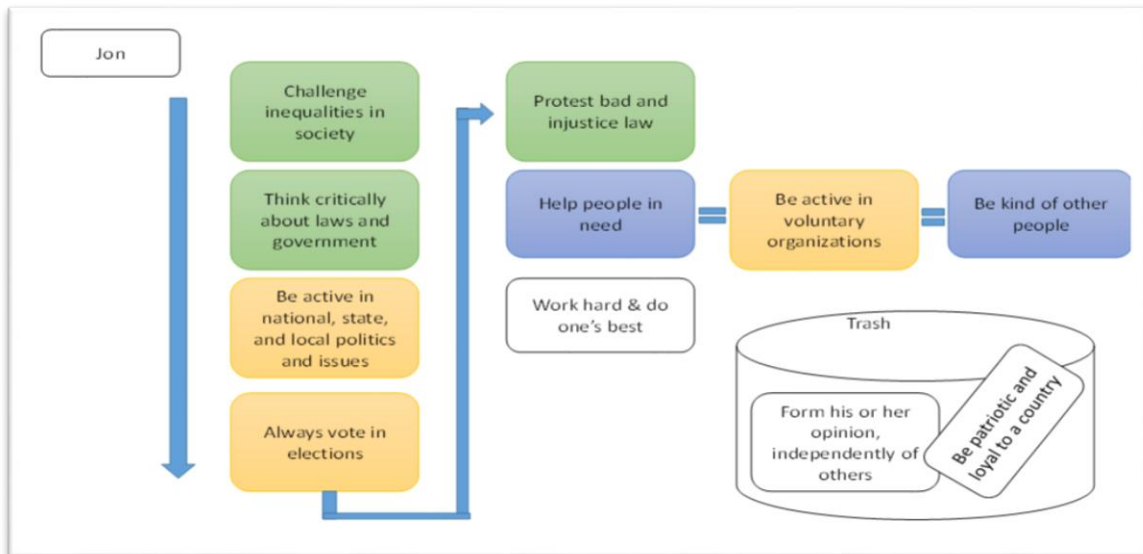


Figure 6.2. Jon's Sheet on Conceptions of Citizenship

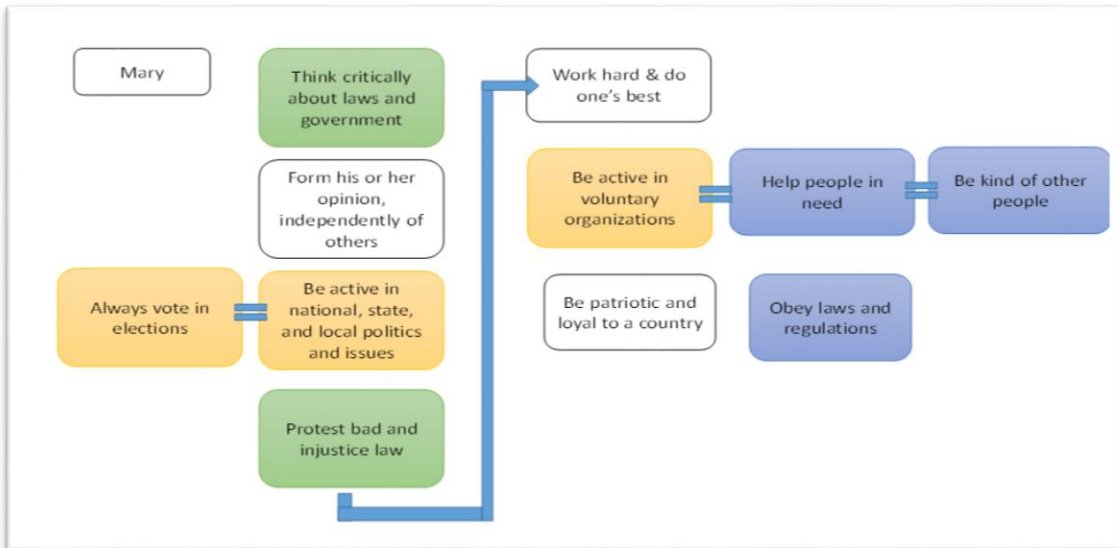


Figure 6.3. Mary's Sheet on Conceptions of Citizenship

For these participants, being kind to others and helping people was not a good way to achieve social justice and equity. They claimed that active participation in politics and voting would be the best way to make society better. Danny explained that:

Voting is the most important because voting changes things. It changes people [who are] in charge, and who is making policies, so if you want something to be changed, then you should vote. ... If you protest, if you challenge inequalities, and if you [want to be] active [in national, state, and local politics], then you should do vote. If you don't vote, then your effort would be kind of a waste.

Conversely, four interview participants who put the cards that contained ideas of personally responsible citizenship in the higher rank stated that actions like helping others impact people's lives directly leading to changes in society. Rebecca said that "If you believe that homeless people have rights then you actually act it out." Another participant, Jane, compared

actions between helping others and protesting/ voting, and was skeptical about activities related to participatory citizenship and social justice-oriented citizenship (See Figure 6.4). She argued:

Personally, I would say these two [Helping others and working hard] are most important. ... I think people are just like, talk too much and say they fight for something, but they don't do anything about it. For me, just action will make a change, but American [White] people, they think they just sit down, [think], and make a change. [I think] action is more important. This [helping others] is an action, but they're just holding a sign, and arguing, that's it. If you wanna be a good citizen, yes, okay, you can argue, but what are you gonna do about it?

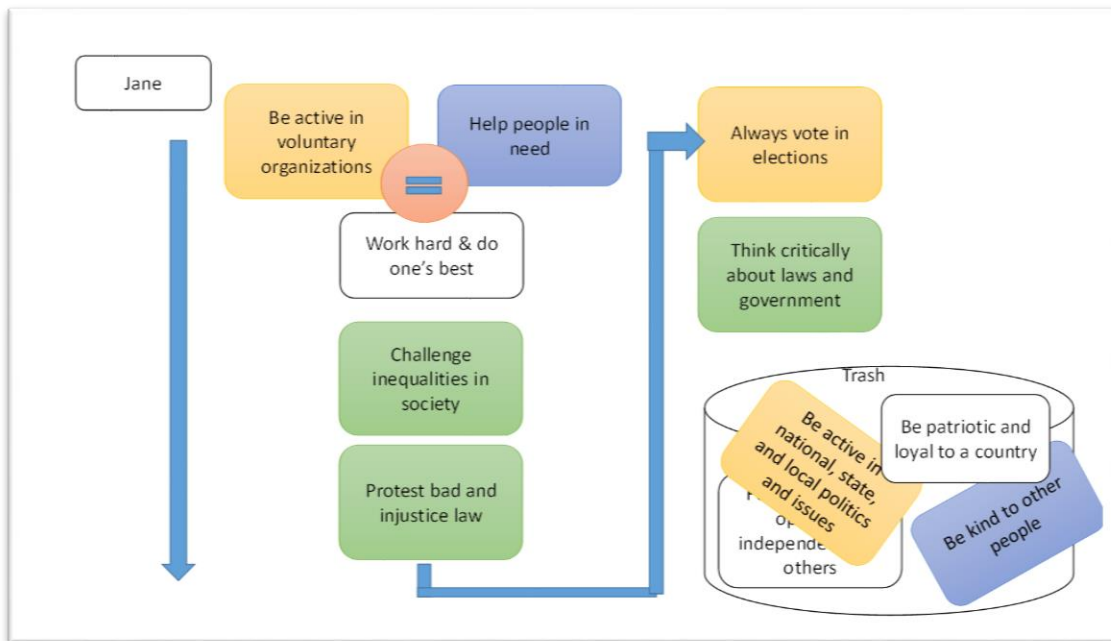


Figure 6.4. Jane's Sheet on Conceptions of Citizenship

Similarly, for Anne, who joined a volunteering program and had volunteered over 150 hours in her first year in the college, said that good citizens are people who help others (See Figure 6.5).

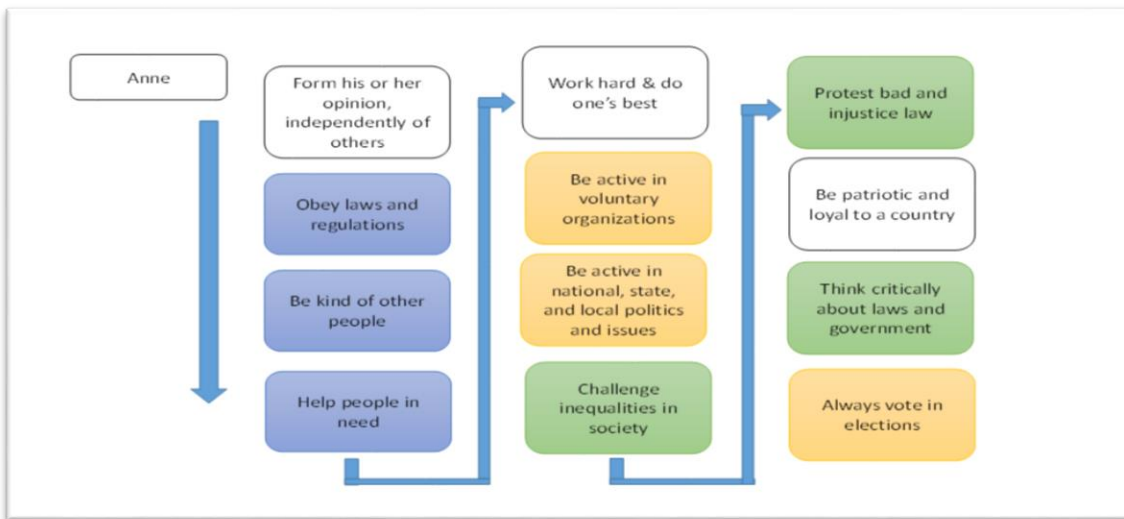


Figure 6.5. Anne's Sheet on Conceptions of Citizenship

According to her, participating in voting and protests are actions that people are only intermittently engaged in, but helping others and being kind to others are everyday basics to being a good citizen. Although she recognized the importance of pursuing social justice, equity, and participation in politics, helping others was a good way to being a good citizen nationally and globally. Anne explained this, as follows:

I believe that [being] citizen is fighting for others but I believe that good citizen is not just in the U.S. but other countries and nations and places. And there's always some people who need help and there's always gonna be. There's always someone superior and someone under, like high income and lower income, so no matter who you are, being able to help others is what I think is important and it shows good citizenship and also shows good morals and a good person ... A lot of these [activities in the first column] are the

everyday basics things you see, every day you should be kind and obey laws but everyday you don't have to vote, you don't have to be loyal to a country. This [the third column] could be bigger than obeying the law, but in the long run you would do this more [the first column] than this [the third column].

These two cases indicate that these Korean immigrant college students considered justice-oriented citizenship as foundational values, but they put more emphasis on actualizing them through either personally responsible citizenship or participatory citizenship. In both cases, justice-oriented citizenship may not directly lead participants to be actively engaged in civic involvement activities.

Variations of Conceptions of Citizenship

Two interesting commonalities found of note among the arrangement cards about conceptions of citizenship. The first one was that participants located “obey law and regulations” and “be patriotic and loyal to a country” close to each other, mostly at the lowest rank of importance. These two traits were sometimes discarded in the trash sheet (Anna in Figure 6.1 and Rebecca in Figure 6.6) or were located at the lowest rank (Mary in Figure 6.3) among the features of a citizen. They did not think these two characteristics inherently bad but could create a negative impact on society. Explaining why she put being patriotic in the trash sheet, Anna said:

These [being patriotic and obeying laws and regulations] are not necessarily bad things but I would not say because you're patriotic you are a good citizen. ... In my opinion, being a good citizen is somebody [working to make] the country better. But when you are patriotic and loyal and you just follow laws then you would not see the bad sides.

