ETHNIC IDENTITY AND MOTIVATION

SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS IN THE EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT OF VIETNAMESE AMERICAN STUDENTS

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Acknowledgments

This study of the children of immigrants had its beginnings many years ago in a school setting where, as a teacher, I first encountered students arriving in the initial wave of refugees from Vietnam. The number of Vietnamese students increased with subsequent immigration waves and the secondary migration of families to the Little Saigon area of Orange County, California. From the beginning, many students exhibited strong commitment to schooling and academic success while mastering a second language and adjusting to a new environment. Before and after school, the high school library buzzed with a mixture of Vietnamese and English as the students studied together and helped one another with assignments. A student in an English language development class scored a perfect 800 on the math portion of the college Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) and went on to earn a M.D. from Stanford University and a Ph.D. from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. I recall a morning conversation with a young boy who eagerly shared that his mother had arrived from Vietnam very late the night before. He had fled Vietnam with his father and he had not seen his mother for four years. I asked if he had not wanted to remain home with her, and he replied that his mother believed school was important and that they would have time together later.

In general, our immigrant Vietnamese students performed well in their new schools; however, like any population, not all shared the same educational success. Also, the growing number of Hispanic students who were

also immigrants or children of immigrants experienced an achievement gap in comparison to their White and Asian peers. The search for understanding these differences in achievement outcomes, both within and between groups, was the impetus for this study.

I received much support in the process of this study. I owe much to my school district - the students who continue to inspire and the educators who sustain them.

From the University of California, Irvine, Dr. Michael E. Martinez provided a balance of encouragement and challenge and shared a mutual enthusiasm for learning throughout; and Dr. Henry J. Becker offered thoughtful critiques that enhanced the research and reasoning. From of the University of California, Los Angeles, Dr. Min Zhou provided much background and foundation for this study through comparisons with her own scholarship on immigrant students; and Dr. Don Nakanishi continues to provide leadership in the field of Asian American Studies.

I am indebted to Phuong Nguyen Le, bilingual specialist, community activist, and a student himself, for the countless discussions about cultural perspectives on education and scholarship, for the insights into the local ethnic community of Little Saigon, and for the translations of interviews, proverbs, and texts.

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Công cha như núi Thái Sơn,
nghĩa mẹ như nước trong nguồn chảy ra.
Father's contribution is like a Thai mountain;
mother's devotion is like water flowing
eternally from its source.
(Vietnamese Proverb)

CHAPTER 1
The Achievement Challenge

PROBLEM STATEMENT

The growing number of immigrant and language minority students and the disturbing lack of success of students from certain cultures present major challenges for education. The achievement gap among ethnic groups has been recognized for some time and is a focus of both equity and excellence efforts. Although ethnicity among minority groups is often associated with low educational achievement, for certain groups it is associated with high academic achievement.

Asian American Demographics

The Asian American population has increased greatly in the last three decades due to changes in immigration laws in 1965 and due to the influx of refugees from Southeast Asia since the fall of South Vietnam in 1975. Between the 1970 and 1980 census the U.S. population grew by 11 percent overall, but the Asian American population grew by 141 percent; from 1980 to 1990 the corresponding growth figures are 10 percent and 99 percent (Barringer, Gardner, & Levin, 1993). The 1990 to 2000 growth of the Asian American population slowed due to the decelerating rate of immigration; however, the Asian American population growth continued to outpace overall population increases

by 48 percent to 13 percent (U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000). [1]

One of the fastest growing Asian American sub-groups has been the Southeast Asians, and Vietnamese are now the fourth largest Asian American group in the United States following Chinese, Filipino, and Asian Indian. In California from 1990 to 2000, Asian American population growth at 38% outpaced all other ethnic groups. According to the California Department of Education 2000 home language census, students whose primary language is Vietnamese comprise the second largest language minority group in California schools.

Asian immigrants entering the United States post-1965 have generally been highly educated. Overall 40.7 percent of Asian immigrants between 1985-1990 were college graduates; however, immigrants from Vietnam were the least educated in comparison to other Asian and non-Asian immigrants and only 6.8 percent had college degrees (Min, 1995).

Much attention has been given to the academic success of Asian American students. Studies have reported that, on average, Asian Americans outperform Hispanic and African American minority groups and their White peers in several achievement measures such as grade point averages, SAT scores, and achievement test scores (Kao, 1995; Reglin & Adams, 1990; Steinberg, Dornbusch, & Brown, 1992; Sue & Okazaki, 1990). However, a wide range of educational experiences among students from different Asian subgroups and backgrounds, which include at-risk students as well as high achievers, caution against the "model minority" stereotype and the generalized myth of the Asian American super-student (Kim, 1997; Hsia, 1988; Hune & Chan, 1997; Suzuki, 1977). Nonetheless, the overall achievement of certain Asian American students has generated interest when investigating explanations for group-based educational outcome differences.

Theories of Inequality

Various theories have proposed possible explanations for ethnic differences in educational outcomes. Socio-biological approaches have focused on genetic differences between population groups to account for varying achievement outcomes. Compared to the purported Black-White differences on cognitive tests of intelligence, psychometric studies comparing Asian and Anglo cognitive scores have generally reported either small or insignificant differences (Lynn, 1991, 1992; Stevenson et al., 1985, 1986, 1992). Moreover, as Herrnstein and Murray (1994, p. 270-271) make clear, "The first thing to remember is that the differences among individuals are far greater than the differences between groups."

Socioeconomic explanations have attributed group differences in achievement to inequality of background resources such as education, income, and social status (Apple, 1982; Coleman, 1966, 1990; Jencks et al., 1972). However, some research questions the applicability of social reproduction theories to interpret the educational outcomes of immigrant minority children (Gibson & Ogbu, 1991).

Socio-cultural theories have focused on cultural differences in socialization that influence affective and cognitive factors to explain variations in achievement (Ogbu, 1991; Peng & Wright, 1994; Schneider & Lee, 1990; Steinberg et al., 1992).

The above explanations for group-based inequality in educational outcomes are delimited in that the variables of interest are substantially confounded. For example, the intergenerational effects of low socioeconomic status may be correlated with socio-cultural factors such as lowered educational aspiration and expectation and with physical characteristics impaired by inadequate nutrition and impoverished developmental experience. Although biological and socioeconomic factors most likely contribute to student outcomes, they do not sufficiently explain the achievement of certain immigrant children. Several studies

of immigrant children attribute achievement outcomes to socio-cultural factors such as language, cultural values and beliefs, ethnic networks, and selective assimilation rather than to biological traits or social class (Gallimore & Goldenberg, 1993; Gibson & Bachu, 1991; Kao & Tienda, 1995; Kelly & Schlauffler, 1996; Rumbaut, 1996; Zhou & Bankston, 1998).

To begin to understand the relationship of culture to educational outcomes, this study adopts the psychometric premise that individual differences are far greater than group differences. Thus, the analysis of socio-cultural contexts significant in within-group differences in motivation and performance may help clarify the factors contributing to between-group inequity. The cognitive information-processing psychology paradigm allows conceptualizing intelligence as a "collection of competencies that are acquired through experience, rather than as a mysterious latent power" (Martinez, 2000, p.21). Given this view, socio-cultural beliefs and values could mediate motivational behaviors that contribute to the cultivation of intelligence and achievement. This thinking expands the consequence of the investigation of culture and ethnicity beyond explanations for group-based differences in educational outcomes to clarification of the larger question of cognition and development for all students.

BACKGROUND

In one school district in Orange County, California, Vietnamese students have been proportionately over-represented among high school valedictorians for the past several years. Currently, most Vietnamese students are either immigrants or children of immigrants and list Vietnamese as their primary language, the first language they learned.

Students whose primary language is Vietnamese make up 22 percent of the school district's enrollment. Vietnamese students represent the largest Asian subgroup

of the district's total Asian enrollment of 29 percent. In 1996, 5 of 11, or 45 percent, district valedictorians were Vietnamese. In 1997, 9 of 14, or 64 percent, of the valedictorians were Vietnamese (see Table 1.1). White student enrollment in the district is 24 percent, and White students were proportionately represented among valedictorians at 27 percent in 1996 and 21 percent in 1997. Though Hispanics comprise 43% of total district enrollment, no Hispanics were among those with the highest academic records.[2]

TABLE 1.1
1996 and 1997 Valedictorians

Ethnicity	Percentage District K-12 Enrollment*	1996 Valedictorians		1997 Valedictorians	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent
All Students					
Hispanic	43	0	0	0	0
White	24	3	27	3	21
Asian	29	8	73	11	79
Asian Students					
Chinese		1	09	0	0
Korean				1	07
South Asian		2	18		
Vietnamese**	22	5	45	9	64
Asian Subtotal	29	8	73	11	79

*California Basic Educational Data System (CBEDS) 1996
**Students who indicate Vietnamese as their primary/first language

A review of the grades of the 1997 graduates from the seven high schools reveals that seventy-five students throughout the school district earned a cumulative weighted grade point average (GPA) of 4.0 or higher. Fifty-three students or 71% of students averaging all As were Asian. In disaggregating the Asian subpopulations, over half

(56%) of those with a 4.0 GPA or higher were Vietnamese
(see Table 1.2).

TABLE 1.2
1997 High School Graduates by Ethnicity
Earning 4.0 Grade Point Averages or Higher

Ethnicity	Number	Percentage
Non-Asian	22	29
Vietnamese	42	56
Other Asian	11	15
Totals	75	100

The majority of Vietnamese students have learned
English as a second language. Despite the challenges of
entering school without the ability to speak and understand
English, many Vietnamese immigrant students are not only
successful in school but are achieving at the highest levels
in their classes. Additionally, in comparison with most
other Asian American subgroups, the Vietnamese do not
share similar advantages of formal education or
socioeconomic status. At the time of the 1980 census,
Vietnamese, on average, had less education than other
Asians and Whites and lower per capita household income
than all major ethnic groups (Barringer et al., 1995).
It must also be noted that not all achievement data on
Vietnamese students is positive. Other school districts have
reported an increasing dropout rate for Vietnamese students
(Chuong, 1994). Dropout statistics from the district under
study do not disaggregate the various Asian subgroups;
however, the data indicate that Asian students in grades 7
through 12 have a proportionately lower dropout rate than
Hispanic students but a higher rate than their White peers
(see Table 1.3). While the Asian dropout rate is
proportionately lower than district-wide Asian enrollment,
it nonetheless indicates that not all Asian or Vietnamese

students are successful in school, and that they sustain a proportionately higher dropout rate than Whites.[3]

TABLE 1.3
1996 Dropout Data from Grades 7-12 by Ethnicity

Ethnic Group	Number	Percentage of Dropouts	District Enrollment Percentage
Asian	51	24	29
Hispanic	133	63	43
White	24	11	24
Other	03	02	07
Totals	211	100	100

STUDY HYPOTHESES

This study investigates the within-group variation in educational achievement of Vietnamese American high school students. Although differences in general cognitive ability most likely contribute to within-group variation in achievement to some degree, explanations based on socio-biological factors were not a focus of this study. The study considers family demographics and socioeconomic resources, and it examines several socio-cultural factors contributing to student ethnicity. The study treats ethnicity as a dynamic measure of interaction, adaptation, and socialization and identifies the educational consequences of variance in Vietnamese American ethnicity on motivation and performance.

Based upon previous research into the academic achievement of Vietnamese American students and the background information on their prior performance in the school district under study, high educational achievement was anticipated for the students in the study. It was hypothesized that background demographics such as

parental education and occupation would not predict their academic performance.

It was hypothesized that certain socio-cultural factors, more than others, would predict variation in achievement among Vietnamese American students. Because this study was also exploratory, the actual significant variables in the mediating construct of ethnicity were defined through the study itself. Several socio-cultural variables used in prior research were included to investigate the construct of ethnicity for Vietnamese American students. The study examined factors such as recency of arrival, language fluency in both Vietnamese and English, involvement with the ethnic community, ethnicity of peers, and cultural values and beliefs.

Finally, motivational variables were examined to determine which of those correlated with ethnicity and which ones were significant in predicting the variation in achievement among Vietnamese American students. The study specifically looked into goal orientations held by this group of students. It was hypothesized that students would hold both mastery and performance orientations. The exploratory focus of the study investigated how these orientations related to variance in academic performance and to other predictor variables.