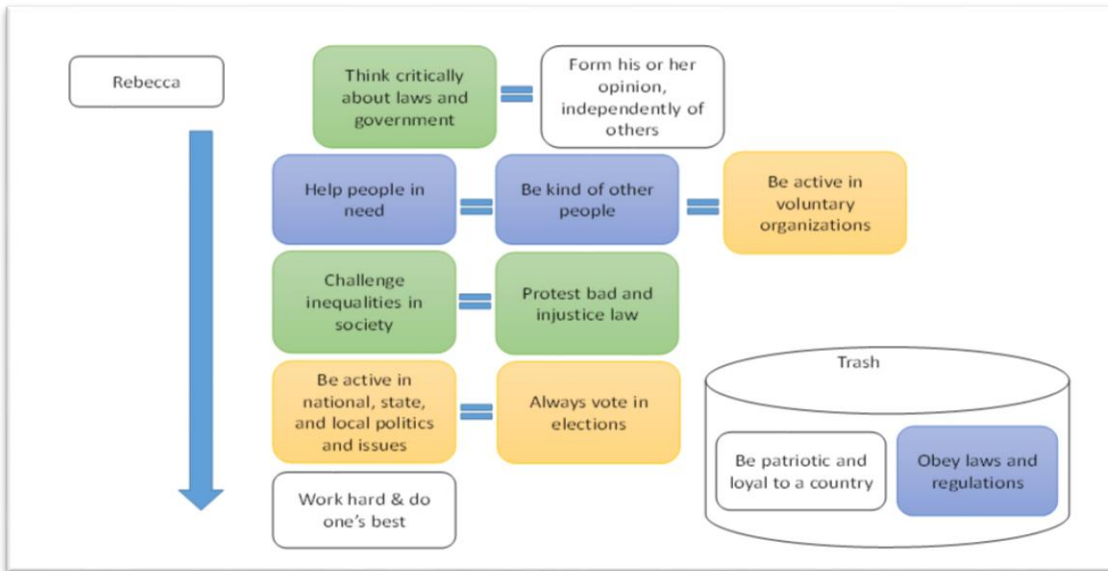


Figure 6.6. Rebecca's Sheet on Conceptions of Citizenship

Another interesting categorization made by the participants was that being active in voluntary organizations was usually signaled with sticky notes representing personally responsible citizenship, such as helping people in need and being kind to others, not participatory citizenship as categorized in Westheimer and Kahne (2004). Rebecca, Mary, Jon, and Jane thought these three had similar meanings. These variations of conceptions of citizenship may affect their interactions with civic engagement.

Disparity between Ideal Citizen and Self

When interview participants were asked to describe their ideas of good citizenship by completing a sentence starting with “A good citizen is someone who...”, selecting a photo of four different types of citizens, and placing the sticky notes in order, most of them did not hesitate to do the exercises. When asked to reflect on the interviews and exercises, they said the interviews were not difficult and they could quickly organize their beliefs about good citizenship.

This may imply that most of the participants had already had a clear idea of a good citizen before the interview was conducted.

Participants' own ideas on good citizenship, however, did not seem to be linked to their civic engagement. When asked whether they were personally close to the ideal good citizen they described during the interview, most of them answered that they were not. The obstacles identified included lack of resources such as time and money, and their status as students. Anna, who was the most involved in various civic engagement activities during the past one year, said:

[If] I try harder, I know I would've been more involved in things. Being more supportive, talking to people more about politics, that's what I'm doing [now] even though I don't be like young democrats. Because I'm out of time and I'm not sure how I would like to do, so I'm putting off. But I'd like to be more active in political stuff or social issues [later].

Adding to this, Sami addressed her citizenship status as a non-U.S. citizen. For her, finding a good job and getting an immigrant visa were prerequisites to becoming a good citizen. She explained that:

I don't value being a good citizen; not my priority in my life. I don't really care. Probably never. Maybe in the future, if I have more resources and time and then I can vote. If I were given voting privilege then I would be more inclined ... and I would have an incentive to purposely do my actions more. The citizenship status impacts more than I think.

Qualitative Findings on Ethnic Identity and Civic Engagement

The quantitative analyses indicated that the achieved ethnic identity positively influenced civic engagement, but conceptions of citizenship did not work in the complete model. Semi-

structured interviews and observations were conducted to further explore this finding. The results provided descriptions of how Korean immigrants identify themselves and how their ethnic identity affects civic engagement.

I am Korean American, but I am involved in American Things More

When asked to identify their race or ethnicity, six interview participants chose ‘Korean American’ as their primary identity. Additionally, in the card-order exercise with various ethnicity-related labels—Korean American, Korean, American, Asian, Asian American, immigrant, Korean immigrant—, they placed the Korean American card at the highest rank order. Four interviewees were born in the United States—Anna, Anne, Jon, and Jane— and two—Danny and Sami—were born in South Korea and had moved to the U.S. at an early age.

For these participants, “Korean” in “Korean American” signified Korean culture and ethnic origin. For example, Anna said “About ‘Korea’, I would say it's more Korean culture. Even though I don't live in Korea, I still feel attached [to Korean culture] as a Korean American.” Her rank order is presented in Figure 6.7. In explaining his ranking (Figure 6.8), Danny interpreted “Korean” as Korean culture, and he thought “Korean” and “Korean American” meant the same thing.

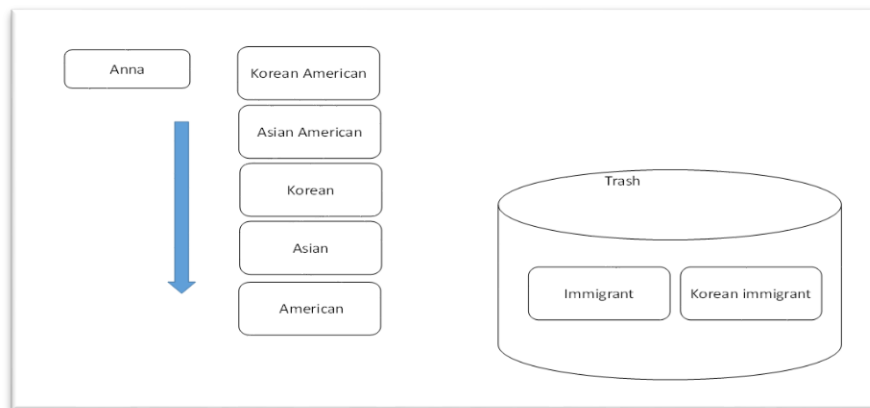


Figure 6.7. Anna's ethnic identity

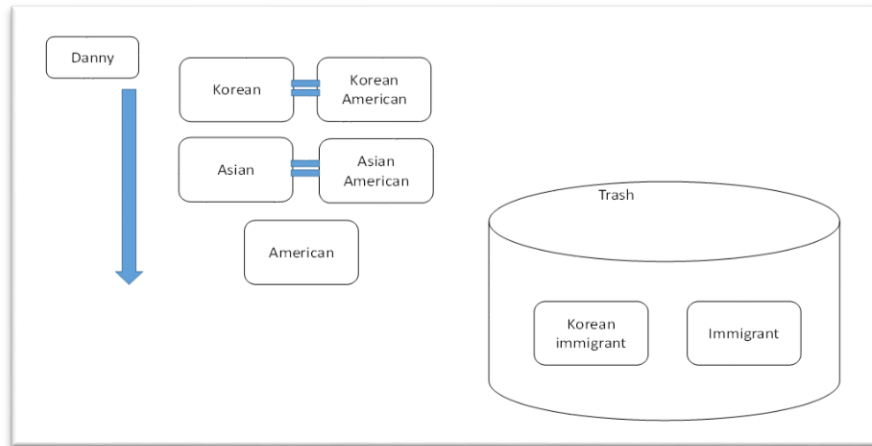


Figure 6.8. Danny's Ethnic Identity

The participants interviewed stated that “American” represented their nationality or legal citizenship, but they did not have a close identity with it. For them, Americans meant Whites; or Whites and Blacks.’ As Jane explained:

Researcher: How do you identify your race or ethnicity?

Jane: Korean American. But sometimes I tell people I'm just Korean cause sometimes I don't like being considered American. When I talk to people, I say ‘Korean American’ because I'm an American citizen but I'm Korean. That's what I tell people ... And when I say I'm American, it's because I'm an American citizen and because it sounds better than Korean, cause a lot of Korean people they think America is so good. So 'ya, I'm American.' But I don't really consider myself American. I'm not involved in American society and I don't think I'm American.

Researcher: Then who is involved in American society?

Jane: American people?

Researcher: Who are American people?

Jane: White people. I would say White and Black people. Other than White and Black people. Latinos, Filipinos, other races, they're very, like me, there is a lot of pride in their ethnicity.

Similarly, Danny emphasized his American identity the least. He stated, "I don't consider American to be my biggest identity because I guess I grew up thinking Americans are Whites. The American identity just didn't stick with me."

Despite their strong self-identification as a Korean American, the participants did not participate in many political activities related to their claimed identity. This was because they thought there were not many political or social issues about Korean Americans. Anna reasoned that the limited political participation "was just mainly because we [Korean Americans] didn't have really anything [problematic], for specifically Asian Americans or even Korean Americans." Some other participants pointed out that Asian and Korean cultures cultivated low participation in political activities. Jane pointed out that, "Korean Americans and Koreans, ... sometimes feel ashamed actually to go out and strike something. ... Even in pictures, if you see, strikes, movements, there's no Korean or Korean Americans usually. Or Asians in general." For others, participating in political activities was considered as an "American thing," or related to American identity. Specifically, voting in elections was considered as an activity related to American citizenship, not their Korean American' identity.

Rather, ethnic identity as Korean American was linked more to volunteering. As addressed in Chapter IV, many of the participants were involved in volunteering activities through Korean student association on campus, Korean churches, or hagwons where mostly Korean Americans or Koreans attended. These volunteering were closely related to their ethnic identity as Korean Americans. While some participants limited their volunteering time with

“American organizations,” they were conversely increasing or maintaining their involvement levels in these Korean-based organizations. Both Anna and Anne stated that they would reduce the time for volunteering through other organizations or their involvement with clubs but keep joining and volunteering with the Korean Student Association on campus. For them, the Korean student organization provided convenience and cultural familiarity, which encouraged them to continue their involvement. While the involvement itself was through the Korean ethnic community, the benefactors were people in the broad U.S. society. This meant, they did not have to be limited to one identity, either Korean or American. Instead, they could learn and develop both their Korean and American identities through this involvement. Anna, who was highly involved in “American” organizations declared that “I was raised in [a predominantly White environmnet] when I was growing up, [but I] have gotten more Korean as I join KSA [Korean Student Association]”

Sometimes Korean American identity involved dealing with subtle discrimination. Volunteering was a way to deal with. For Jane, volunteering at public schools in the local area was a good strategy to compete with other Americans in future career opportunities. She said,

Jane: After high school, you don't need to volunteer, you don't have to. It's not required.

Researcher: But are you still doing volunteering?

Jane: Cause I'm Korean. Koreans wanna [be] better than everyone else. Smarter, they wanna be more advanced. Volunteering helps their resume. ... they wanna be at the top, that's why when you see their test scores, standardized test. ... On the resume, and they wanna say 'Oh, I did this, I did this.'

Researcher: Then is that the same reason that you're doing volunteering?

Jane: I think so. But not [for putting] on the resume, but more like, I wanna be like, if I were on an interview for a job, they would wanna see, If there was a White person and it was me, I want them to know that I did more than this person. And also because Asians especially in education, White people might get more jobs than I would do. They just have more opportunity to get a job.

Considering this competition, her volunteering should not be just within her ethnic community, like tutoring at a hagwon where she had mostly volunteered, but it should be expanded to the broader community. She considered this involvement as ‘doing American things.’

I Am Not An Immigrant ...

Another frequent topic of discussion of the interview participants was immigrants. This was not because they identified themselves as immigrants. Instead, they thought they were not included in the immigrant category. During the identity sorting exercise they put ‘immigrant’ or ‘Korean immigrant’ identity cards into the trash category (For example, see Figure 6.7 of Anna and Figure 6.8 for Danny) or in the lower rank order, as Sami did (Figure 6.9). The former responses were from participants who were born in the U.S., and the latter (Sami and Danny) were those who came to the U.S. at their early ages.