Figure 1.1 represents a model of the study. The first level represents the three categories of predictor variables whose contributions to educational achievement were measured in the study. The dotted lines between the upper three boxes acknowledge the interaction and association among these categories.

FIGURE 1.1
Study Model: Potential Factors Contributing to
Educational Achievement

Socio-
economic
Demographics - - - - - - - Culture and
Ethnicity - - - - - - - Motivation

Educational Achievement

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This study was designed to examine the psychosocial constructs of identity, motivation, and educational behavior that contribute to Vietnamese ethnicity and academic achievement. The study also explored how individual context and social interaction with other cultures modified ethnicity. Ethnicity was treated as a dynamic variable, socially constructed by a process of interaction and adaptation.

Vietnamese represent America's largest refugee group as well as one of the fastest growing Asian American populations. The first wave of Vietnamese immigrants was generally educated, from the upper half of the socioeconomic scale, and from urban areas; the second and third waves of refugees represent a greater social mix. Further, some students from these later groups faced disruption in schooling due to time spent in refugee camps, and others arrived as unaccompanied minors. Despite this broader profile of current Vietnamese American students,

many are still achieving at high levels in school. This study examined similarities and differences between those who are achieving in school at very high levels and those who have not been as successful and identified the socio-cultural factors that contribute to within-group differences in the educational outcomes of Vietnamese American high school students.

IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

The changing demographics of the school population call for research in the teaching and learning of students not from the dominant culture. The minority populations of school-age children have been growing more rapidly than the White population and, in a number of states, non-White student enrollment will soon gain a plurality. The Asian American population is one of the fastest growing groups, and Vietnamese now represent the second largest language minority group in California schools. The 1990 U.S. Census revealed that 90 percent of Asian American children are first or second generation which would suggest that most have a primary language other than English. Schools need information to address the instruction of the growing number of immigrant and language minority students[4].

Secondly, studying achievement among students of different cultures may contribute to the understanding of the socio-cultural influences that support positive educational outcomes. The Vietnamese student population provides a unique opportunity to study socio-cultural factors affecting relatively recent immigrants in that most are either children of immigrants or immigrants themselves. By studying individuals who are achieving as determined by their grades, achievement test scores, and college acceptances and those who are less successful in school, some variables related to academic excellence and within-group differences may surface. Additionally, educational studies often report aggregated data on Asian Americans

that do not take into account the wide variation among sub-populations. Also, very little is known about within-group differences among Asian American groups.

Thirdly, the continuing differences in educational achievement among various ethnic groups suggest that schools have been ineffective in addressing historical-cultural differences in access to both means and ends of education. The school system that appears to be working for many Asian Americans may be contributing to the failure of African American and Hispanic students. It appears that ethnicity may mediate the processes involved in academic development. However, more research is needed in order to identify the components of ethnicity and culture that correlate with group and individual differences in educational responses and outcomes. To acquire a better understanding of socio-cultural explanations for variation in achievement, the complex concepts of ethnicity and culture must be unpackaged in order to investigate their contribution to school achievement. Research in this area would address not only pluralistic concerns about group-based inequality in educational outcomes but also clarify the role of ethnicity in mediating cognitive and conative development for all students.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The following research questions were the major focus of this investigation:

1. What socio-cultural factors contribute to variation in motivation and academic achievement of Vietnamese high school students?
2. How do Vietnamese high school students ethnically define themselves and what cultural values and beliefs are associated with this ethnic-social identity?
3. What goal orientations do Vietnamese students claim and how are they related to their achievement?

CHAPTER 1 NOTES

1. For the first time, the 2000 Census allowed people to report themselves as members of more than one racial or ethnic group. The percentage of growth for the Asian American population of 48 percent is based on the statistics of those who reported Asian under the one race category. The current Asian American population growth is increasingly due to growing families rather than new immigration (*Los Angeles Times*, 2001). This is also reflected in the growing number of second-generation Vietnamese American students.

2. District data identifies twelve valedictorians for the class of 2001. Ten of the valedictorians are Vietnamese American and two are Chinese American. Of the ten Vietnamese American valedictorians, seven were born in the United States and three were born in Vietnam. All ten identify Vietnamese as their primary language. Of the two Chinese valedictorians, one named Chinese as the primary language and the other indicated English as the primary language. 11 of 12 valedictorians are either immigrants or children of immigrants.

3. California statewide dropout data for the 1997 – 1998 school year show Asian and White students with a similar dropout rate of 0.4 percent and Hispanic students with a 1.9 percent rate (CBEDS 1997-1998).

4. Results from the Census 2000 Supplementary Survey indicate that the immigrant population now accounts for 11 percent of the U.S. population. School-age children who have a primary language other than English now represent 18 percent of the nation's school-age population compared to 14 percent in 1990.

Research and Theories

INTRODUCTION

Children of immigrants face many obstacles in their adaptation to a new country and to its schools. Limited socioeconomic support, lack of fluency in English, and a potential cultural collision of customs and values erect barriers to the successful negotiation of the institution of schooling. Despite these challenges, many of these children achieve in school. Asian immigrant and native Asian American children have outperformed their peers in many measures of achievement. The children of Vietnamese refugees, in particular, have been remarkably successful despite their socioeconomic and language barriers (Caplan, Choy, & Whitmore, 1991; Rumbaut, 1989; Whitmore, Trautmann, & Caplan, 1989). Moreover, their academic achievement contrasts with the lack of achievement of certain other minority groups.

Both between-group differences and within-group differences in educational outcomes have been linked to factors that can be categorized as socio-cultural. However, these linkages are not universally consistent, as their influence on educational outcomes is dependent upon the ethnic group involved (Kao, 1995; Portes, 1996; Walker-Moffat, 1995). For example, the correlation of parenting styles with school achievement appears to have differential effects among ethnic groups. Students from families with *authoritative parenting* styles, emphasizing self-direction

and responsibility, tend to do better in school. However, the effect of parenting on student achievement is culturally relative and has less impact on non-White families (Steinberg et al., 1996). Even though Asian students may perform well in school, Asian parents, particularly first generation, are often more inclined towards emphasizing obedience and *authoritarian (autocratic) parenting*, a style that is incompatible in predicting White student achievement (Chao, 1994).

Although the socio-cultural approach may eventually explain this complex notion of ethnicity-mediated academic achievement, the concept of ethnicity itself must first be investigated. What factors influence the construction of group and individual ethnic identification? What educational ideology and behavior variables associate with a given ethnicity? How does assimilation affect ethnic identity of immigrants and their children? When studying the school achievement of ethnic groups, ethnicity has generally been treated as a static control variable. However, a psychosocial view would suggest that ethnicity is a dynamic construct (Portes, 1996) that develops through both intra- and inter-cultural social interactions. A fluid construct of ethnicity may better explain the differences in within-group achievement.

Various motivational factors have been associated with academic performance. When studying variance in educational outcomes, the effect of ethnicity on the more proximal variables of motivation must be considered. Examining the associations among ethnicity, motivation, and achievement variables will delineate more clearly the socio-cultural factors influencing educational performance.

EDUCATIONAL OUTCOME

Between-Group Differences
Several studies have provided data that document ethnic differences in educational achievement. The National

Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) is a federally sponsored program that has monitored academic achievement of the American youth since 1969. On average, Asian Americans score higher than Whites in certain measures of achievement such as grades and math proficiency, and Hispanic and African American students achieve lower scores than their White peers (Dossey, Mullis, Lindquist, & Chambers, 1988).[1]

Educational levels and school enrollment are additional measures of academic attainment. Using 1980 Census data, Barringer et al. (1995) noted the relatively high enrollment of Asian Americans in school at all age levels. Among respondents 35 years and older, Vietnamese reported the highest educational enrollment at 13.1%. The 1989 Current Population Survey shows that among respondents aged 25 and older, Asians have attained higher educational levels in comparison to Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics.

Studies have documented Asian American student achievement using various data sets. Wong (1990) reported on educational differences between White and Asian students based upon the data from the High School and Beyond study, a national longitudinal survey of high school sophomores and seniors initially conducted in 1980 and followed over a six-year period. Although 58,000 students completed questionnaires, only a small proportion of Asian students were sampled, and very few Korean (47), Vietnamese (26), and Pacific Islanders (19) were included. Among Asian subgroups, Wong includes data only on Chinese (89), Filipino (96), and Japanese (103) respondents. He concludes that Asian students are more likely to enroll in college preparatory classes, spend more time doing homework, achieve higher grades, and maintain higher educational expectations and aspirations than their White peers.

The National Education Longitudinal Study of 1988 (NELS) and its follow-up surveys conducted in 1990 and 1992 over-sampled for Asian American students in order to supply adequate data on this population. The 1988 sample

includes 1,527 Asian American eighth grade respondents as well as information from their parents, teachers, and schools. Using this sample, Kao (1995) reports that, on average, Asian students earn significantly higher grades than Whites (p < .001). Although some variance can be attributed to family background and educational resources, Kao suggests that achievement is also the result of cultural practices that cause some Asian subgroups to "overachieve" regardless of socioeconomic and family background considerations.

The use of aggregated data to report Asian American achievement can lead to generalizations that have constructed the image of Asians as the model minority and overachievers (Suzuki, 1977). Aggregated data fail to take into account the diversity in academic performance among the various Asian subgroups. Furthermore, collective reporting neglects the wide variation in within-group school achievement. Several researchers in the last two decades have attempted to deconstruct the model minority stereotype (Chun, 1980; Hsia, 1988; Sue & Okazaki, 1990).

Explanations for Achievement Differences
Socio-biological explanations:
Ethnic differences in intellectual development and achievement have been interpreted in various ways. An early psychometric explanation that still garners interest and controversy is socio-biological in basis. This literature explores the genetic explication for achievement variation among ethnic groups (Herrnstein & Murray, 1994; Jensen, 1969; Lynn, 1991, 1992). Stevenson and his colleagues (1985,1986,1992) have conducted several cross-cultural studies comparing students from Asia and the United States. The results have not supported a genetic explanation for Asian achievement, but the studies have pointed out differences in achievement motivations and learning behaviors among students and parents.

Socio-economic explanations:
Socioeconomic and family background factors such as family income and parental education have been proposed as explanations for achievement differences (Apple, 1982; Coleman, 1966; Jencks et al., 1972). The 1965 Immigration Act abolished discrimination based on national origin and permitted the immigration of alien professionals. Since 1965, Asian immigrants have largely come from urban, middle class, and educated backgrounds (Min, 1995). In general, the association of parental education and socioeconomic status with academic achievement has been supported (Coleman, 1966). Grissmer et al. (1994) used the data sets of the 1980 National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY) and the 1988 National Education Longitudinal Study (NELS) to study the effects of family socioeconomic characteristics on student achievement. They found that parents' education had the greatest effect on student mathematics scores and that family income was the second strongest socioeconomic predictor of achievement.[2]

Based on census data, the educational level of Asian immigrants in the 1970s and 1980s was higher than the level of the general population in the U.S. and the level of non-Asian new immigrants. In 1975, the collapse of South Vietnam led to the first wave of approximately 125,000 Vietnamese refugees. This select group was largely urban and middle class. Later refugees, who make up the bulk of the current Vietnamese population in America, were less skilled, less urban, and less educated. In comparison to Whites and other Asian Americans, Vietnamese Americans, on average, have lower socioeconomic status, as measured by education and family income (Barringer et al., 1993). Thus, socioeconomic status in the United States does not explain the high achievement of Vietnamese students.

<u>Socio-cultural explanations:</u>
Socio-cultural explanations of achievement differences include various theories. *Cultural compatibility* theories (Gallimore & Goldenberg, 1993; Heath, 1983, 1986) hypothesize that a match between the culture of the home and the dominant culture promotes success. In contrast, a mismatch, *cultural conflict*, between the child's training in the primary culture and the expectations of the dominant culture of school is less likely to result in success. Some cultures have a disapproving view of achievement that distinguishes the individual as achieving above the general ability of the group. Maoris, for example, achieve status through conformity with the group, and children may disguise giftedness in order to remain a part of their group (Reid, 1992). Initial cultural conflict explanations for underachievement perceived cultural shortcomings and often resulted in "blaming the victim." *Institutional inequality* theory assigns responsibility to schools as often failing to instruct children from cultures that are different. From this perspective, lack of achievement is due to social injustice and institutions that preserve inequality, not due to cultural deficiency.
    Ogbu (1978) argues that the caste-like status of minority groups, such as African Americans, Native Americans, and Mexican Americans, produces low school performance and low adult status. Groups who have endured this structural caste system may develop a self-protecting and defiant psychological defense.   The *resistance or opposition theory* (MacLeod, 1987; Ogbu & Matute-Bianchi, 1986) proposes another explanation for differences in educational outcomes. Due to their group's disenfranchised status, achievement by minority group members can be considered as "selling out" one's ethnic and cultural identity to the dominant culture and its value system. Expressions such as "school boy" or "acting White" serve as pejoratives used by peers to resist achievement and oppose the values of the mainstream.