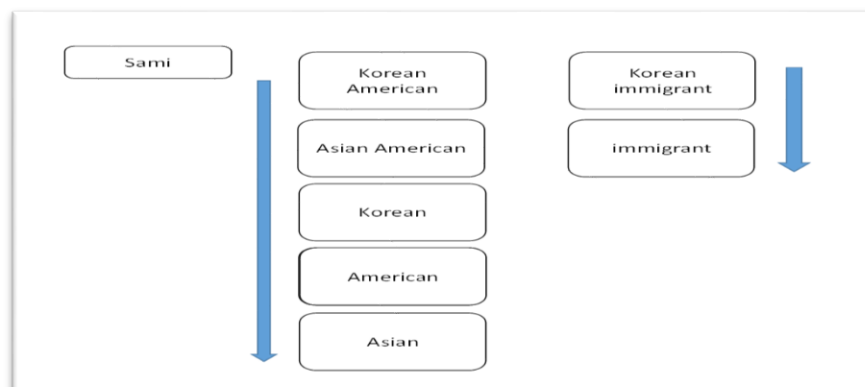


Figure 6.9. Sami's Ethnic Identity

Although these participants did not consider themselves immigrants, their parents were ‘immigrants,’ and therefore they felt they understood immigrant experience. This understanding made them pay more attention to social and political issues related to immigrants, and feel more attached to immigrant-related volunteering activities. For example, Jane discarded the “immigrant” card in the trash, but she kept “Korean immigrant” card and explained that it represented her history. In choosing activities related to her identity, she included, “[participating online petition for] DACA. It’s not related to me, but cause I know people who are immigrants.” She also chose a Headstart program-related volunteering experience in a kindergarten as a most meaningful experience and linked it to her family immigrant story. Her explanation for these choices was:

A lot of Headstart students are also immigrant students. Mostly from Mexican. And especially that race and ethnicity. Their parents are so busy working. So I think it's a lot of focus on them in Headstart. And African American kids' too. ... [When] I was in preschool, I feel like I didn't have that attention. My parents were busy. My mom was a stay at home mom, but she didn't know how to speak English, so whenever I was at home, I couldn't practice my English. And I didn't have any friends. I didn't have anyone to actually practice with, so going to preschool was super difficult. So I think Headstart is important.

Connecting his most memorable volunteering experience during the past year to his identity, Jon also addressed “immigrants.” He said,

I was born here so I don't see myself as an immigrant at all ... I personally don't identify [myself] as an immigrant, but my mom is obviously an immigrant. I think I understand what that might be like; the struggles that [one] can go through especially kids of

immigrant parents. That's so familiar to me. I remember [I did] translation for my mom going a school. ... I think so many children of immigrant family experience that. So something like Love R [volunteering event name], I see these families and I think I understand what challenges they might have, and what they might be going through.

Civic Engagement Connected to Ethnic Identity

Some participants interviewed did not consider themselves as Korean American. Three participants identified differently. Mary, who was born on Guam, made a new identity card for “Korean Guamanian” (See Figure 6.10); Rebecca who had a Korean ethnic-origin mother and White father created two new cards for “Mixed/Multiracial” and “Korean Caucasian” (See Figure 6.11). David made a new term “SOB (Stale Off Boat)” and used it to describe his identity with other two cards, Korean and Asian (See Figure 6.12).

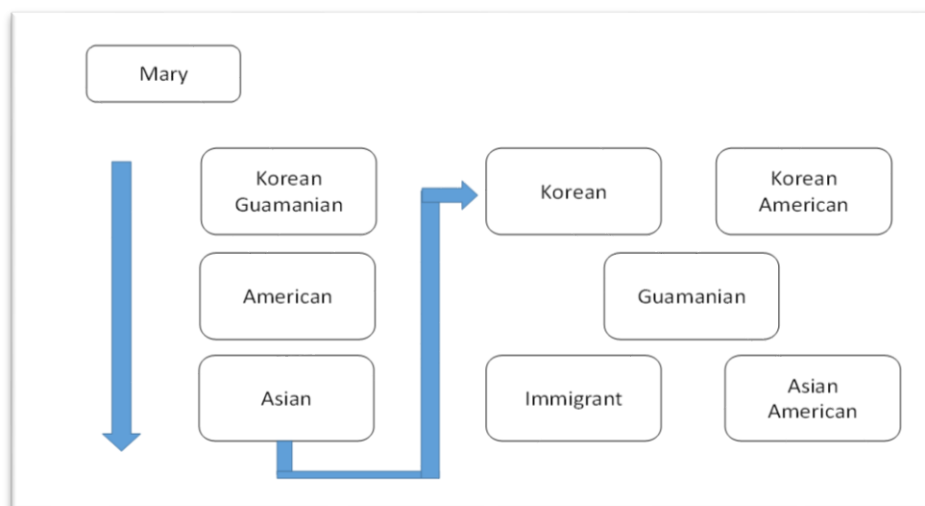


Figure 6.10. Mary's Ethnic Identity

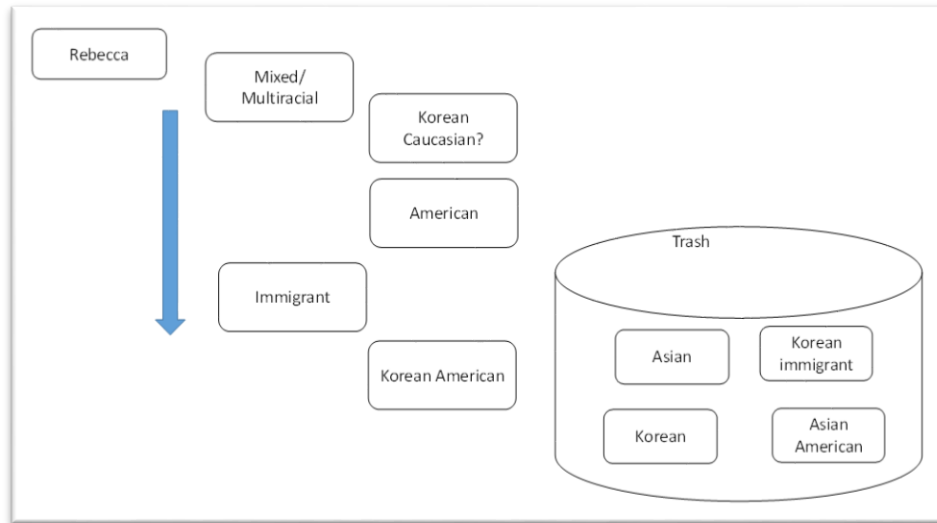


Figure 6.11. Rebecca's Ethnic Identity

A common theme that emerged from the interviews with these three participants was being involved in activities that connected to their primary identities. In explaining her ethnic identity as Korean Guamanian, Mary said:

I personally think I'm not in any category since there aren't many Koreans born on Guam. A lot of Koreans [are] born in the U.S. California or in South Korea, but not a lot of people born on Gaum, ... I'm very heavily influenced by Korean culture through Korean communities on Guam and here and everywhere. But at the same time, my peers and schools I've been to any other life events were pretty American. But, the mainland U.S. was different from Guam. The culture is kind of different, and the culture was influenced by the Philippines, a lot of Filipino food, rather than other areas here, so I may put Korean Guamanian, but I don't wanna put American [after the word Guamanian].

Unlike her friends on Guam, she was able to participate in voting in the presidential election since she moved to the U.S. mainland. Gaining voting rights for the people who live in the U.S.

territories was an important issue for her. She watched a television show discussing this issue, talked about it with her friends on Guam, and posted some articles on her social media. Her political activities reflected her ethnic identity as Korean Guamanian.

David also was involved in political activities related to his ethnic self-identity. He did not consider himself either “fully Korean (usually considered as FOB; Fresh off Boat)” or “fully Korean American”(See Figure 6.12). This “in-between identity” status caused him to participate in certain political activities. For example, during the 2016 presidential election campaigns, David searched for information about candidates and visited campaign booths. He explained as follows:

Researcher: What would I see you [doing] in the campaign booth?

David: Maybe entering the room, shaking hands with people, and talking with them [about] this and that, and asking why they support the candidate, and what the candidates can do for me, how can the candidate improve my status, I tell them my [non-citizenship] status, too.

Researcher: What made you visit the booth?

David: I think it's similar to watching a television food show. I cannot eat it [the delicious foods], but people are satisfied with it by watching the show. Even though I can't vote, still if it's a candidate I like, someone's campaigning I support, of course, you want them to be elected. I just wanted to follow up on what was going on to see if I was getting what I wanted. And if the person who I support made it, then it would be good. Even though I wasn't there to vote, his or her policies are still gonna affect me. And the politics were the ones that I approved and that I liked, or that I wanted to happen. Then it's nice to see that they're getting the attention that they deserve.

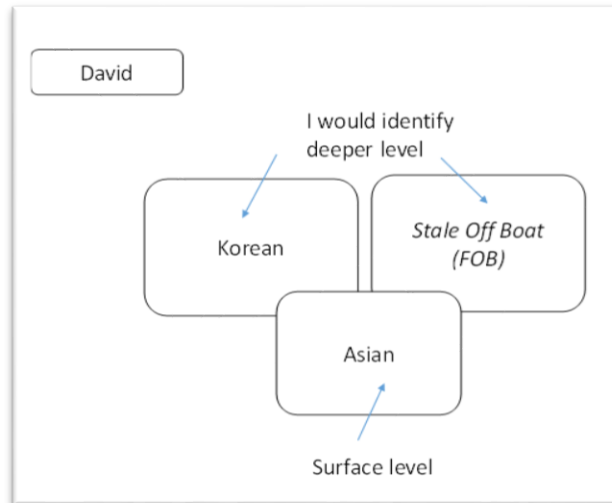


Figure 6.12. David's Ethnic Identity

Although Rebecca self-identified as Mixed/Multiracial and Korean Caucasian, she was more comfortable with her Asian or Korean ethnicity. She was the only interview participant who used the Korean language throughout the entire interviews. When she referred to her friends, she used the Korean word “Woori.” These behaviors indicate her membership in and affiliation with Korean or Asian groups, like “We Koreans [Woori Korean Chin-gu (in Korean)]” or “We Asians [Woori Asian Chin-gu (in Korean)].” However, when she described her White friends, she did not add the word ‘Woori.’ She joined an Asian American Christian club on campus and spent three to four hours every week. Her volunteering through this organization reflected her strong emphasis on Asian ancestry ethnic identity.

Summary

Results from quantitative data analyses showed the influence of conceptions of citizenship and ethnic identity of Korean immigrant college students. Survey participants agreed with items of personally-responsible citizenship the most, but multiple linear regression analyses revealed that only participatory citizenship influenced civic engagement. When ethnic identity

was included in the analyses, the effect of participatory citizenship disappeared, and instead, ethnic identity had a stronger effect on civic engagement. The semi-structured interviews with three different elicitation strategies provided some possible explanations for the quantitative findings. The participants interviewed thought that fighting for social justice and equity was important but it was debatable about what were the best techniques to use. Some agree with the actions of participatory citizenship but others preferred personally-responsible citizenship. Additionally, variations different from previous scholarship on conceptions of citizenship emerged. Finally, interview participants had strong feeling about what would be a good citizen. But, most were postponing actively engaging in the political and volunteering activities they considered imperative for the ideal good citizen.

While conceptions of citizenship did not link directly to civic engagement, qualitative data revealed that ethnic identity was reflected in civic engagement. Korean American identity made participants engage in Korean ethnic-related organizations and motivated them to volunteer. Not many participants identified themselves as immigrants, but they expressed interest in immigrant-related politics and volunteering opportunities. Even though interview participants had different ideas about their ethnic self-identity, there was a strong connection between it and their civic engagement activities.

Chapter VII. Summary, Discussion, and Recommendations

In this chapter, a summary of the study is presented followed by the discussion of findings from Chapter Four to Chapter Six. The significance of the study and some limitations are discussed as well. In the last section, some recommendations for future research are suggested. This chapter ends with some ideas for educators and researchers to consider in developing multicultural citizenship education for immigrants students.

Summary

As one of the largest Asian-origin immigrant groups in the U.S., Korean immigrants have received scholarly attention for their high educational attainment, cultural preservation, and successful socioeconomic adaptation. While previous generations of Korean immigrants have been depicted as a model ethnic minority group in the U.S., younger Korean immigrants are reported to experience inner struggles over how to maintain their Korean ethnic, cultural, and national identities, and how to integrate them. These dilemmas raise questions about how Korean immigrant youth would grow as active citizens in the U.S. and actually participate in various civic engagement activities.

Using an ecological model of human development, conceptions of citizenship, and ethnic identity development, this study examined the current status of civic engagement of young Korean immigrants, and associated educational contexts and identity-related factors of their engagement. The specific educational contexts examined were parent and peer influences, community civic engagement opportunities, and school civic learning opportunities. Three conceptions of citizenship—personally-responsible, participatory, and justice-oriented—and ethnic identity were examined as important contributing factors to civic engagement.

This study occurred on two university campuses that were located in the Pacific Northwest area of the U.S. Methodologically, it used an explanatory mixed-methods design, including an online survey, follow-up qualitative interviews, and observations. Among the sample of 59 participants who completed an online survey, nine were selected for semi-structured interviews. Various types of civic engagement activities and demographic characteristics such as U.S. levels of citizenship, gender, and immigrant generation were considered in recruiting interview participants. The online survey data were analyzed by using descriptive statistics, zero-order correlations, and multiple linear regression analyses with sequential predictor entry. The qualitative data collected from semi-structured interviews with elicitation techniques and observations were processed through three phases of within-case analyses, cross-case analyses, and focused coding across the entire data set. The quantitative data and qualitative data were converged and displayed together to link qualitative themes to quantitative results for purposes of explanation.

Findings revealed different types of civic engagement activities, including electoral participation, political voice participation, and community service and volunteerism. Korean immigrant college students were involved in volunteering activities most, through ethnic-related organizations such as hagwon, Korean churches, and Korean student organizations. While about 70 percent of survey respondents voted in the 2016 U.S. presidential election, Korean immigrant participants were not likely to be involved in local elections as much as they were in the presidential elections due to the lack of information. Online participation was a popular technique for supporting preferred candidates and expressing their opinions about social issues. Engaging in protests or rallies was the least popular activity among the participants in this study.

Among various educational contexts, only peers' civic engagement was a significant factor affecting the participants' civic engagement. They did not have many political conversations with their parents, and parents' active involvement in religious communities did not affect civic engagement after participants entered college. In their neighborhood, ethnic, and religious community, they had fewer opportunities to engage in political activities than volunteering opportunities. Civic knowledge and participatory experiences during their high school years did not influence civic engagement of Korean immigrants. While demands of their academic studies put a burden on students to memorize knowledge and spend time preparing for tests, experiencing good practices in their social studies classes seemed to positively influence civic engagement. For Korean immigrant college students, having close friends who were involved in political and community service activities was the most influential factor for their engagement. Lastly, among three different conceptions of citizenship, participatory citizenship significantly influenced civic engagement. However, ethnic identity had a stronger influence on civic engagement. This finding was supported by semi-structured interview data showing interest in social and political issues related to immigrants and ethnic self-identity.

Discussion

The distinctive civic engagement pattern of Korean immigrant college students is discussed followed by the roles of parents and schools in effecting civic engagement. The conceptions of citizenship and multidimensional characteristics of ethnic identity are discussed as well.

Civic Engagement: Heterogeneity within Immigrant Population

Immigrant populations, in general, have been considered as indifferent or less interested in civic engagement activities. Particularly, immigrants' political participation has been of

concern for some educators who brought attention to a civic engagement gap (more precisely voting turnout or voter registration disparity) between natives and immigrant populations. From these perspectives, younger generations from immigrant backgrounds may be experiencing failed or minimal citizenship, not fully participating in civic actions and undermining a strong democratic ideology in U.S. society. Scholarship on immigrant youth's participation, structural barriers, cynicism, and alienated feelings from the host society have been identified as major sources hindering their active participation (Lopez & Marcelo, 2008; Stepick et al., 2008).

However, a close look at the civic engagement of Korean immigrant college students who participated in this study demonstrated that they have different experiences from existing scholarship on the civic engagement of immigrant youth. The actual voting rate in the presidential election was high (over 60 percent) and non-citizens who were not eligible to vote in elections were interested in political processes, supported candidates, and discussed issues related to candidates during the election campaigns. Although Korean immigrant college students expressed lower interest in local elections than presidential elections, this was because of the lack of information about candidates and the political process of small elections, not because of any alienated feelings from U.S. society. They identified few barriers to their electoral participation beyond personal interest. Considering that previous scholarship has focused primarily on immigrants from Latino, African and Mexican backgrounds, these results show that the boundaries of research on immigrant youth should be extended both demographically and substantively.

Another different pattern was found in their political voice activities, such as signing online/offline petitions, participating in rallies and protests, and expressing opinions online. Korean immigrant college students were engaged less in these activities. Previous studies have

reported that immigrant youth are more likely to participate in political expressive activities than native youth (Lopez et al., 2006; Lopez & Marcelo, 2008; Seif, 2011). Civic activism on college campuses has been described as a common occurrence especially among Latino immigrant college students (Seif, 2011). Some might suppose that this issue would highly influence particular ethnic or racial group participation in political voice activities. For example, when Black Lives Matter rallies went on, more Black students participated in the demonstrations; Korean immigrant college students who had no strong attachment had less interest in participating in the rallies. However, historical influence and cultural beliefs may have stronger impact on their political voice activities than the issues-addressed for the political activity. Specifically, students interviewed addressed concerns about safety issues, and this may have derived from their parents' direct or indirect experiences with protests in Korea. In Korean history, during democratic protests, such as the 1960 April Revolution and May 18, 1980 Gwangju uprising, many people were wounded or even killed by police officers, gangs hired by the government, or military soldiers. Along with this sad memory of democratic protests, Korean immigrant youths may have learned from the memories of their parents who learned from the government-published history textbooks that protests are bad, and serious violations of the law.

Volunteerism has been reported as the civic activity that youth are more likely to participate in (Flanagan & Levine, 2010). As expected, Korean immigrant college students were highly involved. While other scholars have reported that immigrant youth engage in activities related to and benefiting their own ethnic community (Ishizawa, 2015; Perez et al., 2010; Stepick et al., 2008), data from this study revealed that Korean immigrant youth did so, too, but they also engaged in the broader host society by participating in activities that benefited other immigrants, minorities, or underprivileged populations. Two possible explanations account for these trends.

First, for the Korean immigrant college students, volunteering was being highly connected to their future career. As long as they pursued a job beyond their ethnic community, they needed to participate in volunteering activities in the broader society. Second, as Ecklund (2005) discussed, religious beliefs, particularly evangelical Christianity ideas about being responsible and caring for other impoverished peoples in wider U.S. society may influence the scope of their volunteering participation.

The pattern of civic engagement of the Korean immigrant college students studied was not explained by the ideas of the civic achievement gap. Therefore, immigrant populations should not be considered monolithically. The similarities and differences of civic engagement activities from the scholarship on youth in general and immigrant youth signal that ethnic and cultural ways of living, prior knowledge from families, and other educational environments, and ethnic backgrounds may influence actual civic involvement.

Ecological Perspective and Civic Engagement

The ecological model provided a proper framework to explore various sources of civic knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors of Korean immigrant college students. Each microsystem functioned individually but they also interacted with each other.

Family and Civic Engagement. The scholarship on political socialization has found that parents are influential sources for their children's political socialization and civic engagement by transmitting knowledge, values, and attitudes (Jennings & Niemi, 1968, 1975; Jennings et al., 2009; McDevitt & Chaffee, 2002a, 2002b). However, in this study, Korean immigrant parents' civic involvement—as indicated by the extent of parent-children conversations on social and political issues, and parents' political and community service involvement—had some, but not profound effects on their children's civic engagement. Considering that college students are in

the developmental stage of establishing independence from their parents' influence, this could be considered as a predictable result. However, exploring Korean immigrants' unique family contexts provided other explanations.

Korean immigrant college students reported they had less conversation related to political or social issues with their parents. This may be due to Korean immigrant parents' limited knowledge about social/political issues in the U.S. In Korean culture, parents are considered to always have more knowledge than their children, and should be respected by their children. In instances where parents have less knowledge than their children, their role of educating and teaching their children becomes limited. By avoiding conversation about such issues, Korean parents may maintain authority and respect from their children in the hierarchical structure of the family. This is inconsistent with other scholarship on immigrant parents and children on political socialization. Scholars have found that in immigrant families where parents have little knowledge about the host society, a "trickle-up socialization" may happen, in which immigrant children are agents of knowledge and other coping skills for their parents. In this case, immigrant children become the source of civic knowledge of the host society and there may be enough conversation between parents and children.

Parents' weak influence on civic engagement of their children was apparent in the forms of volunteering activities as well. Korean immigrant parents' volunteerism did not directly transfer to their children. For example, while some parents were involved in volunteering through religious organizations, their children's volunteering was through schools, clubs, and community service programs on and off campus. Participants interviewed said that they were given freedom to choose their own activities, and their parents supported their volunteering involvement choices, emotionally and even financially. Particularly considering that Korean

immigrant college students chose to volunteer at sites and activities that could benefit their future careers, parents may not have enough knowledge to guide these choices. Therefore, Korean immigrant parents' may act as "supporters" who provide encouragement and financial assistance but may not determine and mandate their children's volunteering engagements.

Schools: Missing Link between Academic Knowledge and Civic Engagement. An important potential source of civic knowledge for immigrant children is school. Schools are expected to provide diverse knowledge about politics and community service opportunities to students. Studies have shown that schooling contributes to the development of citizens by enhancing the general academic ability and political knowledge, and expanding social networks. These processes occur through attending school, taking social studies courses, and participating in extracurricular activities. Previous scholarship on immigrant youth civic engagement has revealed that the effect of school was stronger for immigrant children than of their native youth counterparts (Callahan & Muller, 2013; Callahan & Obenchain, 2016; Cho, 1999).

However, for the Korean immigrant college students in this study, civic learning opportunities provided by their high schools did not significantly influence their civic involvement, and what little effects that did occur were negative. This disconnect could be a result of the priority these students gave to high academic aspirations and preparations for college entrance. As Hirschman (2016) pointed out, East Asians and Vietnamese students have high college aspirations and levels of college preparation while in high school. Although the Korean immigrant youth took an average of 3.4 high school social studies courses, and average 2 advanced courses, they were more for college entrance preparation than enhancing civic knowledge. Attending hagwons and taking practice exams served similar purposes. In these

cases, knowledge gained from advanced social studies courses was not considered as living knowledge that students would use in society, but as passive knowledge to memorize.

Another possible explanation for the disconnect between school knowledge and civic engagement is that the content of current curricula and extracurricular activities of these students may not be directly reflective and relevant to contemporary civic issues and events, or their personally felt needs, interests, and identities. As An (2012, 2016, 2017) found, Asian American experiences are largely invisible in social studies courses in general and fighting for justice and other forms of organized activism are missing in social studies curricula or textbooks. These absences could have been tacitly interpreted by the Korean immigrant students in this study as civic engagement and political activism that are not appropriate choices for them. As some of them declared, participating in protests was an “American thing.”

Peer Involvement and Communities. One of the salient results derived from the online survey was that only peer involvement explained uniquely and directly civic engagement of Korean immigrant college students. When they had friends who they could have a conversation about political issues and be involved in political and community service activities with, Korean immigrant college students were more likely to become involved in civic engagement activities. This claim was supported by interviews and observations that the participants preferred to be involved in various activities with their peers.

Peers’ influence permeated all students’ civic engagement participation. When searching for information about elections, the first source they gained political knowledge from was their social media page where they were connected with other peers. In the case of participating in election campaigns, they participated in the events with their friends. The same influence of peers applied to community service participation as well. Students gained information of various

volunteering sites where their friends were volunteering and joined the services with friends. These show that peers functioned as information sources and guides for choosing particular activities.

Another noteworthy point is that the Korean college students' participation in electoral, political voice, and community service activities happened with their peers *through* various communities. Although direct correlations were not found between peer involvement and community civic participation opportunities in the quantitative analyses, participants interviewed showed that they were engaged in various activities with peers through school clubs on campus and ethnic communities (such as Korean churches, Korean student association, and hagwons). Since these communities either were limited to similar age groups or had sub-groups of similar-age peers, students might have more opportunities to meet other age peers who were involved in various activities. Within these communities, students may observe their peers' activities and become motivated to join them.

Interactions among Systems and Cultural Influence as Macrosystem. All educational contexts for civic learning were connected and influenced each other. For example, parents' involvement was connected with their religious communities, such as churches. They may know their children's peers. Although parents did not provide direct guidance for their children's civic engagement, they were supportive of their children's volunteering participation in extracurricular school activities. For Korean immigrant college students, their high school and universities were sites for them to meet and observe other active peers.

Amid these various interactions between parents, school, peers, and communities, cultural norms and values permeated. Korean cultural characteristics were also found in the interviews. The limited conversation between parents and children might reflect hierarchical

Korean cultural family structure; and school knowledge was not transferred to civic engagement because of strong Korean cultural influence on college preparation and academic orientation. Another factor could have been the cultural collectivism of Korean immigrants. Collectivist cultures stress “we” consciousness and collective identity, and show emotional dependence on group decisions and importance of peer friendship (U. Kim & Choi, 2014). In college years, there are possibilities that the Korean collectivism culture decreases as individuals become more independent and separate from their parents. However, civic engagement participation with peers through various activities may restore the collectivism culture and maintain the participation of various activities among Korean immigrant college students.”

Different Conceptions of Citizenship

While personally responsible citizenship negatively influenced civic engagement of Korean immigrant college students, social justice and participatory citizenship were found to positively affect civic engagement although they were not statistically significant. Particularly, participants who believed that a good citizen should be actively engaged in politics, voluntary organizations, and always vote in elections were more likely to be involved in civic engagement activities. These results are interesting because participants on the survey agreed most with the statements of personally-responsible citizenship. This may be that Korean immigrant college students believed that they should take personal responsibility as citizens, but ideas that led them to participate in actual activities are participatory and justice-oriented beliefs.