The Vietnamese experience corresponds in part with the cultural compatibility model. Whitmore, Trautmann, and Caplan (1989) interviewed 200 households from the second wave of Southeast Asian immigrants who arrived from 1978 through 1982. Children in these families were performing very well in school as measured by grades and math scores on standardized achievement tests. The authors point to the compatibility of cultural values as the main reason for this success. In the interviews, the values rated most important to 95% of the families were "Educational Achievement," "A Cohesive Family," and "A Belief in Hard Work." Their values of hard work and effort and their strong belief in education as a means to future success align well with the expectations needed to succeed in American schools.

Ogbu and Matute-Bianchi (1986) maintain that school success depends on the role of schooling in people's cultural value system. They propose that every population develops its own *folk theory* of getting ahead. If in the cultural experience school success is equated with job success, then that population will respond positively toward schooling. If, on the other hand, children observe that adult members of the population do not demonstrate a connection between school success and success in getting jobs and overcoming institutional barriers, then they do not develop a positive concept of schooling as a means of getting ahead.

The folk theory for Asian immigrants may be the belief in the importance of doing well in school in order to gain entry into college, to acquire a good job, and to be successful in life. Sue and Okazaki (1990) propose a theory of *relative functionalism* to explain Asian American educational achievement. This model posits that perceived limitations in career choices for Asian Americans due to the lack of successful role models in certain careers and due to discrimination or structural barriers makes education more functional as a means for upward mobility.

ASSIMILATION

Assimilation Canon

Cultural-historical explanations for educational achievement include various assimilation theories. The white population in America at the time of the Revolution was predominantly English and Protestant. Traditional *linear assimilation* as a process in which immigrant/minority groups adapted to and adopted this prevailing American culture has been a dominant ideology of assimilation in America. Sociologists have labeled this assimilation framework as "Anglo-conformity" and "straight-line" to describe the continuing process of acculturation and assimilation that moves American ethnic groups closer to the majority culture and society with each generation (Gans, 1973; Gordon, 1964; Sandberg, 1974). Language assimilation or the increasing usage of English with successive generations in the United States is an example of this one-sided adaptation by the minority group (Portes & Schauffler, 1996).

The experience of the descendents of non-English colonial immigrants and many of the early nineteenth century European immigrants is generally compatible with this acculturation model. Assimilation into the host culture often assumed a *structural assimilation* (Gordon, 1964) of access to other aspects of American society of educational opportunity, mainstream institutions, and primary relationships. Many would note that for certain groups structural assimilation has not kept pace with the more readily achieved *acculturation* process of adopting the cultural patterns of the host society.

A competing assimilation framework has been the *melting pot* theory that views acculturation not as one-sided but involving changes by both the host society and the various immigrant groups. In the melting pot, cultures will mix and fuse to create a new blended American culture distinct from any of the separate groups. For the greater part of the American experience, the dominance of the

Anglo population, the English language, and mainstream institutions and their norms have been maintained. The idealistic cultural fusion in a single melting pot has not created a new culture from the equivalent contributions of all subgroups.

Both the linear assimilation and melting pot theories envisioned the disappearance of the immigrant cultures as either being replaced by the dominant host culture or blended to create a different culture. Somewhat outside the traditional assimilation ideology is the cultural pluralism theory that proposes the maintenance of subcultures within the larger national society. These subcultures provide a group/ethnic identity and a network of primary group relationships. The promotion of multiculturalism in education has links to the cultural pluralism perspective.

In ways, the Japanese American experience can be interpreted within these various assimilation viewpoints. Declining immigration from Japan has resulted in a subgroup population that currently is mostly native born with many classified as third and fourth generation. The Japanese American subculture can be thought of as a blend of mainstream American patterns and the traditions and behaviors brought from Japan by earlier generations and reinterpreted by subsequent generations. Japanese American students, who have the highest percentage of native-born compared to other Asian groups, have achievement rates very similar to Whites (Barringer et al., 1995). Also, this group has demonstrated a strong association between school achievement and parental educational and income levels similar to the association for White families.

Third (Sansei) and fourth (Yonsei) generations of Japanese Americans are for the most part established in the American middle class, and they also have a relatively high intermarriage rate (Lee & Yamanaka, 1990). The experience of assimilation and upward mobility allows ethnic identity to become voluntary rather than assigned. Gans (1999) refers to this type of ethnic identity by choice

as "symbolic ethnicity." Kendis (1989) views ethnicity as a
psychological and behavioral continuum. Individual
identity is established along this continuum as needed for
personal comfort. Kendis describes both low ethnic and
high ethnic styles among third generation Japanese
Americans. Some Japanese Americans function primarily
within the American mainstream and its institutions and
others retain a lifestyle of cultural and structural pluralism
by purposefully maintaining their ethnic identity, cultural
heritage, and primary group network for at least a portion
of their lives.

   Alba and Nee (1997) have noted that ethnic identity for
non-Whites is resilient to change. Circumstances of racial
stratification are highlighted by those who would argue
that, despite individual acculturation, structural assimilation
for Japanese Americans has not been truly achieved.

Variant Assimilation Theories
More recent scholarship has proposed variations on the
abovementioned assimilation theories, particularly on the
one-sided Anglo-conformity model. Portes and Zhou,
(1993) propose a *segmented assimilation* model in which
different groups take different paths depending on context
and resources. Some will experience traditional, linear
assimilation and upward mobility. Some will endure
downward mobility and assimilate to the norms of the inner
city and under classes due to lack of resources with which
to compete in the social and economic mainstream. Yet
other immigrant groups who remain connected to their
ethnic community and its cultural values may benefit from
the solidarity and social capital or relationship resources of
the community to gain educational and economic mobility.

   Portes and Zhou (1993) suggest that three *social
contexts* - color, geographical location and labor markets –
can jeopardize the successful acculturation of children of
more recent immigrants. An analyses of immigrant-headed
households from the 1990 Census shows that close to half
of second generation children are non-White (Jensen &

Chitose, 1996). In the United States as well as other countries, racial distinctions from the phenotypic mainstream have frequently created barriers to upward mobility. The non-White new second generation may also face prejudicial obstacles in their path to access mainstream institutions and relationships.

Geographical location or where immigrants find residence can also restrict their assimilation process. According to the 1990 Census, many second-generation children tend to live in metropolitan areas and in poorer households compared to children of native parentage. In these circumstances, children are often relegated to living in poor neighborhoods and attending schools serving other low-income families, conditions that have a negative impact on the educational outcomes of native-born children. A review of partially released 2000 census data, suggests that Asian Americans in California are moving into the suburbs and settling in areas with higher achieving schools as their income and social mobility allow.

Another contextual factor hindering the course of successful assimilation is the labor market. Due to de-industrialization, the American labor market has lost opportunity footholds formerly provided by numerous middle rungs of well paying blue-collar jobs on the occupational ladder of social mobility. The current labor structure can be described as an "hourglass" (Portes & Zhou, 1993) with a large number of minimally paying jobs at the bottom and another cluster of jobs requiring advanced training or education on the top. Between these two employment boundaries is a declining number of middle rung jobs that previously provided opportunities for upward mobility.

Successful assimilation is contingent upon the economic opportunities available as well as the resources immigrants bring to the current market. The labor-migrant immigrants, with little formal education, fill the economic needs for low cost immigrant labor and have less success at progressing from these lower status positions (Portes &

Rumbaut, 1996).   In comparison, human-capital immigrants may initially experience downward assimilation; however, their resources assist their adjustment into mainstream occupations and their children have more successful educational outcomes.

In the segmented assimilation model, immigrants who do not bring their own human-capital resources to the labor market may still sustain upward mobility through the socio-cultural support of a strong ethnic community (Portes & Rumbaut, 1990; Portes & Zhou, 1993).   In her study of Punjabi high school students whose families had immigrated to a rural area in northern California, Gibson (1988) attributed their academic success to a *selective assimilation* process.   These students performed better than would be predicted based upon parents' education, income, and occupation and despite the receptive prejudice of the geographic host community.   Punjabi families appear to possess a value of education that cuts across social and caste lines, and Punjabi students are encouraged by their parents to maintain their ethnic cultural values and beliefs rather than adopt those of the dominant culture.   Later cross-cultural research involving Punjabi Sikh students in Britain corroborate these findings of the academic success of these immigrant students when compared to their majority-group peers (Gibson & Bhachu, 1991).   In the Sikh selective assimilation example, success requires negotiating the mainstream culture while maintaining strong ties to the Punjabi community and its values.

Studies of other immigrant groups such as the Cubans in Florida, the Chinese in New York, and the Vietnamese in New Orleans also document the social capital provided by ethnic enclaves to sustain the upward mobility of immigrants and their children (Portes & Zhou, 1993; Zhou, 1997; Zhou & Bankston, 1996).   Other research supports the contribution of maintaining close ties to the ethnic culture and language.   In their studies of the Indochinese immigrant children in San Diego schools, Rumbaut and Ima (1988) note that English monolingual students

maintain lower grade point averages than their bilingual coethnic peers. Matute-Bianchi (1986) found that Mexican American high school students who identified with their Mexican heritage tended to do better in school than their peers who assimilated with Mexican American youth. Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco (1995) also report a decline in achievement motivation in second generation Mexican American compared to youth in Mexico and Mexican immigrants. This achievement decline or *subtractive acculturation* from the immigrant generation to subsequent second and third generations contradicts conventional assimilation theory of upward mobility through Americanization. These newer studies reveal that longer residence in the United States may have a negative influence on educational aspiration and attainment. If this is an effect of assimilation, the phenomenal educational achievement of Vietnamese immigrant students, many from families with limited resources of education and income, may also decline with time and acculturation.

Newer assimilation theories consider the context and the resources of both the mainstream and ethnic socio-cultural structures as contributing to educational outcome and the eventual mobility pathways of immigrants and their children. For immigrant students, their interactive identification with both the primary culture and with the host culture constructs their theories of success, their educational beliefs, and their mobility strategies. This compounded perspective of assimilation outcomes replaces the homogeneous view of American culture and hegemonic linear assimilation with multiple outcomes shaped by racial, regional, and economic context as well as individual and group influences.

The Vietnamese Experience
The pattern of immigration from Vietnam and other Southeast Asian countries differs from that of other Asian nations (Barringer et al., 1995). With many arriving under the occupational preference categories of immigration

legislation, as a whole, Asians who have immigrated to the U.S. since the late 1960s have been highly trained and represent a selected population. This blueprint does not characterize the refugee-immigrants from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos.

The first wave of approximately 125,000 Vietnamese refugees to arrive in the United States coincides with the fall of South Vietnam and the withdrawal of American military in 1975. Selected by their ties to the American or South Vietnamese government, this first wave tended to be a professional, urban elite. The end of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s brought the second wave of Vietnamese refugees referred to as "boat people." This label originated from the images of the overcrowded, leaky boats used by many to flee the country. These immigrants consisted of both Sino-Vietnamese, driven out after the war with China, and ethnic Vietnamese and composed a less urban, less educated, and less Westernized population. The third wave of immigration to the United States occurred from 1988 – 1992 and consisted of many refugees arriving under the U.S. policies of the 1979 Orderly Departure Program (assisting former south Vietnamese military personnel and their families), 1988 Amerasian Homecoming Act (removing quotas on Amerasians and their families), and the 1989 Humanitarian Operation Program (targeting former political prisoners and their families).[3]

Vietnamese immigration to the United States was assisted by the formal government policies lifting refugee immigration quotas and providing monetary assistance under refugee status. However, public reception was often mixed. The downturn in the American economy in the 1980s brought increased resentment toward immigrants who were perceived as economic competitors. The use of taxpayer dollars for refugee assistance was another source of public concern. Residual anger over the Vietnam War also fueled underlying prejudice that on occasion erupted

into violence against the new immigrants as well as against other Asians.