These results should be interpreted with caution because an unexpected pattern emerged during the interviews. When interview participants were asked to rank characteristics of a good citizen in order of importance, they arranged them differently from the categories that Westheimer and Kahne (2002, 2004) developed. Many of them put “help people in need,” “be

kind to others,” and “active in voluntary organizations” close together. Westheimer and Kahne categorized “active in voluntary organizations” as an example of participatory citizenship, and the other two as indicators of personally responsible citizenship. “Obey law and regulations,” which they considered as a characteristic of personally responsible citizenship, was dismissed as unimportant by the participants in this study. Their responses for doing so were unclear, but a possible explanation may be that it was a given that they would obey laws. Therefore, the statement was not worthy of note. Another possible explanation of this is that for these students, being a good citizen seemed to be analogous to helping people in need through volunteering for charitable organizations instead of engaging in more formalized and legalized activities like voting. It is possible that these personalized views of civic engagement were influenced, to a degree, by their membership and socialization in a communal culture where aiding and assisting others are normative expectations.

From Multidimensional Ethnic Identity to Civic Engagement

Participants in the semi-structured interviews were encouraged to use different terms to self-name, such as Asian, Asian American, immigrant, Korean, Korean American, and Korean immigrant. The preferred choice for most was Korean American. However, there were more nuances and complexities in the chosen identities than initially appeared. For some participants, Korean Americans were analogous to Asian Americans. For others, Korean was one component of multidimensional identities, such as biraciality. For others “immigrant” preceded Koreans, and for still others, the reverse was their preferred choice. These Korean immigrant college students who may have been recognized as Asian American, Korean American, or immigrants by the public, had actually identified themselves in more complex, divergent, fluid, and sometimes contradictory ways.

This complicated and multidimensional self-ethnic identification led to their interest in ethnic-related political issues and volunteering opportunities. For example, most would participate in protests that dealt with issues related to Asian Americans or Korean Americans, yet some did engage in volunteer activities associated with other ethnic groups as well, at least at the level of acquiring information. Other forms of civic engagement were more ambiguous and uncertain. These preferences may be reflective of their early ethnic and cultural socialization, and feelings of empathy with other ethnic minority groups.

One of the most important findings of this study is that ethnic identity was a significant factor in civic engagement. Having strong and multidimensional ethnic identity did not hinder Korean immigrant college students from some broader focuses in civic engagement as Huntington (2004) warned. While Korean ethnic community organizations were primary sources of civic engagement opportunities and information for political engagement, the beneficiaries were broader U.S. society beyond their ethnic Korean American community. This relationship between ethnic identity and civic engagement was different from what Jensen (2008) found in her study that immigrants engaged in civic activities within their own ethnic groups primarily to maintain their cultural traditions. Since Jensen's study examined data of Salvadorians and Asian Indian immigrant parents and their adolescent children, it is possible that different cultural characteristics of immigrant groups lead to different civic engagement patterns.

Limitations

This study included some limitations. One of them was the size of the sample for the online survey. Although the researcher tried to secure as many participants as possible, the number was relatively small ($n = 62$) and therefore limited the use of advanced statistical analyses. With a large number of participants, the study could have included exploratory factor

analyses that would examine a new categorization of conceptions of citizenship. A limited number of predictors were entered in the analyses due to the small sample size.

Another limitation of the study is the time and length of data collection. Participation in politics of the Korean immigrant college students in the study increased during the 2016 presidential campaigns (from summer 2016) and decreased after the election ended (spring 2017). The political climate under the new president and its admiration continuously made college students pay attention to political and social issues in general. However, at the time of the data collection (fall and winter 2017), public interest and participation in political and electoral activities decreased. In order to overcome such a limitation and to capture participants' involvement both during and after campaign periods, the survey questions asked respondents to indicate their electoral activity participation in past the 12 months. Since participants had to recall their experiences (particularly electoral participation activities), they may have inflated and not reported some of the experiences. Concerning community service and volunteering engagement, Korean immigrant students were likely to reduce their involvement during the academic year. If longer data collection time were available, this study could have more data to generate more comprehensive understandings of young Korean immigrants' civic engagement.

The cross-cultural researcher's positionality may have had a biased the data. I grew up in South Korea and have lived in the U.S. for about five years as an international student studying topics related to U.S. education. I may not have thoroughly recognized and understood unique characteristics of Korean American cultural and other experiential dynamics. Moving to the U.S. and facing foreign culture made me think of what culture is and how culture affects my everyday life. I, undoubtedly, my Korean cultural heritage affected my assumptions, beliefs, perspectives,

and worldview, but new lifestyles and cultural values in the U.S. also have permeated my position.

It is undeniable that my identity might have affected the research process, including the study design choice, data collection, analysis, interpretation, and writing. During the data collection, I continuously crossed the border of the being an indigenous-insider and an external-outsider (Banks, 1998). My upbringing in Korea positioned me as an insider shared some ethnic cultural knowledge with the participants. This helped me enter the Korean immigrant community and communicate with the members with few barriers. This “Koreaness” also contributed to positioning me as an outsider. I was “too Korean” to understand the lives of immigrant students and perceived as a one-time researcher in an “others” community. It was not surprising to face challenges in recruiting participants for the online survey. To handle this issue, I participated in the community events first, came to know some community members, and then asked for help contacting several communities. In the data analyses process, I could understand culturally embedded nuances in the lives of Korean immigrant college students. However, there also may be a risk of interpreting their experiences through personal biases. In order to counter these potential biases, I rigorously used the strategy of writing reflexive journals. The entire experiences of the study helped the researcher conduct a culturally competent study and advised by Gil and Bob (1999).

Significance of the Study

This study produced new insights about a relatively small group of young immigrants’ civic engagement in U.S. society that may be indicative of a larger population. The study demonstrated that immigrant young adults participated in the host society in involvement variety of civic activities. Although their participation in conventional conceptions of civic engagement

(i.e. the electoral process) was limited, they were active in other civic ways including researching and discussing candidates for office and pressing issues, community service membership in campus student organizations, and volunteerism. Many other scholars have studied immigrant population, but they have tended to limit civic engagement to voter registration or voter participation; and produced less than desirable levels of involvement. When broader conceptions of civic engagements are used (such as these in this study) a different profile emerges. Korean immigrant college students in this study were actively engaged civically albeit in more informal ways and ethnically specific issues and contexts. These deserve to be acknowledged, valued, and further facilitated, especially within the purview of the mandates of culturally responsive and multicultural education.

Another noteworthy contribution of this study is that it explored an underserved ethnic group on the topic of civic engagement. Korean immigrants have been understudied and therefore more underrepresented than some other immigrant populations. From this perspective, the findings of this study help to make visible and include this population in the analysis in scholarship on immigrant youth civic engagement. The results suggest that Korean immigrant college students may have different cultural and ethnic characteristics that affect their conceptions and embracement of civic engagement. These possibilities need to be examined more thoroughly within specified cultural contexts of Korean immigrants (and other ethnic immigrants as well). This study offered some techniques that could be beneficial to these pursuits.

On a theoretical level, this study explored both external contexts and identity-relevant factors of civic engagement of young adult immigrants by using an ecological model. It built on previous studies that have examined influences of parents, schools, and community organizations. The peer involvement influence was a new indicator of educational contexts that

may affect others civic engagement, and it was a significant factor. Along with these educational factors, identity-relevant factors such as conceptions of citizenship and ethnic identity also directly influenced civic engagement of Korean-ethnic immigrants. These results are preliminary and are not generalizable, but they are instructive for other researchers to study in greater detail.

Recommendations for Future Research

The first recommendation for future research is about data collection. A larger sample of data will help develop a more comprehensive understanding of the civic engagement experiences of Korean immigrant college students. Participants could be recruited from a large number of universities and colleges in local areas. Nation-wide samples also could be collected even though such scale of data collection would require many more resources. Considering that about 60% of first-generation and 63% of second-generation Korean immigrants have undergraduate or advanced college degrees (Waters & Pineau, 2015), data collection at a large number of universities and two-year colleges could represent characteristics of two-thirds of young adult Korean immigrant populations. A large sample of data also would enable researchers to use more complex strategies in analyzing the data, and thus produce more robust results.

Another potential area of future research is to study Korean immigrant populations with various socioeconomic or citizenship statuses. For example, young Korean immigrants who do not attend college or university might engage civically in different ways from college students. Undocumented status also may affect patterns of civic engagement of immigrants in the U.S. It could be enlightening compare similarities and differences among these various populations, their civic activities and related motivations.

While this study was able to capture the perceptions of and participation in civic engagement of members of a single ethnic group at a certain age, a longitudinal research could

contribute to understanding how Korean immigrant youth develop civic identity and engage in civic engagement activities over time. It could begin participants who have reached the legal voting age and follow them over several years and election cycles to see what changes (if any) occur in their conceptions of citizenship and civic engagement as they mature. Such a study also would allow for examining as they occur. Furthermore, freedom from the demands of college studies may lead to increased civic engagement. Civic engagement patterns may change after individuals complete their college studies, acquire job security, and settle into their lives, which are connected to a society in more complicated ways and require more responsibilities as a citizen. Thus, their civic engagement interests and activities may increase and even diversify.

Lastly, a future study could collect data from similar but different Asian ethnic groups, such as Chinese, Japanese, Indians, and Vietnamese. Korean immigrants are categorized as “Asian” or “Asian American”, which consists of many different ethnic groups. They may share some common values and traditions, yet be quite different from other Asian immigrants. Exploring the civic engagement and identity development of different Asian immigrants will help understand within-category differences and highlight group-specific attitudes, beliefs, behaviors, and contexts specific to the actualization of civic engagement.

Credo

Multicultural democratic societies require ethnically and culturally diverse populations to be actively engaged in public issues. This citizens’ civic engagement expectation enables people to fight against discrimination and injustices, and to create more equitable distributions of power and resources. Immigrant populations are not excluded from this solemn responsibility. While immigrants have been depicted as being less politically engaged than non-immigrants and located at the bottom of the civic achievement ladder, this study revealed that immigrant youth

were actively engaged in various types of political and civil activities. It also examined various indicators that influence civic engagement, including educational contexts—parents, peers, school, communities—and internal factors such as conceptions of citizenship and ethnic identity by exploring the case of Korean immigrant college students. However, the results of this study are not generalizable to all young immigrant populations or to all Korean immigrants. There is no simple or single formula for increasing the civic engagement of all immigrant populations. Making a complete blueprint for active civic participation is unrealistic and impossible. Immigrant populations vary even within an ethnic immigrant group, and their educational backgrounds, sociopolitical contexts, and self-identification vary as well, and all of these affect behavior, including civic engagements. However, these effects are not always easily detectable, acknowledged, or understood.

In spite of these challenges, I find a hope from researchers and educators in the field of multicultural citizenship education. Researchers generate and share new knowledge on immigrant children, youth, and adults. Their efforts to break the deficit model of immigrants and to understand the marginalized experiences in the field stimulated this study. It makes an important contribution by making an underserved immigrant population that is too often rendered invisible or ignored more visible. It helps understand multidimensional characteristics of civic engagement and associated factors. Researchers need to follow this example and conduct more extensive research on this population and these issues.

Although the effect of schooling was not significant in this study, educators' role in teaching and helping immigrant children for active citizenship cannot be overlooked. Young immigrants are participating in the politics of schooling, community services, and with peers in ways that may not be readily identified as "civic," but they are important ways of contributing to

society. These engagements are worthy of recognition as enhancement by educational personnel, programs, and institutions. Educators are (or should be) obligated to empower young immigrants. There is no limit to how much they can do to construct and reconstruct their curriculum content, pedagogy, classroom climates, and mentoring relationships to better serve the civic, personal, and academic needs of immigrant youth. However, to meet these mandates educators must be experientially and culturally responsive to students from diverse ethnic groups, and competent in facilitating diverse types of civic engagement. Otherwise, genuine citizenship and quality education are denied to some students, especially immigrants.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Participant Consent in the Online Survey

Participant Consent

Korean Immigrant Youth Civic Engagement Study

Investigator: Sunun Park
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Faculty Advisor: Dr. Geneva Gay
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I am writing to ask you to be in a research study. The purpose of this consent form is to give you all the information you will need to help you decide whether or not to be in the study. Please read the form carefully. You may ask any questions about the purpose of the research, what I would ask you to do, the possible risks and benefits, your rights as a study participant, and anything else about the research or this form that is not clear. When all your questions have been answered, you can decide if you want to be in the study or not. This process is called ‘informed consent.’ I will give you a copy of this form for your records.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The aim of this study is to understand civic engagement of Korean immigrant college/university students in the United States and examine what educational contexts and other associated factors influence their engagement. I want to understand what political and community volunteering activities you participate in, how your ethnic identity and thoughts about being a good citizen, and educational contexts influence your involvement. I am doing this study as part of my doctoral program in Curriculum and Instruction, College of Education, at the University of Washington. This study will be the focus of my dissertation, and may lead to further studies at the university or publications.