U.S. policy initially attempted to disperse and integrate Vietnamese refugees to minimize their impact on receiving communities. Many Vietnamese immigrants have secondarily migrated to selected metropolitan areas and to established Vietnamese communities, such as Little Saigon in Orange County, California; Houston, Texas; and Washington, D.C. These communities provide newcomers with an ethnic economy and the social and cultural support to "foster the development of social capital" that can overcome barriers and develop skills to advance (Zhou & Bankston, 1998, p. 83). From 1980 to 1990, Vietnamese in the United States have gained socioeconomic progress through declining unemployment, improved occupation, and increasing household income. With improved socioeconomic status and increasing growth due to growing families, tertiary migration into more affluent areas with notably performing schools has already begun and is expected to continue (Ong, 2001).

MOTIVATION, LEARNING, AND PERFORMANCE

Ethnic Identification and Motivational Variables
To comprehend group differences in achievement outcomes, a study of ethnicity and its effect on proximal motivational variables may further this understanding. A psychosocial view of ethnicity conceptualizes a dynamic construct that is socially influenced by both intra-and inter-cultural social interactions (Kelly & Schauffler, 1996; Portes, 1996; Rumbaut, 1996). Immigrants shape their collective and individual identity by their interactions within their primary social group as well as with other ethnic groups, and their socio-cultural identity incorporates learning beliefs and motivational behaviors that affect how children perform in school.

Research citing socio-cultural explanations of achievement has considered a variety of variables such as home environment, educational aspiration, and generational status. Using the NELS 1988 data set, Peng and Wright (1994) concluded that differences in home environment and educational activities accounted for a large part of the difference in academic achievement between Asian and other minority students. Asian American students were more likely to live in intact two-parent homes, to spend more time on homework, and to attend more lessons outside of school. Although Asian American parents did not directly help with homework, they had higher educational expectations for their children. Similarly, Kao (1995) found that, in comparison to White parents, Southeast Asian parents had higher educational aspirations for their children. Also, enduring the lowest overall levels of parental education among all Asian subgroups, Southeast Asian children outperformed their other Asian counterparts with similar family background. Thus, the measure of *educational aspiration* appears to be part of an ethnic socio-cultural identity that predicts academic performance.

Generational status, also a socio-cultural variable, appears to correlate with achievement. Research has explored the relationship between assimilation and educational achievement for second and later generations. The 1996 Rand Report, *How Immigrants Fare in U.S. Education*, used the data sets from the High School and Beyond longitudinal study and U.S. Census of Population and Housing survey. The report concluded that immigrant students were more likely than their native counterparts to attend and complete college. Analyses of the data identified the following factors as correlating with college-going: socioeconomic status, parents' education, parental educational expectations for their children, and students' attitude toward effort in studying. Asian, Black, Hispanic, and White immigrant children and parents have higher educational aspirations than their native counterparts. Among immigrant groups, Asians scored the highest on

indicators of college-going. Native Asians scored the highest among native groups as well, and four out of five Asian high school graduates enroll in college.

Generational status can be a measure of the dynamics of ethnicity in that it reflects the length of acculturation time or, conversely, the period of potential decline of the primary culture effects. Kao and Tienda (1995) examined the influence of generational status on immigrant and native student achievement using the NELS 1988 survey data. They concluded that behavioral differences between immigrant and native parents impacted the educational achievement of their children. *Parents' optimism* about their children's future contributes to the achievement of first and second-generation students. Kao and Tienda also noted that the effect of generational status differed among ethnic groups and was most influential for Asians. Asians who are high achievers tend to have immigrant parents. They also reported that third and subsequent Asian American generations demonstrate achievement levels no greater than White student performance.

Generational decline may be tied to the ethnic factor, the degree of identification with a group's distinctive socio-cultural traits and values, particularly when those represent adaptive beliefs and behaviors. The traumatic Vietnamese immigrant experiences of exile, flight, and resettlement have served to create a strong sense of ethnic identity (Zhou & Bankston, 1998). Almost all first generation Vietnamese parents share this common experience of hardship and this serves to increase their aspiration and optimism for opportunity, which they pass onto their children in the form of high expectation and educational ambition.

Conative Constructs of Motivation and Volition
Though most educational psychologists would agree that learning and performance are influenced by motivation, the concept of motivation itself is multifaceted and, therefore, challenging to quantify. To assess the presence of

motivation, behavioral indicators such as choice of task, effort, and persistence are commonly used as measures (Pintrich & Schunk, 1996). Students who chose to engage in a task, put forth effort, and persist are more likely to achieve at higher levels. Motivation along with cognitive ability and situational factors is hypothesized to influence achievement. For the purpose of this study, motivation and volition will be addressed individually as conative functions.

Conation is the tendency to initiate and maintain deliberate activity to accomplish goals. Conation incorporates both *motivation* (the predisposition for goal-directed activity) and *volition* (the implementation of intentions). In a review of the research on conative functions, Snow, Corno, and Jackson (1996) have created a provisional taxonomy. Motivational constructs are categorized into the following areas: achievement orientations (need for achievement and fear of failure, extrinsic and intrinsic goals); self-directed orientations (self-concept, self-worth, self-efficacy); and values, attitudes, and interests in preferred tasks. Volition is classified into action controls (self-regulated learning, mindfulness, effort, persistence); other-directed orientations (empathy, social intelligence); and personal learning styles.

The studies of Atkinson and McClelland (1948) first defined the need for achievement or *achievement motivation*. McClelland, Atkinson, Clark, and Lowell (1953) identified two components of achievement motivation: fear of failure, which was considered to be dysfunctional, and hope for success, which was thought to be more adaptive. According to Lens (as cited in Snow et al., 1996), fear of failure has a curvilinear relation with achievement indicating that in moderate amounts it can contribute positively to achievement but in small or large levels can impede educational performance. Steinberg et al. (1992) surveyed 15,000 high school students and found no ethnic differences in the belief that education contributes to future occupational success. However, Asian American

students had a stronger fear of the negative consequences of educational failure. Across ethnic groups, the belief in the negative consequences of school failure predicted performance better than belief in the positive consequences of school success.

Goal Orientation

Goal orientation considers the purpose for engaging in achievement behavior. Several conceptually overlapping models of goal orientation are represented by contrasting orientations of mastery versus performance goals (Ames, 1992; Ames & Archer, 1987, 1988), task orientation versus ego orientation (Nicholls et al., 1984, 1989), task-focused versus ability-focused goals (Maehr & Midgley, 1991), and learning goals versus performance goals (Dweck & Leggett, 1988). An intrinsic mastery (task/learning) orientation focuses on learning for its own sake, mastery of a task, developing new skills, improving competence, and gaining understanding. Mastery goal orientation is associated with a positive effect on cognition, affect, and behavior. In contrast, an extrinsic performance (ego/ability) orientation focuses on how ability is judged, outperforming others, and seeking recognition.

Pintrich and Schunk (1996) note the lack of research focusing on differences in goal orientation by ethnicity; however, goal orientation has been associated with other achievement motivations and behaviors. First, goal orientation has been associated with individual differences in *attributions*. Dweck and her colleagues (1983, 1986, 1988) proposed that differences in achievement goal orientation result from children's theories of intelligence. Children who sustain an *entity theory* view intelligence as a stable trait and would tend to develop a performance goal orientation. Children who support an *incremental theory* believe that intelligence can be increased and would acquire a mastery goal orientation. Mastery-oriented children tend to select challenging tasks that increase competence. Nicholls (1984) assumed the opposite causal

relationship and viewed goal orientation as influencing beliefs about success and failure. Goal orientation has also been linked with volitional action control behaviors such as effort and persistence. Mastery orientations are linked with more time on task and greater persistence when compared to performance orientations (Ames, 1992). Mastery goals are also associated with the use of cognitive and self-regulated strategies (Pintrich & De Groot, 1990).

Cross-Cultural Studies
Cross-cultural research suggests that cultures vary in their explanations for success and failure; such explanations are referred to as *achievement attributions*. Stevenson, Lee, and Stigler (1986) compared children and mothers in Japan, China, and the United States and found that, although all attributed success and failure to effort, American children and their mothers had a greater belief in innate ability. The authors conclude that cultures valuing hard work and sacrifice to achieve individual goals promote healthy achievement attribution in their children. East Asian cultures tend to stress effort over ability in determining eventual success (Stevenson, 1994); thus, children are taught to view success as defined by individual effort and not delimited by perceptions of fixed ability. The culturally shaped view of intelligence can have profound consequences for individual performance and learning.

Cross-cultural studies bear out that the motivation to achieve is cultivated and maintained by the individual response to the socio-cultural environment. Lawrence Steinberg and his colleagues (1996) surveyed 20,000 American high school students from various ethnic groups over a three-year period. Similar to Stevenson's results, they found ethnic differences in attribution styles. Asian American students shared a stronger belief in the connection between effort and school success; other groups were more likely to view success and failure as outside their personal control. The researchers conclude that, in contrast to some cultures, mainstream Americans tend to

have a fixed view of intelligence and ability that leads to unhealthy achievement attributions. They do not equate their academic performance to their own effort and are less committed to working hard in school.

Effort and persistence along with self-regulated learning can be considered volitional action controls that move students from goal orientation and planning to goal implementation. *Self-regulated learners* use strategies to attain goals and enhance achievement. Zimmerman and Martinez-Pons (1986, 1990) categorized the strategies used by self-regulated learners and established a correlation between academic achievement and the use of self-regulating strategies. Some research suggests cross-cultural similarities in types of strategies used but differences in the patterns of use (Purdie & Hattie, 1996). Seeking social assistance (from peers, teachers or other adults) is an example of a self-regulated learning strategy. Steinberg et al. (1992, 1996) found that, compared to other groups, Asian students were more likely to associate with peers who also valued educational achievement. These students made frequent use of social assistance strategies by studying together and providing one another help with difficult assignments.

Learning is a complex process affected by individual and contextual variables. Learning is also an active process that requires purposive activity. Students come to school with differing abilities and, even more important, differing motivation for academic engagement. Research shows that student perceptions or beliefs about themselves, others, and schooling affect their willingness to engage in academic tasks and contribute to learning outcomes (Bandura, 1977, 1986). Families and cultures cultivate children's beliefs about learning, achievement attributions, and the volitional behaviors of effort, persistence, and strategic learning that will determine their future academic success or failure.

VIETNAM

Roots

An understanding of Vietnam's history is fundamental to the definition of Vietnamese ethnicity and its socio-cultural traits. Vietnamese society has been shaped by colonization and war. The thousand years of Chinese rule from 111 B.C. to 939 A.D. influenced social, religious, and political life. The Chinese introduced Confucianism, Taoism, and Mahayana Buddhism as well as their art, culture, and political institutions. Consequently, the Vietnamese share many East Asian beliefs and values, more so than their Indochinese neighbors in Laos and Cambodia.

The early 1400s saw another brief Chinese occupation and a series of civil wars. Beginning in the 1600s, the French began trade and missionary connections in Vietnam and eventually colonized Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. The French introduced Catholicism and an educational system similar to their own. A westernized French-educated Vietnamese elite class emerged. In 1945, after a period of Japanese occupation during World War II, Ho Chi Minh and the Viet Minh in Hanoi declared Vietnam's independence. The resulting French-Viet Minh War continued until 1954, when France agreed to negotiations.

Under the Geneva Treaty and pending national elections, a provisional demarcation line at the 17th parallel divided the country with the Viet Minh in the north and the French and their supporters in the south. The United States intervened where the French left off with military and political support for the South Vietnamese government. China and the Soviet Union supported Ho Chi Minh and the North Vietnam government. The escalating war and its economy fueled the urbanization of South Vietnam and the growth of an urban middle class. With the withdrawal of the United States in 1975, the South Vietnamese government was taken over by the Communist supported north. [4]

In 1976, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam was established, but conflicts continued for the newly united country. Border wars with Cambodia, Laos, and China escalated after the fall of Saigon and these conflicts contributed to postwar economic and reconstruction difficulties. Efforts to nationalize business and agriculture also impeded economic progress. In the 1990s the government ended price controls and sought foreign investments. The United States ended its trade embargo in 1994 and began to renew diplomatic communication. Unemployment and poverty have declined, the infrastructure has been rebuilt, and global trade has promoted industrialization and urbanization. Nonetheless, Vietnam remains primarily an agricultural nation with about 80 percent of the population living in rural areas.

The Village
The Vietnamese have maintained their culture, language, and the traditions of village loyalty and solidarity through centuries of political upheaval (Hickey, 1964). For centuries, the village and the family have been two foundations of Vietnamese society. The village represented an extended kin-centered network providing mutual aid and collective organization for its members. Villages often competed against one another and maintained a sense of communal pride about their achievements. Village leaders were generally selected by status of age and education, and except for payment of taxes, villages enjoyed relative autonomy from the state. Under French rule, village autonomy, especially in the south, began to decline. This decline continued during the Vietnam War due to the disruption of lives as villagers fled to escape war and due to governmental attempts to control village loyalty through a hierarchical political structure.

The Family

Traditional families:

The traditional Vietnamese kinship system takes structure from Confucianism and its ancestral cult and a patrilineal hierarchy of families with a common male ancestor (Kibria, 1993; Tran, 1991). The nuclear family is the basic political unit and consists of living members – father as the head, paternal grandparents, mother and unmarried children, sons and daughters-in-law and grandchildren – and also ancestral spirits.

Males are born into the family and women marry into it. Arranged marriages are common. The father is the leader of the family and holds responsibility for its security. His wife and children treat him with respect. The father makes the important decisions but leaves routine financial management to his wife (K. Luangpraset, personal communication, 1985).

The mother is subservient to her husband, is the manager of the family, and is also responsible for family harmony. Many wives develop a supplemental income source by selling extra farm produce or handcrafted goods at market. A female is taught to observe three submissions: before marriage, to obey her father; when married, to obey her husband; when widowed, to obey her eldest son. Women are admired for their four feminine virtues: handwork/housework (*công*), feminine appearance (*dung*); gentle, thoughtful speech (*ngôn*); and virtuous conduct (*hanh*). These ideals along with the three submissions serve to subordinate women.[5]

The traditional family is a work group and single economic unit with each member working together to support the family finances. Due to the family system, large families and sons are preferred. A son will remain to care for his parents, but a daughter will leave upon marriage. Unmarried sons contribute to the family funds. Children are taught to respect their parents and all elders. All adults contribute to teaching children proper behavior and attitudes. Parent and child ties are strong. Children

will care for parents in their old age and honor their memory after they are gone (P. T. Hanh & K. Luangpraset, personal communication, 1985).

Modern families:
Western influences, economics, and war have challenged the traditional family system in Vietnam. The Western ideal of individuality conflicts with the traditional value of loyalty to institutions of the family, religion, country and world that put all others before self. Equality, another Western value, softens the expectation of the female's three submissions and gives women more voice. Due to the French legal influence, women can inherit property, and both husband and wife must sign for the sale of property. War hastens urbanization and the growth of a middle class in South Vietnam. In the urban and military economy, women take on jobs that were traditionally only held by males (Kibria, 1993).

After the fall of Saigon, those who had served in the South Vietnamese military or who had other connections to the former regime are sent to reeducation camps. Their children face discrimination and reduced opportunity in school. In the years after the Communist take-over, many family members flee and others legally emigrate creating even more fractured families. Over time, the family reunification policies have allowed some families to reunite. The kinship networks and tradition of extended family provide economic security when newcomers join relatives until able to resettle on their own. Often several extended family members live together as an economic unit to pool resources and contribute to the family income.

Education in Vietnam
Early schools:
In the thirteenth century, the government established national schools based on the Chinese educational model and the mandarin system to select government magistrates through competitive examinations. These government

schools, which were generally for children of nobles and mandarins, taught the Confucian classics in preparation for the Chinese civil service examinations.[6]   These official schools also served a few other students with exceptional ability, and, in theory, any Vietnamese student through hard work and effort could rise to positions of power and importance. Unofficial schools not run by the government served many others, and families often paid in some form for this schooling. In almost every village a teacher served a few students, and the quality of teaching varied. Teachers in these schools were often those who did not pass the final doctoral exam, were retired from government service, or had earned a degree but elected not to work for the government (Tran, 1996).

Teachers in all schools were highly respected and often provided a link between the government and the people, the educated and uneducated. During Tet, the New Year celebration, families brought gifts of food and other offerings to the village teacher. Throughout the year, the villagers provided for the teacher's needs with additional food, house repairs, and other necessities. Once the students learned what they could from their teacher, in order to continue their education they would seek out another teacher who could teach them more (P. N. Le, personal communication, 1996).

In time, the French colonists established schools similar to their own with the initial purpose to train interpreters and civil workers. As feudalism declined and colonialism continued, elementary schools were established in most towns, and teachers were salaried by the government. The French system of education put into place a series of competitive exams. The first exam took place after the first five years of primary schooling, and students were required to pass in order to qualify for the next level of public schooling. For those who did not pass but whose families could afford to pay, private schools provided continuing education. Each level of exams became more difficult and

few students completed high school while fewer still earned access to a college education.

Rural villages often lacked access to schooling, particularly beyond primary education. The academic success of a village member was a source of pride and a potential benefit for the entire community. Villagers were known to pool their resources to support a particularly promising student and his family (who would be losing a laborer) to allow him to continue his education. When a village son returned home after the successful passage of national exams, the entire village would enjoy a feast in his honor, with expenses often dependent upon the level of exam passed. [7]

Modern schools:
The national government continues to administer the modern education system. Most villages have elementary schools with 4-5 classrooms. Elementary schools are equivalent to first through fifth grade in American schools. High school is from sixth through twelfth grades and is divided into junior high (sixth through ninth) and senior high (tenth through twelfth).

The village democracy and autonomy enjoyed under the old central government no longer exists. The village organizational support for scholarship has declined; however, the respect for scholarship continues to influence Vietnamese behavior (Kamm, 1996). After the initial reunification under the North Vietnam regime, children of those associated with the government or military of South Vietnam faced discrimination in schools and were often denied access to higher education.

Over time, post-war discrimination has declined and access to education has increased. In 1991, the government signed legislation to universalize primary education. Secondary and college enrollments have rapidly increased, but low teacher salaries have created a teacher shortage and contributed to bulging enrollment. Vietnam now has a network of more than 100 public and private universities

and colleges and is attempting to address the demands of
escalating enrollment, industrialization, and educating for a
market-based economy (McNamara, 1999).

Immigrants and Their Educational Values
The traditional values important to the Vietnamese include
family, reputation, learning, and respect for elders.   The
Vietnamese immigrants and their children bring with them
a long cultural tradition of valuing scholarship in which
intellectuals occupied the highest category of social status
(Tran, 1991).   Academic achievement continues to be a
source of pride for immediate and extended family, and
Vietnamese parents view education in America as the
means to improve status.   This belief appears to be shared
among immigrants regardless of their former educational
attainment and occupational status (Kao, 1995).

Vietnamese immigrants come from diverse
backgrounds and encounter varied circumstances in their
exile and resettlement.   They include those who were
scholars in their homeland and others with minimal
education.   Some families arrive intact, but others have
become separated by the immigration process.   Some
children have arrived without their parents and reside with
older siblings or other relatives.   Other children have spent
early formative years in refugee camps, sometimes without
benefit of education or support from the family structure.
Thus, historical-cultural influences that mold group and
family values, belief, and expectations have varied with
individual circumstances.   However, education and the
educated have always held value for the Vietnamese, even
for those whose former circumstances provided little access
to educational opportunity.

Vietnamese immigrants also bring a strong sense of
group ethnic pride for their ability to maintain a cultural
identity and group survival despite years of outside
domination and internal upheaval.   Despite the barriers of
language and lack of opportunity for employment in their
former occupations, many families maintain the belief that

hard work will overcome economic difficulties. Further, they support the educational attainment of their children as the avenue for upward mobility. These educational aspirations are compatible with the traditional American belief in advancement through education. Further, family aspirations are supported by the activities of the ethnic community that promote and recognize academic achievement (P. N. Le, personal communication, 1996; Zhou & Bankston, 1998).

Immigrants who have left their country for other territories have brought with them the value of scholarship, the belief in effort, and the expectation of future success through educational achievement for their children (Rumbaut, 1989). The family, immediate and extended, as well as the ethnic community value scholarship and promote education as the impetus for the future success of their children.

SOCIO-CULTURAL MODEL OF ACHIEVEMENT

A socio-cultural perspective of ethnicity suggests a dynamic development of ideology such as values, beliefs, and motivations through interaction within a given social context. Persons who are not members of the dominant culture by virtue of ethnicity, class, or language encounter at least two cultural environments: a primary culture representing the values and beliefs developed through the cultural history of their primary culture and a secondary culture of the dominant society with its values, institutions, and structure. Additionally, changing American demographics make encounters with other cultures increasingly likely.

In the socio-cultural model, ethnicity is a dynamic construct, also shaped interculturally as primary group identities are modified by the social interactions between groups. The educational ideologies of the Vietnamese immigrant group are modified by the socio-cultural experience with the situation-specific environment of the

secondary/dominant culture and other groups. As children enter school, a peer group educational ideology develops. The beliefs and values of Vietnamese immigrants and their children are mediated by the experiences encountered within the secondary culture.

Ethnicity takes on a psychosocial aspect as individual ethnic identities are constructed by personal context and intra- and inter-cultural influence. At this individual level, ethnicity incorporates the constructs of motivation and volition that are more proximal to educational outcomes. Motivation is often considered an individual personality trait, but conative functions are contextual and, thus, can be socially produced and maintained. Achievement motivation is influenced by one's primary social group and also by the individual's socialization with the secondary culture and other groups. If group/family ethnic identity produces orientations that favor achievement, then individual affiliation with the ethnic group would reinforce positive individual outcomes. When socialization produces resistance or opposition, then the resulting maladaptive conative functions would produce less favorable educational outcomes. Explanations for between-group and within-group differences in educational outcomes may lie within the complex constructs of group, family, and individual ethnicity.

Socio-cultural factors may account for between-group differences in school achievement, but within-group differences must also be considered. Ethnic and cultural groups are not monolithic. The classification of Asian includes a variety of populations distinguished by geography, history, language, education, social class, and other variables. The socio-cultural model attempts to incorporate both ethnic and individual differences. Also, the model depicts a dynamic explanation of achievement. Primary cultural values, beliefs, and expectations are constructed through a cultural history. This ideology is modified by contextual interactions with the secondary/dominant culture and other groups to develop

group/family ethnicity. At the person level, the specific intra- and inter-ethnic social and peer interactions further develop the individual's sense of ethnicity or cultural identification including achievement orientation and attributions. In turn, these individual characteristics influence cognitive strategies, behavior, and achievement outcomes.

This model would also suggest that with subsequent generations, the primary socio-cultural influence might lessen if experiences increase socialization with other cultures and sources of the primary cultural influence decline. Depending on assimilation paths, achievement outcomes would be similar to the group(s) with which the individual identifies.

CONCLUSION

A study of ethnicity and its effect on achievement orientation, attributions, and more proximal volitional variables may further understanding of inter- and intra-group differences in educational outcomes. P. R. Portes (1996) conceptualizes a psychosocial view of ethnicity as a dynamic construct that is socially influenced by both intra- and inter-cultural interactions. Immigrants shape their collective and individual identity by their interactions within their primary social group as well as with other ethnic groups. As individuals construct their own ethnicity, the psychosocial development of their individual conative functions becomes a part of this identity.

CHAPTER 2 NOTES

1. NAEP scores from the year 2000 survey reveal that Asian American eighth and twelfth-grade students continue to outperform all other ethnic groups in mathematical proficiency.

2. Grissmer et al. (1994) found that family size and structure (dual or single parents) and mother's participation in the labor force had negligible effects on student achievement scores. Difference in family ethnicity, Black versus White, was similar to parents' education as a predictor of achievement. The difference between Hispanic versus White as a predictor of achievement was somewhat smaller. Both ethnicity-based comparisons were much stronger achievement predictors than family income.

3. For summaries of Vietnamese immigration and resettlement, see Hung and Haines (1996) and Zhou and Bankston (1998).

4. For a historical overview, see C. D. Nguyen (August 2001). Viet Nam history. [http://www.viettouch.com]. Also, see Hung and Haines (1996).