PROCEDURES

If you choose to participate in the study, you will be asked to complete an online survey that will take approximately 30-40 minutes to complete. The survey link will be sent to your provided email address. In the survey, I will ask about your experiences of political activities and community volunteering participation, your educational experiences, perceptions of your ethnic identity, and your ideas about being a good citizen. At the end of the survey, you will be asked to express your

interest in participating in follow-up interviews and observations. After completing the survey, each participant will receive a \$5 e-gift card electronically via email.

RISKS, STRESS, OR DISCOMFORT

Although most of the questions in the survey ask about fairly general information, such as whether or not you participate in some forms of civic engagement activities, there are some questions that might be considered personal. For example, some questions ask about your feelings about your ethnic identity and ideas about being a good citizen. Some people also may feel that providing information for research is an invasion of privacy. You are free not to answer any questions you do not wish to answer.

BENEFITS OF THE STUDY

Your participation will make a major contribution to the success of the study, which I hope will help to provide new insights about civic engagement of immigrant youth in the United States and to develop a multicultural education curriculum for civic action of immigrant youth. To express my appreciation for taking your time, you will receive a \$5 e-gift card after completing the online survey. I also think that you will look back on your own civic engagement and educational experiences and reflect on your feelings about who you are and what you want to do in society. While you are filling out the questionnaire, you will find that it is an interesting and enjoyable experience.

PROMISE OF CONFIDENTIALITY

Taking part in this study is voluntary. When you complete the online survey, the survey answer will be saved and taken directly to the University of Washington and will not be seen by anyone. This study will focus on overall patterns and averages and no information on any individual will ever be released. I will keep a list of numerical codes linked to names or contact information separate from the survey responses. Research records will be stored securely. The information I collect can only be used for research and statistical purposes. Some of your names and contact information can be retained in order to be able to reach you for follow-up interviews for whom you agree to share, but no names or individual identifying information will be kept in the data files.

Government or university staff sometimes review studies such as this one to make sure they are being done safely and legally. If a review of this study takes place, your records may be examined. The reviewers will protect you and your privacy. The study records will not be used to put you at legal risk of harm.

If you have any questions about this research study, please contact Sunun Park at the telephone number or email listed at the top of this form. If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, please contact Dr. Geneva Gay at the University of Washington, College of Education, 206-221-4797. You may also contact Human Subjects Division, University of Washington, Box 359470, Seattle, Washington 98195-9470, Telephone: 206-543-0098, Email: hsdinfo@uw.edu.

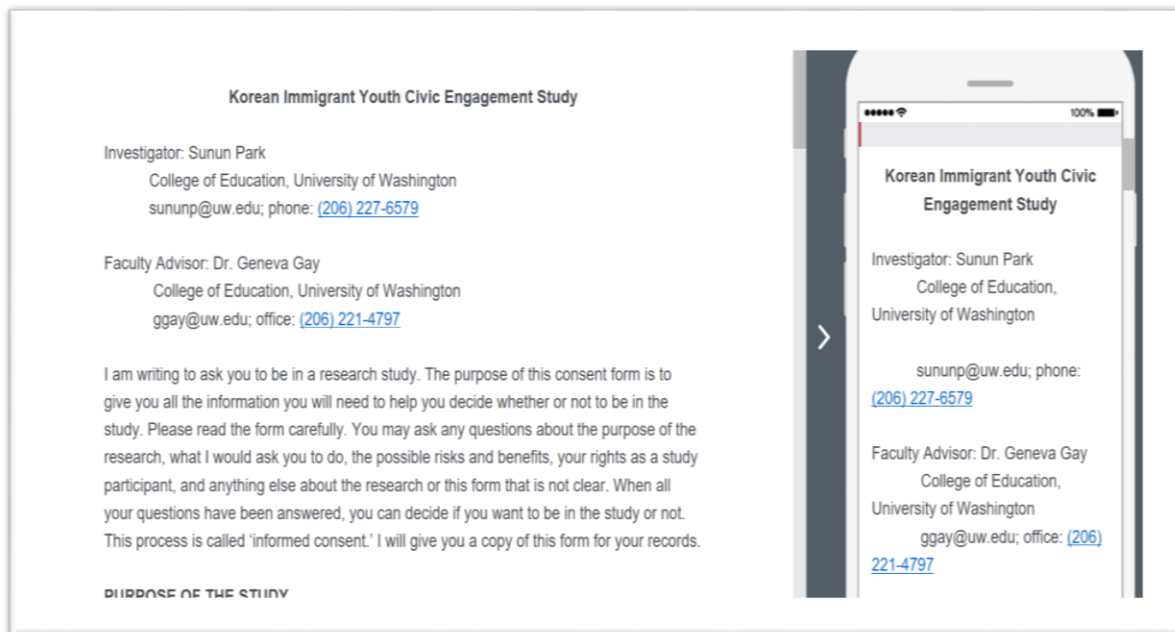
PARTICIPANT'S STATEMENT

This study has been explained to me. I volunteer to take part in this research. I have had a chance to ask questions. If I have questions later on about the research, I can ask the investigator listed

above. If I have questions about my rights as a research subject, I can call Dr. Geneva Gay at the University of Washington College of Education, 206-221-4797. I will receive a copy of this consent form.

BY CLICKING CONTINUE below, you are:

- Indicating that you have read the information about this study;
- Giving the researcher your contact information (email address) to send you an online survey link



Consent form on the Online Survey Page (Webpage and Mobile Page)

Appendix B

Variables and Online Survey Items for the Quantitative Data Collection

Variables	Sub-Categories	Survey Items	Analytic Function
Civic Engagement	Electoral participation	Voting 1-5 Others 6.1-6.11	Outcome [composite] - past 12 months - yes or no
	Political voice participation	7.1-7.5 8	
	Community service and volunteering	9.1-9.6 10	
Parent Civic Involvement	Parent civic involvement Parent-children interaction	11.1-11.7	Focal Predictor - 5-point scale Likert/extent to agreement
School Civic Learning Opportunities	Social studies course taking	13-14	Focal Predictor - number of courses taken
	Best practice experience in social studies classes	15.1-15.7	Focal Predictor - 5-scale Likert
	Extra curricula activities for civic learning	12.1-12.6	
Peer Civic Involvement	Peer civic involvement Peer-participant interaction	15.1-15.3	Focal Predictor - 5-point scale Likert/extent to agreement
Community Civic Opportunities	Neighborhood community	15.4-15.5	Focal Predictor - 5-point scale Likert/extent to agreement
	Religious community	15.6-15.7	
	Ethnic Community	15.8-15.9	
Conceptions of Citizenship	Personally-responsible	18.1, 18.5, 18.9	Focal Predictor - 5-point scale Likert/extent to agreement
	Participatory	18.2, 18.6, 18.10	
	Justice-oriented	18.3, 18.7, 18.11	
	Others	18.4, 18.8, 18.12	

Ethnic Identity	Primary ethnic identity	16	Focal Predictor - 5-point scale Likert/extent to agreement
	Ethnic identity strength	17.1-17.6	
Demographic Variables	Age	EQ1	
	Gender	20	
	Immigrant generation	28	
	Citizenship status	29	
	Parents' level of education	36	
	Language use	37-40	

Appendix C

Online Survey Questionnaire

A Study to Examine Civic Engagement of Korean Immigrant Youth

I am interested in how Korean immigrant youth participate in political and civil activities and what educational and other related factors influence their involvement. I am doing this study as part of my doctoral program in Curriculum and Instruction, College of Education, at the University of Washington. I hope the findings will help to provide new insights about civic engagement of immigrant youth in the United States and to develop a multicultural education curriculum for civic action of immigrant youth.

Most of the questions are about your civic engagement and educational experiences. Some questions ask your ethnic identity and thoughts about behaviors of a good citizen.

I am looking at trends and overall patterns. That means **I will never report the responses given by any single participant. I promise to protect your privacy.** No one outside the study investigator will ever see your answers to the questionnaire. You may skip any questions that you wish, but I hope you will answer as many as questions as you can. The more complete the questionnaires, the better the results will be.

This survey is not a test. There are no right or wrong answers, only honest ones. **Most importantly, thank you for filling out this survey.**

Eligibility Questions

EQ1. How old are you today? Write in [_____]

(Under 18 or Over 25 → Go to End of Survey)

EQ2. Do you have any family member (father, mother, grandfather, or grandmother) who were born in Korea or are Korean ethnic origin?

1. Yes

2. No (Go to End of Survey)

ED3. Did you receive your high school diploma or high school equivalency certificate in the United States?

1. Yes

2. No

Electoral Participation

1. In any election, some people are not able to vote because they are sick or busy or have some other reason, and others do not want to vote. Did you vote in the election held on Tuesday, November 8, 2016?

1. Yes (Go to 5)
2. No (Go to 2)
3. Not sure/ refused (Go to 5)

2. Were you registered to vote in the November 8, 2016 election?

1. Yes (Go to E4)
2. No (Go to E3)

3. Which of the following was the MAIN reason you were not registered to vote?

1. Did not meet registration deadlines
2. Did not know where or how to register
3. Did not meet residency requirements/ did not live here long enough
4. Did not meet age requirement
5. Permanent illness or disability
6. Difficulty with English
7. Not interested in the election or not involved in politics
8. My vote would not make a difference
9. Not eligible to vote
10. Other reason, write in [_____]
11. Don't know
12. Refused

(For entries 1- 12, Go to 5)

4. What was the main reason you did not vote?

1. Illness or disability (own or family's)
2. Out of town or away from home
3. Forgot to vote (or send in absentee ballot)
4. Not interested
5. Felt my vote wouldn't make a difference
6. Too busy, conflicting work or school schedule
7. Transportation problems
8. Didn't like candidates or campaign issues
9. Registration problems (i.e. didn't receive absentee ballot, not registered in current location)
10. Bad weather conditions
11. Inconvenient hours, polling place or hours or lines too long
12. Tried to vote, denied the right at the polling place
13. Did not have the ID I needed to vote
14. Other, write in [_____]
15. Don't know
16. Refused

5. Do you always vote in LOCAL elections, sometimes vote, rarely vote or never vote?

- a. Always vote
- b. Sometimes vote
- c. Rarely vote
- d. Never vote

6. During the past 12 months, please tell us if you have supported a candidate, political party, or political issue by:

		Yes	No	Don't know
1	Attending a meeting, rally, speech, or dinner	1	2	3
2	Working on a campaign	1	2	3
3	Wearing a campaign button, putting a campaign sticker on your car, or placing a sign in your window or in front of your home	1	2	3
4	Raising or donating money through offline methods (check, donations at an event, etc)	1	2	3
5	Expressing support through a social network site such as Facebook, IM or Twitter (for example by "liking" or becoming a fan)	1	2	3
6	Raising or donating money online (via website, Facebook, text, etc)	1	2	3
7	Starting or joining a political group on a social network site (like MySpace or Facebook)	1	2	3
8	Forwarded or posted someone else's political commentary or news related to a political campaign, candidate or issue	1	2	3
9	Contributed your own article, opinion piece, picture or video about a political campaign, candidate or issue to an online news site	1	2	3
10	Commented on a news story or blog you read online about a political campaign, candidate or issue	1	2	3
11	Written an email or written a blog about a political campaign, candidate or issue	1	2	3

Political Voice Participation

7. Please tell us whether or not you have done any of the following in the last 12 months, that is since November 2016:

		Yes	No	Don't know
1	Contacted or visited a public official – at any level of government – to express your opinion	1	2	3
2	Bought or boycotted a certain product or service because of the social or political values of the company that provides it	1	2	3
3	Taken part in a protest, demonstration, or sit-in	1	2	3
4	Signed a paper petition	1	2	3
5	Signed an email, Facebook, or other online petition	1	2	3

8. What other activities related to *Politics* have you participated or engaged in the last 12 months? Describe the activity. (e.g. drew a cartoon, written a novel, or performed a rap about a political campaign, candidate or issue, etc.)