5. See Kibria (1993) for a discussion of family life and gender issues.

6. See C. D. Nguyen (August 2001). Viet Nam history. [http://www. viettouch. com].

7. Information on educational history in Vietnam was gathered through personal communication and translation of Vietnamese documents with P. N. Le, September 1996, January 1998, August-September 2001.

CHAPTER 3
Methodology

STUDY DESIGN

This study was conducted in three phases. The first phase was qualitative and exploratory using Vietnamese community and student interviews designed to probe the research questions: (1) What socio-cultural factors are associated with variation in motivation and academic achievement of Vietnamese high school students?, (2) How do Vietnamese students ethnically define themselves, and what cultural values and beliefs are associated with this ethnic-social identity?, and (3) What goal orientations do Vietnamese students claim and how are they related to their achievement? The interviews included open-ended and partially structured questions that allowed for exploration of the topics. Information gathered from the interviews was also used to develop the survey instrument for the second phase of the study. The second phase incorporated both an exploratory and a correlational study using a survey instrument to define and explore the relations between achievement and family demographics, ethnic identification, cultural values and beliefs, and motivational variables. This phase represented the core of the study and encompassed the greatest part of the data collection and analysis to answer the research questions.

In the third phase, additional student, parent, and educator interviews took place after the completion of student survey. The purpose of these interviews was to

explore in more depth the socio-cultural explanations for achievement variation and to expand upon the findings from the student surveys.

PARTICIPANTS

The school district chosen for the study encompasses parts of the dynamic ethnic enclave known as Little Saigon in Orange County, California, which is the largest Vietnamese community outside of Vietnam. This economically heterogeneous community contains a substantial middle class, and the expanding economy includes approximately 3800 Vietnamese-owned businesses (Vietnamese Chamber of Commerce, 1998). The community also maintains over thirty temples and churches providing services in Vietnamese and sponsoring a variety of youth group activities. Several language schools teach children and adults how to speak, read, and write Vietnamese. The community offers other ethnic social opportunities such as organized recreation, cultural programs, and scouting. The ethnic media network includes two daily Vietnamese language newspapers and over 20 weekly magazines. In addition, Vietnamese programs are broadcast on ten radio stations and three television stations.

The school district in this study, which has the highest percentage of K-12 Vietnamese student enrollment in the nation, has seven comprehensive high schools. One high school had few Vietnamese twelfth-grade students and was not included in the study. The target survey population included all Vietnamese twelfth-grade students in the six high schools who were classified Fluent English Proficient (FEP) and who as tenth-grade students had taken the Metropolitan Achievement Test (MAT-6) used for proficiency assessment. Only FEP students were included to ensure standardized course requirements and ability to read and comprehend the survey instrument. Students who have not achieved English proficiency can be classified in the twelfth-grade due to their age but may be enrolled in

English Language Development (ELD) courses that do not meet graduation requirements or may not have completed other academic courses required for graduation. These students may complete their high school diploma in adult education schools or community college. The elimination of the Limited English Proficient (LEP) students from the study reduced the number of first generation participants, particularly those who more recently arrived in the United States and more recently entered into American schools. The targeted FEP population encompassed approximately 54% of the total twelfth-grade Vietnamese students at the six high schools included in the study.

Student participation was voluntary with prior parent approval required for those students less than eighteen years of age. A total of 235 questionnaires were distributed and 177 were returned for a response rate of 75 percent. Four cases involved White-Vietnamese intermarriages and one case had parents born in Laos. These five cases were eliminated leaving 172 cases for further analyses.

INSTRUMENTATION

The survey instrument used in this study was based upon previous research, interviews with Vietnamese high school students, and interviews with Vietnamese community members. Several items in the questionnaire were developed from the research literature on group-based differences in educational outcomes, socio-cultural explanations for achievement, generational status studies, assimilation theories, general and cross-cultural research in motivation, learning and performance, and Vietnamese cultural history.

Survey Development

A preliminary version of the instrument was used to interview five Vietnamese twelfth-grade students in the year prior to the administration of the final survey instrument. As a result of these initial interviews, the instrument was

revised to include additional queries on peer and other motivational influences.

Next, educators from the Vietnamese community were asked their opinions on the cultural factors that contribute to the educational achievement of Vietnamese students. This information further modified the construction of the questionnaire. The revised instrument was piloted with two high school students who had immigrated to the United States at the ages of ten and twelve to check for survey language clarity and the time required for more recent English language learners to comprehend and complete the questionnaire. It was determined that the questionnaire would take approximately 30 – 45 minutes to complete. This pilot study resulted in some minor wording changes to clarify language ambiguities. The final instrument (see Appendix) is a 140-item questionnaire consisting of ten parts: family and student demographics, academic record, educational and vocational expectations, activities and use of time, self-concept, attribution and locus of control, intelligence beliefs, ethnic identification and cultural beliefs, goal orientation, and study strategies. The survey included both selected response and open-ended response items; 57 of the 140 potential responses were open-ended response items.

One concern with self-reports is whether they provide valid measures of student perceptions. Due to efforts to maintain self-esteem or social desirability, respondents may misreport information. Assor and Connell (1992) found that self-reports of academic competence generally are valid. They found that moderate overestimating is associated with increased levels of task engagement and performance. To check the validity of student responses, the questionnaire asked for student reports of grade point averages that were compared with district records of actual cumulative grade averages. The student reported GPA and actual GPA had a paired sample correlation of .942.

Survey Procedures
The research proposal was presented at a meeting with the head guidance counselors of all the high schools who agreed to distribute the surveys through the guidance office at each participating school. The guidance counselors at the six high schools received a list of students meeting the criteria of the participant population. Counselors met with each student to outline the nature of the research and request voluntary participation. They also explained the need for prior parental approval for those students under the age of eighteen. The counselors distributed the student and parental consent forms and the student surveys. Counselors contacted students if they had agreed to participate but did not return the completed surveys within one week. In some cases a second survey was provided. A third request for completion took place two weeks after distribution of the initial survey.

INTERVIEWS

Five Vietnamese twelfth-grade students were interviewed one year prior to the actual survey study to explore the research topic and to develop the survey instrument. Interviews with members of the Vietnamese community were also conducted for the same purposes. Participants included a school district bilingual translator, a college teacher, a high school teacher, a school psychologist, and a county social worker.

After the student questionnaires had been completed, additional interviews were conducted with Vietnamese parents and students and high school counselors and administrators. Five students from different high schools were interviewed in more detail on the survey items exploring the influence of family, peers, and cultural beliefs on achievement motivation. The parent interview included questions about family background and immigration decisions, Vietnamese community involvement, educational values and beliefs, and motivational factors

contributing to educational achievement. Along with the preliminary interviews used to develop the questionnaire, the semi-structured interview format provided additional information on individual experiences, cultural beliefs, and explanations for educational achievement of Vietnamese students.

All interviews were recorded on audiotapes and transcribed. Interviews with Vietnamese parents were conducted in Vietnamese, and the Vietnamese translator who carried out the interviews transcribed parent responses into English.

MEASURES: DEPENDENT VARIABLES OF ACHIEVEMENT

Academic achievement was measured as grade point average (GPA), achievement test scores, and fall college enrollment plans. Cumulative high school GPA was obtained from students' self-reports and district records. GPAs were weighted to take into account the additional point allotted to more rigorous honors and advanced placement classes (A = 5 points). GPA in regular classes was computed as follows: A = 4 points, B = 3 points, C = 2 points, D = 1 point, F = 0.

Achievement test score percentiles on the Metropolitan Achievement Test (MAT-6) in the areas of mathematics, reading, and language were obtained from district records. Because the survey was administered in May of the senior year, college acceptances had been received and most students had committed plans for the fall. College admissions criteria ranged from community colleges that have only an age or high school diploma requirement, to the University of California and other competitive four-year colleges that have rigorous GPA and Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) or other achievement test score criteria. Because of the variance in admission criteria, fall plans were ranked according to level of difficulty in admission standards: 0 = work or military, 1 = community

college or vocational school, 2 = California State University, 3 = University of California or other comparable four-year college.

MEASURES: PROXIMAL MOTIVATION VARIABLES

In this study, motivational variables were hypothesized to be proximal variables influenced by family and socio-cultural demographics. Motivation to achieve in school can be defined as a process of instigating and maintaining activity directed toward academic success. Motivational variables included educational and occupational goals, attributions for success and failure, beliefs about learning, goal orientation, and self-regulated learning strategies.

Measures of Aspirations
Educational goals:
The items "How far in school do you plan to go?" and "How far in school do your parent(s) want you to go?" explored educational aspirations of students and parents. The selected-response items were scored on a scale indicating increasing levels of education: 1 = complete high school, 2 = vocational school or 2-year college, 3 = Finish college or Bachelor Degree, 4 = Masters Degree, 5 = Doctorate Degree.

Occupational goals:
Occupational expectations of the student and the parent(s) were examined by the open-ended questions "What occupation(s) are you considering?" and "What occupation would your parent(s) like for you?" The responses were coded on a seven-point scale adapted from the occupation scale of Hollingshead's Two-Factor Index of Social Position (Miller, 1991). The survey also asked for the reasons for the occupational selections of parents and students. These responses were categorized as internal-

mastery (interest, enjoyment, helping others) versus external-performance (money, status, job stability, parental choice).

Measures of Attributions

Attributions are generated through an explicatory process wherein individuals perceive the causes of their success or failure and these perceptions have behavioral consequences (Wiener, 1985). Items developed to investigate attributions and beliefs about learning were adapted from previous research and published instruments (Ames & Archer, 1897; Dweck et al., 1983; NELS, 1990; Stevenson et al., 1986, 1994).

Locus of control:
Attributions were rated as internal (effort, ability) and external (luck, task difficulty) and measured by the extent of agreement or disagreement with statements such as "In my life, good luck is more important than hard work for success" and "I do not have much control over the direction of my life." A four point Likert-type scale was used (4 = Strongly Agree, 3 = Agree, 2 = Disagree, and 1 = Strongly Disagree). Also, students were asked to give open-ended responses to explain why they did well or did poorly on previous tests or assignments. Their responses were rated as internal attributions or external attributions.

Learning beliefs:
Cross-cultural studies have documented differences in theories of intelligence and beliefs about learning (Stevenson, 1986, 1994; Steinberg et al., 1996). Dweck has defined two implicit theories of intelligence in her research on students' perceptions about how intelligence and ability change over time (Dweck et al., 1983,1988). Entity views of intelligence as a fixed trait encourage stronger beliefs in achievement as based on ability. In contrast, incremental views of intelligence as malleable promote effort over ability in determining successful outcomes.

Learning beliefs in terms of effort and ability were measured by agreement with statement such as "Smart students don't have to work hard to do well in school," "Success depends more on hard work than ability," and "With enough effort most students can learn any subject matter." Responses were measured using a four point Likert-type scale.

Fear of failure and parental influence:
Fear of failure was probed by asking for responses to statements such as "Doing poorly in school hurts your chances for a good job," "In the US you need a college education for a good job," and "Is it important to you to do well in school? Why or why not?"

Parental, peer, and community influence:
Items were constructed to probe the influence of parents, peers, and the community on student academic achievement. To measure parental influence, students were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with statements such as "It is important for children to obey their parents." To define family expectations and gauge the influence of these expectations on student achievement, students responded to "What do your parents expect of you in school right now?" "If I don't do well in school, I will disappoint my parents," "My parents expect me to get mostly As in school," and "I try to succeed in school to please my family."

Other statements measured the influence of friends and the ethnic and host communities: "Most of my friends do well in school," "I can learn a great deal when I study with others," "My Asian friends think doing well in school is important," "The Vietnamese community values hard work and education," and "The American community values hard work and education."

Measures of Goal Orientation

Goal orientation theories attempt to explain the purpose for engaging in achievement behavior. Goal orientation reflects a pattern of beliefs that leads to different achievement behaviors and can also represent a standard by which individuals judge their performance. Twelve items constructed to investigate goal orientation were adapted from items identified in previous research (Ames et al., 1988, 1992; Dweck et al., 1983, 1986, 1988; Maehr & Midgley, 1991; Nicholls, 1984). A number of goal orientations have been described; however, there appears to be sufficient conceptual overlap to group them in similar ways as either mastery or performance goals (Pintrich & Schunk, 1996). Six items measured a mastery orientation and six items measured a performance goal orientation on a four point Likert-type scale. The sum of the six related responses was computed to create a composite mastery variable and a composite performance variable.