[_____]

Volunteering and Community Engagement

9. Please tell us whether or not you have done any of the following in the last 12 months, that is since November 2016:

		Yes	No	Don't know
1	Been an active member of at least one community group or an organization	1	2	3
2	Regularly volunteered for non-political groups (e.g. a group to help the poor, elderly, homeless, or a hospital)	1	2	3
3	Worked together informally with someone or some group to solve a problem in the community where you live	1	2	3
4	Donated money for charity	1	2	3
5	Personally walked, ran, or bicycled for a charitable cause	1	2	3
6	Helped raise money for a charitable cause besides donating money	1	2	3

10. What other *Volunteering or Community Engagement* activities have you participated or engaged in the last 12 months? Describe the activity. (e.g. participated in organizing an ethnic cultural festival in my local area, etc.)

[_____]

Educational Contexts

11. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

My parents or guardians...		Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1	Encourage me to vote.	1	2	3	4	5
2	Are active in local or national politics (e.g. city council, party involvement).	1	2	3	4	5
3	Do volunteer work regularly in the community.	1	2	3	4	5
4	Are active in an ethnic community.	1	2	3	4	5
5	Often talk to me about problems in society and political issues.	1	2	3	4	5
6	Want to hear my opinions about current events and politics, even if they differed from their own.	1	2	3	4	5
7	I often talk to my parents or guardians about problems in society and political issues.	1	2	3	4	5

12. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements about your **high school**?

At my high school, there were opportunities to...		Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1	Be involved in making decisions about the school.	1	2	3	4	5
2	Take on leadership roles in clubs and organizations.	1	2	3	4	5
3	Volunteer in the community.	1	2	3	4	5
4	Work on social issues or causes such as the environment or human rights.	1	2	3	4	5
5	Get involved in political activities.	1	2	3	4	5
6	Participate in student government.	1	2	3	4	5

13. In high school, did you take a course in social science, such as history, civics, or government? Include AP (advanced placement), and IB (international Baccalaureate) classes.

1. Yes (Go to 14)
2. No (Go to 15)

14. Which social science courses did you take in high school? Choose ALL that apply.

General Courses	1	U.S. History
	2	World History
	3	European History
	4	American Government
	5	Other [_____]
AP (Advanced Placement) Courses	6	AP U.S. History
	7	AP World History
	8	AP European History
	9	AP U.S. Government and Politics

	10	AP Comparative Government & Politics
	11	Other [_____]
IB (International Baccalaureate) Courses	12	IB History
	13	IB Global politics
	14	Other [_____]

15. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1	I talk with my friends about problems in society and political issues.	1	2	3	4	5
2	I have close friends who participate in political activities.	1	2	3	4	5
3	I have close friends who volunteer work in the community.	1	2	3	4	5
4	In my neighborhood, there are opportunities to volunteer in the community.	1	2	3	4	5
5	In my neighborhood, there are opportunities to engage in politics.	1	2	3	4	5
6	In my religious community, there are opportunities to do volunteer work.	1	2	3	4	5
7	In my religious community, there are opportunities to engage in politics.	1	2	3	4	5
8	In my ethnic community, there are opportunities to do volunteer work.	1	2	3	4	5
9	In my ethnic community, there are opportunities to engage in politics.	1	2	3	4	5

Ethnic Identity Measure

16. What is your PRIMARY ethnic/racial identity? [Select only one]

- 1. Korean
- 2. Korean American
- 3. Asian
- 4. Asian American
- 5. American
- 6. Other, write in [_____]

17. When considering your primary identity in #16, how much do you agree or disagree with each statement?

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1	I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic/racial group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.	1	2	3	4	5
2	I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic/racial group.	1	2	3	4	5
3	I understand pretty well what my ethnic/racial group membership means to me.	1	2	3	4	5
4	I have often done things that will help me understand my ethnic/racial background better.	1	2	3	4	5
5	I have often talked to other people in order to learn more about my ethnic/racial group.	1	2	3	4	5
6	I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic/racial group.	1	2	3	4	5

Conceptions of Citizenship

18. To be a good citizen, how important is it for a person to [list items]...? 1 is extremely unimportant and 5 is extremely important.

		Unimportant ←-----→ Important				
1	Be kind to other people	1	2	3	4	5
2	Always vote in elections	1	2	3	4	5
3	Protest bad and injustice laws	1	2	3	4	5
4	Form his or her opinion, independently of others	1	2	3	4	5
5	Help people in need	1	2	3	4	5
6	Be active in voluntary organizations	1	2	3	4	5
7	Think critically about laws and government	1	2	3	4	5
8	Work hard and do one's best	1	2	3	4	5
9	Obey laws and regulations	1	2	3	4	5
10	Be active in national, state, and local politics and issues	1	2	3	4	5
11	Challenge inequalities in society	1	2	3	4	5
12	Be patriotic and loyal to a country	1	2	3	4	5

19. In your own words, tell us what is a good citizen.

[_____]

Demographics

20. What is your gender? Write in [_____]

21. Are you currently attending a school/ community college/ or university?

1. Yes, I am attending a university (Go to 22)
2. Yes, I am attending a community college (Go to 22)
2. No, but I will start a new school within three months (Go to 22)
3. No (Go to 24)

22. What is the name of your community college or university you are attending now (or you will attend)?

Write in [_____]

23. What year are you in the college/ university?

1. Freshman (1st year)
2. Sophomore (2nd year)
3. Junior (3rd year)
4. Senior (4th year) or above

24. Have you attended any college(s) other than the one you are in now?

1. Yes [Go to 25]
2. No [Go to 26]

25. Please write the name of the prior college you attended and the city, state/country where it was located.

College Name: : [_____]

Location: [_____] , [_____]

City

State/ Country

26. Did you graduate your high school in the United States?

1. Yes [Go to D8]

2. No [Go to D9]

27. Please write the name of the high school you attended and the city, state/country where it was located.

High School Name: [_____]

Location: [_____, _____]

City

State/ Country

28. Where were you born?

1. In the United States

2. In South Korea

3. Country other than U.S. or South Korea, Write in [_____]

29. Are you a citizen of the United States?

1. Yes, born in the United States (Go to 32)

2. Yes, born in Puerto Rico, Guam, the U.S. Virgin Islands, or Northern Marianas (Go to 32)

3. Yes, born abroad of U.S. citizen parent or parents (Go to 30)

4. Yes, U.S. citizen by naturalization (Go to 30)

5. No, not U.S. citizen (Go to 30)

6. Don't know (Go to 32)

7. Refused (Go to 32)

30. If you were not born in the U.S., when did you arrive in the U.S.?

Year of Arrival: [_____]

31. How old were you when you arrived in the U.S.?

Age of Arrival: [_____]

32. Where was your mother (or female guardian) born?

1. In the United States

2. In South Korea

3. In a country other than U.S. or South Korea, Write in [_____]

33. What is her ancestry or ethnic origin?

Write in [_____]

(For example: Korean, Taiwanese, Chinese, Japanese, African American, Caucasian, Mexican, Canadian, and so on.)

34. Where was your father (or male guardian) born?

1. In the United States

2. In South Korea

3. In a country other than U.S. or South Korea, Write in [_____]

35. What is his ancestry or ethnic origin?

Write in [_____]

(For example: Korean, Taiwanese, Chinese, Japanese, African American, Caucasian, Mexican, Canadian, and so on.)

36. What is the highest level of education completed by your parents or guardians?

Mark one item for each parent or guardian.		Mother (or female guardian)	Father (or male guardian)
1	Less than high school completed		
2	High school diploma or equivalent		
3	Some college, vocational, or trade school (including 2-year degrees)		
4	Bachelor's degree (e.g. BS, BA, AB)		
5	Master's degree (e.g. MS, MA, MBA)		
6	Professional degree (e.g. JD, LLB, MD, DDS, DVM)		

7	Doctorate (e.g. PhD, DSc, EdD)		
8	Not applicable		

37. Do you speak a language other than English at home?

1. Yes (Go to 38)

2. No (Go to 40)

38. What is the language?

1. Korean

2. Other language than Korean: [_____]

39. If a language other than English is spoken at home, how well do you...

		Very Well	Well	Fairly Well	Not much	Not at all
1	Understand the language?	1	2	3	4	5
2	Speak the language?	1	2	3	4	5
3	Read the language?	1	2	3	4	5
4	Write the language?	1	2	3	4	5

40. How well do you...

	Very Well	Well	Fairly Well	Not much	Not at all
Understand spoken English?	1	2	3	4	5
Speak English?	1	2	3	4	5
Read English?	1	2	3	4	5
Write English?	1	2	3	4	5

Follow-up Interview Opportunity

I would like to interview you in the future to find out more about your civic engagement experiences. Interviews will be conducted twice, 50-60 min each, between December 2017 – February 2018. You will receive two gift cards (amount of \$15 for each interview, total \$30 for two interviews) as compensation for your time and cooperation. If you are interested in participating in the interviews, please provide contact information so that I can contact you. **I will never give this information to anyone who is not a part of this research project.**

41. Name (or Your Nickname): [_____]

42. Email address: [_____]

Please introduce This Survey to Your Friends

Do you have any friend you want to introduce this survey? Please enter your friend(s)' email address. An invitation email will be sent to the provided email address. Your friend is eligible if she/he is:

- Age 18-25
- Has Korean heritage (at least one Korean mother, father, grandmother, or grandfather were born in Korea or are Korean ethnic origin)
- Receive a high school diploma or high school equivalency certificate in the United States.

43. Email address: [_____]

End of Survey

Thank you again for completing this survey. I sincerely appreciate your cooperation.

Appendix D

Interview Protocols for Semi-Structured Interviews

Interview Protocol for the Participant

Korean Immigrant Youth Civic Engagement Study

Thank you for agreeing to share your experience and thoughts with me. As you know, I am interested in learning more about what kinds of civic engagement activities you have involved in and what made you become engaged them. I am also interested in understanding your identity in terms of race and ethnicity, and your ideas about being a good citizen. Everything you say will be kept confidential, and all information will be de-identified. Please feel free to share your thoughts as honestly as possible. Your candid responses will help me understand more about immigrant youth's thoughts and experiences with respect to civic engagement in the United States

First Round Interview: Civic Engagement Experience and Educational Contexts

1. I wonder whether you have participated in any kinds of civic/community volunteering activities past 12 months.
 - a. Civic/community volunteering activities refer to activities related to social or cultural communities such as helping others through formal service organizations and programs, tutoring children from underprivileged families, and so forth.
2. (If you said yes in question #1) Could you tell me more about what kinds of civic activities you have engaged in?
 - a. What activities did you participate in the past?
 - b. What activities are you engaged in now?
3. Among these civic activities, choose the most important activity for you. Could you explain more about it?
 - a. Types of activity
 - b. Participation duration (how long did you participate in it?)
 - c. Suppose that I were with you in your [political/ civic activity], what would I see happening there, in terms of activity, participants, your engagement?
 - d. Your feelings about the engagement: How do you feel about that?
4. Did any person or organization help you participate in the civic activities?
 - a. Suggestion from somebody: your family, significant others
 - b. School: teacher, peers, school subject or learning experience
 - c. Community or neighborhood

- d. Media and so forth; any specific incident
5. (if you said no to the question #1) Is there anything that prevented you from becoming engaged in the civic activities? What kind of activities do you want to participate in the future?
 - a. Types of activity
 - b. Why do you want to be involved in that activity?
6. Then how about political activities? Have you engaged in any kinds of political activities?
 - a. Political activities include activities related to government or national issues such as voting, having membership in a party, making contact with public representatives, participating protest movement and so forth.
7. (If said yes in the question #6) Could you tell me more about what kinds of political activities you have engaged in?
 - a. What activities did you participate in the past?
 - b. What activities are you engaged in now?
8. Among these political activities, choose the most important activity for you. Can you explain more about it?
 - a. Types of activity
 - b. Participation duration (how long did you participate in it?)
 - c. Suppose that I were with you in your [political/ civic activity], what would I see happening there, in terms of the activity, participants, your engagement)?
 - d. Your feelings about the engagement: How do you feel about that?
9. Did any person or organization help you participate in that activity?
 - a. Suggestion from somebody: your family, significant others
 - b. School: teacher, peers, school subject or learning experience
 - c. Community or neighborhood
 - d. Media and so forth; any specific incident
10. (If you said no to the question #6) Is there anything that prevented you from becoming engaged in the political activities? What kind of activities do you want to participate in the future?
 - a. Types of activity
 - b. Why do you want to be involved in the political activity?

11. Considering your engagement, are you typical Korean college students in terms of electoral, political, and community service or volunteering involvement?
 - a. Locate yourself and your friends on the line. Why did you put yourself there?
 - b. What are the similarities or differences your involvement with your peers?