There is limited empirical research on ethnic differences in goal orientation. However, studies on attribution and learning beliefs of Asian students and families report stronger belief in effort and fear of failure compared to other ethnic groups (Stevenson et al., 1986, 1994; Steinberg, 1996). Several community interviewees described the reporting of progress in schools in Vietnam by performance comparison through rankings from first to last in all classes. Many of those interviewed also discussed the classic immigrant desire for their children to have a better life and the need to take advantage of opportunities for higher education. Given previous attribution and learning belief studies, performance evaluation in schools in Vietnam, and the immigrant motive to take advantage of opportunity, it was hypothesized that Vietnamese students would affiliate with both mastery and performance goal orientations.

Measures of Volition: Effort and Self-Regulated Learning

Recognized indices of motivation include effort and persistency. These were measured by amount of time spent studying, free time activities, and use of self-regulated learning strategies such as "How often do you keep working on a very difficult assignment until you solve or complete it?"

Self-regulated learning can be defined as volitional behaviors identified with strategies for academic success. Twenty-two items to determine the use of self-regulated learning strategies were adapted from categories identified by Zimmerman and Martinez-Pons (1986, 1990).

MEASURES: INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Family Demographics

Students were asked to report on family demographics in terms of parental birthplace, former and current occupations, levels of education, fluency in English, immigration experience, and household structure. The study proposed to explore the socio-cultural factors related to achievement; thus, it was necessary to account for the influence of family background.

An index for socio-economic status (SES) was generated by entering the responses on parental occupation and education into Hollingshead's formula for a Two-Factor Index of Social Position (Hollingshead, 1971; Miller, 1991). Occupation and education responses were first coded into seven-point scales. In the two-factor index, occupation is weighted by 7 and education by 4 as follows: Occupation Scale Score x 7 + Education Scale Score x 4 = Index of Social Position Score. Hollingshead divided the range of scores into five social classes as follows: Class I: 11-17; Class II: 18-31; Class III: 32-47; Class IV: 48-63; Class V: 64-77. These divisions were used for descriptive

purposes; however, the actual numerical score was used for data analysis. A socio-economic score was computed individually for each parent. Separate scores were computed based upon former occupation in Vietnam and upon current occupation in the United States. A family SPS score was generated by using the highest occupational category of either parent (or the category of the single parent for single-parent households) and the average of the educational levels of mother and father in the Hollingshead formula.

Students were also asked to report on refugee camp family experience and the length of stay in such a setting. Family and household structure were also examined by asking students to account for those who lived in their home from a list including father, mother, number of siblings, and number of other relatives. Because second language ability can affect occupational opportunity in the host country, parental fluency in English was reported in the areas of speaking, reading, and writing.

Student Demographics
Data gathered on student demographics included birthplace, age at entry into the United States, and language fluency in Vietnamese and in English. The student's age at entry was recoded into three categories: first generation (arriving in the US at 13 years of age or older), 1.5 generation (arriving between the ages of 6-12 years), and second generation (born in the US or arriving at 5 years of age or younger). These generational categories have been established by prior research (Rumbaut, 1991; Zhou & Bankston, 1998).

Student Activities and Use of Time
Student reports on school and extracurricular activities provided data on the use of time expended on study and other activities. Activity selection also explored the participation in adolescent social life and affiliation with high school. Activities were examined by open-ended

items: "List club, sports, or other activities you participate in" and "What do you do in your free time?" Also, respondents were asked to report the number of hours each day they watch television, read for pleasure, socialize with friends, study with others, and sleep.

Measures of Ethnic Identification
This study explored how Vietnamese high school students ethnically define themselves and how ethnic-social identifications associate with achievement. Twenty-five items were included to address ethnic identity/affiliation and cultural values. Several indicators were constructed to measure ethnic identification, self-identification, involvement with the ethnic community, likelihood of endogamy, ethnicity of friends, music and food choices, and ethnic and American holiday celebrations.

Self-Identification:
Respondents were asked how they identified themselves in terms of race/culture/ethnicity by selecting a choice from among "Vietnamese," "Chinese," "Asian," "Vietnamese-American," "Asian-American," "American," or "Other". This was followed by an open-ended request for the reason for the label choice. Ethnic identity choices were ranked and recoded ("Race ID") according to extent of affiliation with the ethnic culture from least amount of affiliation (1 = American), to hyphenated or mixed labels of affiliation (2 = Vietnamese-American or Asian-American), to greatest amount of ethnic affiliation of unhyphenated Asian labels (3 = Vietnamese, Chinese, or Asian).

Participation in ethnic community activities:
Ethnic identification was also measured by participation in Vietnamese community activities such as Vietnamese language class, church/temple, youth groups, or organized recreation. These responses were coded 1 = no participation and 2 = participation in the particular activity.

Also, a composite variable ("Com Activities") of the sum total number of community activities was computed.

Endogamy views:
Another ethnic involvement indicator was the likelihood of endogamy. Students were asked to respond to two items: "I would consider marriage to a non-Asian" and "I would consider marriage to a non-Vietnamese." Possible answers were "Likely", "Uncertain", or "Not Likely". The responses were coded on a three-point scale with the highest number indicating a greater likelihood of endogamy.

Ethnicity of friends:
Three items measured ethnicity of friends by asking the number of Vietnamese/Asian, White, and Hispanic friends. Possible responses were "None", "Some", "Half", "Most", and "All". The responses were coded from 1-5 with the highest number indicating more affiliation with Asian/Vietnamese peers and less affiliation with non-Asian peers.

Participation in Asian/Vietnamese culture:
To examine the likelihood of listening to Vietnamese/Asian music, eating Vietnamese/Asian food, and celebrating Vietnamese/Asian holidays, students were asked to select "Usually," "Sometimes," or "Never." These responses were coded from 1-3 ordered from least to most participation in the ethnic culture.

Ethnicity components:
Student and family background items on the language most often spoken in the home and the student's literacy in reading and writing Vietnamese were also used as indicators of ethnic involvement. To examine the relationships among the variables measuring ethnicity, these language variables and the previously mentioned

ethnic involvement variables were entered for exploratory factor analysis.

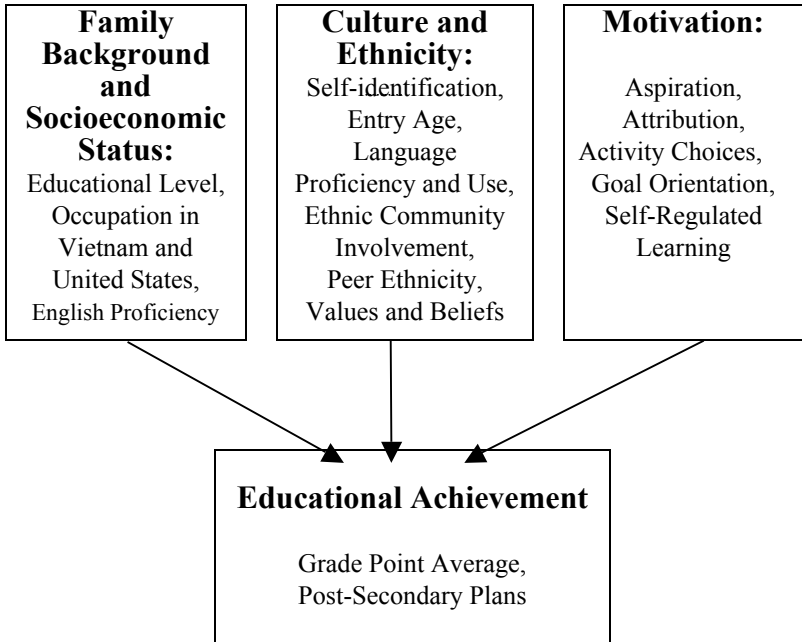Parental and student cultural values and beliefs:
One purpose of the study was to identify the cultural values and beliefs that students attributed to the Vietnamese/Asian culture, those they personally valued, and those they disagreed with. In an open-ended response format, students were asked: "What values are important to your parents?" "What Vietnamese/Asian cultural values are important to you?" and "What Vietnamese/Asian values are difficult to accept?" Affiliation with the beliefs held by their parents was another measure of ethnic identity.

Items were also constructed to measure assimilation with American culture: "What American values are important to you?" and "What American values are difficult to accept?" Other items designed to measure assimilation were frequency of celebrating American holidays, number of non-Asian friends, and participation in extracurricular activities such as athletics and student government.

Summary of Study Variables
Figure 3.1 summarizes the variables used to study the associations between achievement and family background, ethnic identification, and motivation.

FIGURE 3.1
Study Model Measures: Variables Included In the Study

Family Background and Socioeconomic Status: Educational Level, Occupation in Vietnam and United States, English Proficiency	**Culture and Ethnicity:** Self-identification, Entry Age, Language Proficiency and Use, Ethnic Community Involvement, Peer Ethnicity, Values and Beliefs	**Motivation:** Aspiration, Attribution, Activity Choices, Goal Orientation, Self-Regulated Learning

Educational Achievement

Grade Point Average,
Post-Secondary Plans

STATISTICAL ANALYSES

Data Preparation
Data files were created in SPSS. The most frequently unanswered questions were those asking for level of parental education and parental occupation when living in Vietnam. A Vietnamese translator made follow-up phone calls to homes to obtain the missing information in three

areas: parental occupation, parental level of education, and refugee camp experience.

For quality control estimation, 10% of the survey questionnaires were randomly selected to check for accuracy of data entry. An accuracy percentage of 99.9 was determined. All open-ended responses were reviewed at least once. Differences in coding were addressed resulting in revised category systems that eliminated coding inconsistencies particularly for the open-ended responses of parental occupation and cultural values. Data were then re-entered using the revised categories.

Demographic Statistics

Descriptive statistical analyses of family and student background variables characterized the population sample. These analyses also provided data to address the question of the influence of socio-cultural background in student academic achievement. Frequency and/or means were calculated for the family demographics variables of parental birthplace, education, occupation, and fluency in English. These statistics along with descriptive analyses of household structure and refugee camp experience were compared to previous studies and census data to distinguish the families in this study who were residents of the Little Saigon community of Orange County, California. Descriptive analyses of student background variables explored the students' generational status, fluency in Vietnamese, activities, and use of time.

Correlation and Multiple Regression

Correlational and multiple regression analyses using parental and student demographic variables, ethnicity measures, and motivational variables examined the overall effects of these independent variables on the dependent variables of academic achievement. Partial correlational analyses were completed to account for gender and socio-economic influences. Regression analyses of the ethnicity

variables associated with achievement considered both linear and non-linear relationships.

Exploratory Factor Analysis
An exploratory factor analysis was used to investigate the relationships among the variables constructed to measure the constructs of family and student background, ethnicity, motivation, and achievement. This procedure provided an internal analysis for construct development and identified the underlying relations among the components in the complex construct of ethnicity. The identified ethnicity components were considered in both correlational and regression analyses of educational achievement.

CHAPTER 4
Findings of the Study

OVERVIEW

Data analysis focused on answering the research questions:

1. What socio-cultural factors contribute to variation in motivation and academic achievement of Vietnamese high school students?
2. How do Vietnamese students ethnically define themselves and what cultural values and beliefs are associated with this ethnic-social identity?
3. What goal orientations do Vietnamese students claim and how are they related to achievement?

ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

Achievement Measures and Participants
In this study, the dependent variable of academic achievement was indexed as cumulative high school grade point average ("GPA") and post-secondary plans ("Fall Plans"). Metropolitan Achievement Test (MAT-6) scores from the tenth-grade in the areas of reading, language, and math were considered as both achievement and predictor variables. The MAT-6 language and reading scores are influenced by the student's familiarity with English. The

math score is less affected by language fluency and was also considered a proxy index for general academic ability.

The students participating in the study included those who were Fluent English Proficient (FEP) and had taken the Metropolitan Achievement Test (MAT-6) as 10th -grade students. Compared to the FEP students surveyed, the twelfth-grade Limited English Proficient (LEP) students who did not participate had comparable distributions of grade point averages and MAT-6 math achievement scores but lower English and reading achievement test scores. Because some LEP students had not completed the course requirements for graduation or had not enrolled in courses required for direct entry into a four-year college, their post-secondary educational plans for fall would most likely vary in distribution in comparison to the FEP students included in the study.