	Low Participation	High Participation
Electoral Participation	_____	
Political Voice Participation	_____	
Community Service and Volunteering	_____	

12. Is there anything you would like to add that I haven't asked you?

Second Round Interview: Civic Engagement, Ethnic Identity, and Conceptions of Citizenship

1. Last time, you mentioned your engagement experience about political activities and civic/community volunteering activities, such as [names of activities]. Is there anything you want to add?
2. I wonder if there are any activities related to you, especially in terms of your race or ethnicity.
 - a. What is it/what are they?
 - b. Why do you think it is/they are related to you?
3. You told me that [activity name addressed in question #2] is closely related to your race or ethnicity. Then do you identify yourself as [ethnicity]?
 - a. Here are sticky notes with some vocabularies that might describe yourself in terms of your ethnicity. Could you paste them on this sheet of paper in the order of you think the most important for you? Why did you paste them in that order?

4. Were there any event or person who influenced your thoughts about your ethnic identity?
 - a. Your family, significant others
 - b. School: teacher, peers, school subject or learning experience
 - c. Community or neighborhood
 - d. Media and so forth; any specific incident?
5. Do you think your involvement in the [civic or political engagement issues] influenced/influences your identity in terms of ethnicity?
 - a. (if you said yes) In what ways?
 - b. (if you said no) Why not?
6. People have different ideas about what makes a good citizen. Can you tell me what a good citizen would look like in your own word?
 - a. Here are some photos [photos can be added or changed] representing various ideas about good citizenship. Can you pick two photos that you think the most closely represent your ideal citizen? Why did you pick them?



7. Were there any events or people influence your thoughts about your view of good citizens?

- a. Your family, significant others
 - b. School: teacher, peers, school subject or learning experience
 - c. Community or neighborhood
 - d. Media and so forth; any specific incident?
8. Are there are any activities related to you especially in terms of your idea of the good citizen?
- a. (if said yes) What is it/what are they?
 - b. (if said no) What prevented you from becoming the ideal citizen?
9. Do you think your involvement in the [civic or political engagement issues] influences your view of a good citizen?
- a. (if you said yes) In what ways?
 - b. (if you said no) Why not?
10. Is there anything you would like to add that I haven't asked you about, especially about your civic and political engagement, ethnic identity, and views about a good citizen?

Appendix E

Observational Guide

Short conversation with participant before the Observation

- Can you tell me what's going to happen today?
- What do you expect to do?
- Why did you decide to attend this activity?

Key Informant's Name (Pseudonym):

Date and Time:

Site/Location:

Background of the Civic Engagement Activity/Event

- Number of participants in the activity
- Demographics (gender, race, age, etc.) of participants
- Purpose of the activity/ agenda of the meeting
- Materials/ tools prepared for the activity/event/meeting

Key Informant's Experience in the Activity

- What did she bring/prepare for the event/activity?
- What is the role of him/her in the event? How does he/she play?
- What behaviors or talks does he/she do in each phase of the event/activity (at the beginning, middle, and the end)?
- With whom does he/she mainly interact during the activity? (consider race and ethnicity, gender, age, power or hierarchy in an organization)

Other participants' Participation in the Activity

- What did other people bring/prepare for the event/activity?
- What are the roles of others in the event? How do they play?
- What behaviors or talks do they do in each phase of the event/activity (at the beginning, middle, and the end)?
- How people interact with each other? Are there any subgroups in terms of interaction among people (consider race and ethnicity, gender, age, power or hierarchy in an organization)

Personal Observations

- How was my role as an observer affecting the scene I am observing?
- What did I say and do during the observation?

Analytic Question

- Are there any components of activity that (directly or indirectly) relates to ethnic identity or conceptions of citizenship?

Vita

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- 2006 Cum Laude
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PUBLICATIONS AND PRESENTATIONS

Peer-reviewed Journal Articles

- Park, S. H., Cho, Y., Sung, K., & **Park, S.** (2013). A study on high school teachers' perception of the admission officer system and in-service teacher training. *The Journal of Yeolin Education*, 21(4), pp.321-350. [Korean Citation Index-listed (KCI)]
- Cho, Y., **Park, S.**, Park, Y. K., & Kim, J. G. (2012). A comparative case study on schools with students of multicultural families in majority: Focusing on the possibilities and limitations. *Theory and Research in Citizenship Education*, 44(2), pp. 163-197. [KCI]
- Park, S.** & Cho, Y. (2011). A study on the social studies classes of block scheduling. *Theory and Research in Citizenship Education*, 43(2), pp.149-185. [KCI]
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- Cho, Y., Kim, J. G., Park, Y. K., & **Park, S.** (2011). School policy for multicultural education in elementary and secondary schools. *Educational Research and Practice*, 77, pp.33-65. (in English)

Park, S. H. & **Park, S.** (2009). A study on the problems and improvements of guidance program for students in law-related education `s perspective. *The Korean Journal of Law-Related Education*, 4(2), pp.57-77. [KCI]

Book chapters and other writing

Park, S. (2013). Classroom instruction and evaluation for ethnic minority students. In Kwon, O. (Ed.), *Understanding multicultural education* (pp.321-347). Seoul, South Korea: Seoul National University Press.

Park, S. (2011). Legal status and issues on immigrants in Korean society. In Seong, S. H. (Ed.) *Multicultural human rights education program*. Seoul, South Korea: National Human Rights Commission of Korea.

Park, S. H., Kim, H., Song, S., Kim, S., Bae, H., Song, K., Park, H., **Park, S.**, Lee, S. (2012). *Middle School Social Studies 1 & 2*. Seoul: Sinsago Publications.
Korean government authorized textbook for middle school students (second highest acceptance rate in middle schools in South Korea)

Conference Presentations

Park, S. (2018, April). *Educating immigrant youth for active political participation*. 2018 AERA Annual Meeting, American Educational Research Association (AERA), New York City, NY.

Park, S. (2018, March). *Making multicultural education "multicultural": Mandates, challenges, and opportunities of multicultural education for and within Korea*. Paper accepted at the 62nd Annual Meeting of the Comparative and International Education Society (CIES).

Park, S. & Sibbett, L. (2017, November). *Selection of controversial political issues for classroom deliberation in South Korea: Characteristics and limitations of a consensus-based criterion*. 2017 CUFA Grad Forum, 97th National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) Annual Conference, San Francisco, CA.

Park, S. (2017, June). *Toward authentic political classrooms: A content analysis of research on controversial political issue selection in South Korea*. Paper accepted at Redesigning Pedagogy International Conference 2017.

Park, S. (2017, April). *Education and civic engagement: A case study of three Korean immigrant youth*. 2017 AERA Annual Meeting, American Educational Research Association (AERA), San Antonio, TX.

Park, S. (2016, November). *Ethnic identity development and civic engagement of Korean immigrant youth in the United States*. The 26th Annual International Conference, the National Association for Multicultural Education (NAME), Cleveland, OH.

Park, S. (2016, August). *Design and implementation of a state-developed assessment in Washington State: Lessons for social studies education in South Korea*. 2016 Social Studies Education International Conference, Korean Social Studies Education, August 8, 2016, Seoul, South Korea. (in Korean)

Park, S. (2015, October). *A critical review of the research on academic achievement of ethnic minority students in South Korea*. The 25th Annual Conference, the National Association for Multicultural Education (NAME), New Orleans, LA.

Park, S. & Cho, Y. (2015, May). *A critical analysis of the research on academic achievement of ethnic minority students in South Korea: What multicultural education paradigms does the Korean government use?* 2015 KAME International Conference, the Korean Association for Multicultural Education (KAME), Seoul, South Korea.

Cho, Y. & **Park, S.** (2010, May). *Innovations in teacher education: The development of Korean education through a new system for colleges of education*. 15th International Conference on Education, Brunei Darussalam, Brunei.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

K-12 Level Teaching Experience:

- 2014 - 2015 Teacher, *Middle-Level Korean Language* (6 – 8th graders), United Seattle Korean School, Shoreline, WA
- 2007 - 2012 Social Studies Teacher, *General Social Studies* (10th grade); *Economics* (11th grade); *Society and Culture* (11 - 12th grade), Keumcheon High School, Seoul, South Korea

University Courses Taught as a Course Instructor:

- 2018 KOREAN 417: *Readings in Korean Literature and Culture*, University of Washington, Seattle, WA
- 2016 EDUC401A: *Challenges & Possibilities in K-12 Education*, University of Washington, Seattle, WA (co-instructed with M.Ed. Kira Geselowitz)
- 2013 Education 700.212: *Economy and Society*, Seoul National University, Seoul, South Korea
- Education 711.481: *Research in Social Studies Classroom*, Seoul National University, Seoul, South Korea
- 2012 - 2013 *Introduction to Social Studies Education*, Gyeongin National University of Education, Gyeonggi-do, South Korea
- 2010 - 2012 Education 711.286: *Economic ethnics and economic education*, Seoul National University, Seoul, South Korea

University Courses Taught as a Teaching Assistant or a Grader & Reader:

- 2018 B EDUC 502A: *Teachers' Self-Understanding*, University of Washington, Bothell, WA (Grader-reader; Graduate-level Course for Masters in Teaching Program) with Dr. Cherry McGee Banks
- 2012 Education 711.528: *Studies in Economic Society and Education*, Seoul National University, Seoul, South Korea (Graduate-level) with Dr. Youngdal Cho

- 2011 Education 711.669: *Korean Social Thoughts and Civic Education* (Graduate-level) with Dr. Youngdal Cho
- 2010 Education 711.530: *Studies in Economic Education* (Graduate-level) with Dr. Youngdal Cho
- Education 711.384: *Seminar in Economic Education* with Dr. Youngdal Cho
- Education 700.022: *Curriculum* with Dr. Youngdal Cho

RELEVANT PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Graduate Staff Assistant:

- 2015 - 2017 Office of Student Diversity and Inclusion, College of Education, University of Washington, Seattle, WA
- Developed community programs and professional development seminars for underrepresented population (Students of Color, LGBTQ, international students and other historically marginalized student community)

Research Assistant:

- 2010 - 2012 Center for Multi-Cultural Education, Ministry of Education, Seoul, South Korea
- Projects: *Analysis of Academic Achievement of Ethnic Minority Students* (2011-2012), *Multicultural Educational Policies in Public Schools* (2010-2011)
- Seoul National University, College of Education, Seoul, South Korea
- Projects: *Interdisciplinary Curriculum Development: Focusing on Secondary School Foreign Language, Social Studies, and Science Education* (2011-2012), *Curriculum Theory Development: Secondary Social Studies Education* (2010-2011).

HONORS AND AWARDS

- 2018 Doi Doctoral Research Award, College of Education, University of Washington
- 2017 Graduate Student Forum Travel Grant Award, College and University Faculty Assembly (CUFA), National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS)
- 2017 - 2018 Husky 100 Nominee, University of Washington
- 2015 - 2017 Travel Grant Award, College of Education, University of Washington
- 2013 - 2014 College of Education General Scholarship Award, University of Washington
- 2011 Lecturer & Research Scholarship, College of Education, Seoul National University
- 2010 SNU Development Fund Scholarship, Seoul National University
- 2007 - 2008 Superior Academic Award Scholarship, Seoul National University

- 2004 Cheong-Gwan Alumni Association of College of Education Scholarship,
College of Education, Seoul National University
- 2002 - 2005 Superior Academic Performance Scholarship

SERVICE TO PROFESSION

Proposal Reviewer:

- 2018 Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) 62nd Annual
Conference
- 2017 College and University Faculty Assembly (CUFA), National Council for the
Social Studies (NCSS), Graduate Student Forum
- 2016 National Association of Multicultural Education (NAME) Annual Meeting
National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) Annual Meeting

Departmental and University Service:

- 2016 - 2017 Student Representative, Faculty Diversity Committee, College of Education,
University of Washington, Seattle, WA
- 2014 - 2015 At-Large Representative, International Diversity Committee, Associated
Students of the College of Education (ASCE), College of Education,
University of Washington, Seattle, WA
- 2013 - present Member, International Educators in the College of Education (IECE),
College of Education, University of Washington, Seattle, WA
- 2010 - 2011 Chair, Graduate Student Association of Department of Social Studies
Education, College of Education, Seoul, South Korea

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

American Educational Research Association (International)
College and University Faculty Assembly, National Council for the Social Studies (International)
Korean Association for Multicultural Education (International)
Korean Association of Social Education
Korean Economic Education Association
Korean Social Studies Association
National Association for Multicultural Education (International)

CERTIFICATE, LANGUAGES & SKILLS

National Teaching Certificate, Social Studies, Secondary-level, South Korea
Korean: Native speaker
Computer Skills: SPSS, NVivo, Qualtrics