Grade Point Average
Two items addressed achievement as measured by grade point average. The actual cumulative grade point average ("GPA") from high school transcript records was recorded into the database. One questionnaire item also asked students to self-report their cumulative grade point average ("GPA-S"). "GPA" was compared to "GPA-S" as a reliability check of the student responses on the survey instrument. The student reported "GPA-S" mean (3.38) was close to the actual "GPA" mean (3.33) with a paired sample correlation of .942. The students sampled were generally successful during three and a half years in high school with a mean cumulative grade point average of 3.3, slightly above a B average. "GPA" was recoded to analyze frequencies at various letter grade cut-off points. Nine percent of students had below 2.49 (C plus average), about one-third of the students had an A minus average (3.67) or greater, and 24 students or 14% had 4.00 or higher (see Table 4.1). Also, gender was a predictor of "GPA." The mean for females was 3.46 and 3.16 for males.

TABLE 4.1
GPA Recoded Frequencies

GPA Range	n	%	Cumulative %
0.00-2.49	15	8.7	8.7
2.50-2.99	30	17.4	26.2
3.00-3.33	41	23.8	50.0
3.34-3.66	31	18.0	68.0
3.67-3.99	31	18.0	86.0
4.00-4.70	24	14.0	100.0
Total	172	100.0	

Achievement Tests
Tenth-grade achievement scores in reading, language, and math were recorded. When comparing the mean percentiles, the highest scores were achieved in math and the lowest scores in reading. Language scores ranked somewhat higher than reading. The MAT-6 reading section also tests vocabulary proficiency. Many second language learners experience delays in vocabulary development. The participants' mean score was above the 50th percentile on the three achievement tests. When disaggregated by gender, females had a lower math mean but higher reading and language means. Gender correlated significantly only with language achievement (r = .209, p = .006). Table 4.2 provides a summary of GPA and achievement test scores for the group as a whole and also disaggregated by gender.[1]

TABLE 4.2
Grade Point Averages and Achievement Test Scores

VARIABLES	n	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	SD
GPA Student Report	137	1.90	4.35	3.37	.534
GPA Actual	172	1.83	4.44	3.33	.594
GPA Females	100	2.11	4.44	3.46	.539
GPA Males	72	1.83	4.28	3.16	.622
		%-ile	%-ile	%-ile	
Math MAT-6	170	28	99	84.48	17.24
Math Females	98	28	99	84.03	18.95
Math Males	72	48	99	85.10	14.69
Reading MAT-6	170	3	99	61.07	20.47
Read Females	98	3	99	62.55	21.24
Read Males	72	20	95	59.06	19.34
Language MAT-6	170	22	99	69.58	20.14
Lang. Females	98	24	99	73.17	20.52
Lang. Males	72	22	99	64.69	18.66

Post-Secondary Educational Plans

Educational achievement was also measured by the varying standards in academic requirements for the students' post-secondary education or alternative plans ("Fall Plans"). "Fall Plans" was considered an achievement measure rather than a measure of aspiration because college acceptance notifications had already been received. These were ranked according to level of competitiveness in admission standards. The range of responses included military or no additional schooling to competitive admittance to the University of California system and other comparable four-year institutions of higher education. Ninety-eight percent of the students planned to enroll in post-secondary schooling. Forty-one percent had selected community colleges or vocational schools. Sixteen percent planned to attend a four-year California State University (CSU). Forty percent had been accepted in the competitive University of California (UC) system or another equally rigorous four-year college (see Table 4.3). Gender again correlated significantly with "Fall Plans" ($\underline{r}$ = .250) with females earning higher scores.

Achievement Exploratory Factor Analysis

To study the relationship among the various achievement variables, those five items were subjected to a principal component analysis (see Table 4.4). The analysis revealed a single factor accounting for 56% of the total variance (Eigenvalue = 2.81). The reading achievement test score showed the smallest communality $\underline{R}^2$ = .386. Again, compared to math and even language achievement tests, reading scores are strongly affected by the variance in English proficiency especially in the area of vocabulary development.[2]

TABLE 4.3
Fall Plans: Student Post-Secondary Educational Plans

Fall Plans	n	%
University of California (UC)*	68	39.5
California State University (CSU)	27	15.7
Community College/Vocational School	70	40.7
Military/Work	3	1.7
Undecided	4	2.3
Total	172	100

*This category includes comparable four-year universities.

TABLE 4.4
Achievement Factor

	Communalities R^2	Factor Loading
Actual GPA	.703	.838
Fall Plans	.528	.726
MAT-6 Math	.551	.742
MAT-6 Reading	.386	.621
MAT-6 Language	.643	.802

FAMILY BACKGROUND

Parental Birthplace
Little Saigon in Orange County, California is an economically heterogeneous community. It was anticipated that the students and families in this study would also reflect this socioeconomic heterogeneity. The descriptive statistics on family and student demographics illustrate the population involved in the study. Over 99% of mothers and fathers of the students in the study were born in Vietnam. One student listed United States as the

mother's birthplace, and another listed Cambodia as the father's birthplace. In six cases, the birthplace of one parent was not listed. In each of these cases, the unreported parent was not living in the household. All others reported Vietnam as parental birthplace.

Refugee Camp Experience
Refugee camps in the United States and overseas served as transition and processing centers prior to eventual resettlement of Vietnamese immigrants. Long stays in overseas refugee camps were often due to lack of sponsorship or other limits in resources. Most of the families studied did not have extensive refugee camp experience. Thirty-eight percent of the families had spent no time in a camp setting. Thirty-two percent of the families had lived six months or less in a camp. Only six families were detained in refugee camps longer than one year.

Household Structure
Previous studies reporting the effects of family size and structure on achievement have found that students in single-parent homes and students living in large families score lower on achievement tests (Grissmer et al., 1994). The academic success of Asian Americans has been linked to family support and the traditions of obedience, responsibility, and extended kinship. To examine the influence of support and kinship, this study collected information on family make-up and household structure.

The majority of students lived in two-parent households; 133 families or 78% had both mother and father living in the home. Two families or 1% had the father as the single parent in the home. Households headed by single female parents are often associated with lower income levels and have served as a measure of potential family instability. Thirty-four families or 20% had the mother as the only parent in the home; of these, 3% or five families had other relatives in the home. In total, 28

families or 16% had other relatives living in the home. The mean household size was 5.6 members, and 131 families or 77% had six or fewer people living in the home. Five percent had ten or more members living in the home.

Data on family household structure were generally consistent with 1980 census findings on Vietnamese American household composition (Barringer et al., 1995).[3] According to the 1980 census data, 74% of Vietnamese children lived in two-parent households compared to 78% of the students in the study. The census percentage for Vietnamese two-parent households was lower than that for Whites and other Asian groups. In 1980, the average Vietnamese family size was 5.2 persons, close to the mean of the study group of 5.6 persons per family. Compared to Whites and other Asian groups, Vietnamese reported the largest percentage of households with extended family members (14.3%). Sixteen percent of the students included in this study reported other relatives in their household. The economic circumstances related to the more recent immigration of the Vietnamese American population compared to other Asian groups may explain this greater incidence of extended household structure. In interviews, several respondents described their family experience of initially residing with relatives until economically able to provide for separate family housing. Table 4.5 summarizes the findings on parental birthplace, refugee experience, and household structure.

One notable difference from the 1980 census was the higher percentage of Vietnamese students living in families headed by mothers, which at 20% was twice that of the 1980 census report of 10% of Vietnamese single-mothers raising children under 18 years of age. Some students indicated "divorced" as the reason for not providing information on father's background. Divorce is rare in Vietnam and only two percent of Vietnamese females reported being divorced in the 1980 census; however, when native-born Vietnamese were disaggregated, 13.4% of heads of households reported being divorced. Barringer et

al. (1995) note that for all ethnic groups, divorce rates are much higher for the general population than for immigrant groups. In one community interview (1998), the respondent reported on her experience when her parents divorced:

> My parents divorced when I was seven. That's very unusual for Vietnamese. People will stay together for life, even if they can't stand each other. When my parents first divorced, my dad got everything. My mom just had the clothes on her back. For about two years we were constantly moving around. My mom raised us by herself. We were just three women living together, and I had to grow up learning how to do everything by myself. If the plumbing went wrong, my mom had to figure out how to fix it. If the door jammed, my sister would learn how to change the lock. We'd take turns mowing the lawn. [My mother] has such a dominant personality, very independent, and I think that's one of the problems that she had with my dad. My dad was a very traditional type man. He couldn't handle the independence that she had (High School Teacher).

TABLE 4.5
Family Background and Household Structure

Variables	n	%	1980 Census %
Mother's Birthplace			
Vietnam	171	99	
Other	1	1	
Father's Birthplace			
Vietnam	165	99	
Other	1	1	
Refugee Camp Experience			
No Camp	59	38	
1 month or less	23	15	
2 – 6 months	27	17	
7 – 12 months	40	26	
Greater than 12 months	6	4	
Household Structure			
Two Parents	133	78	74.1
Mother only	34	20	10.0
Father only	2	1	
No parent in home	2	1	
Other relatives in home	28	16	14.3

Parental Fluency in English
Because language ability can contribute to variance in
occupational opportunity and degree of family assimilation
to the host country, the study also investigated parental
fluency in English as estimated by the student in the
questionnaire reports. In this study, fluency in speaking
English did correlate with occupational rank in the United
States for mothers (r = .403) and fathers (r = .458). Fathers
generally had greater English language fluency, and 68% of
the fathers spoke English fairly well or very well compared
to 48% of the mothers. For both parents, fluency in reading

English was lower with 59% of fathers and 39% of mothers able to read fairly well or very well (see Table 4.6).

TABLE 4.6
Parental English Language Fluency

Variables	Very/Fairly Well %	A Little %	Very Little/ Not At All %
Mother speaks English	47.6	31.2	21.2
Father speaks English	68.1	25.6	6.3
Mother reads English	38.7	34.5	26.8
Father reads English	59.0	29.8	11.2

Parental Education

The level of parents' education often explains the variance in academic achievement of children (Grissmer et al., 1994). The levels of education varied widely among the families represented in the study. Fathers typically had higher levels of education. Of fathers, 45% had some college education compared to 28% of the mothers. Seventeen percent ($\underline{n}$=29) of the reported mothers and 11% ($\underline{n}$=19) of the fathers were students in Vietnam and completed their education after immigration. Some who had been employed in Vietnam returned to school after immigration to the United States to improve English, learn vocational skills, or earn educational degrees. One student reported that his father was currently a senior in college. However, 12% of the fathers and 27% of the mothers had no education beyond eighth grade.

These figures are compared to the 1980 census figures on educational levels by Vietnamese ages 25-64 (see Table 4.7). In general, educational levels are comparable to the census findings; however, parents in the study tended to have slightly higher levels of college completion more consistent with 1990 census data. The increase in college

completion suggests that some parents who entered as young adults have completed their education in the United States since 1980. Some students did note that their parents were graduates of American colleges. However, it is important to consider that although the Little Saigon population represents a heterogeneous socioeconomic mix, the study families may be from higher socioeconomic backgrounds than the census population. Further, the possible propensity by students to over-report might account for some portion of the higher educational levels.

TABLE 4.7

Parental Education: Study and 1980 Census Comparisons

Level of Education	Study Fathers %	Census Males %	Study Mothers %	Census Females %
Less than high school	11.5	15.2	27.3	30.3
High school 1-4 years	43.2	39.5	40.8	45.2
College 1-3 years	13.9	27.7	13.9	15.7
College completion/ advanced degree	26.4	17.6	13.9	8.8

Parental Occupation

Parents' occupation in Vietnam and current occupation in the United States were both considered for assessment of families' socioeconomic status (SES). Occupational categories were based on Hollingshead's (Hollingshead, 1971; Miller, 1991) 7-point scale (See Figure 4.1).

FIGURE 4.1
Hollingshead Occupational Categories

Rank	Job Description
1	Unskilled employee; vendor; unemployed
2	Machine operator and semi-skilled employee (assembler, inspector, seamstress); manicurist; farmer; fisherman; cook; little business owner; military enlisted soldier
3	Skilled manual employee (mechanic, technician, carpenter, electrician, plumber; tailor)
4	Clerical and sales worker; military services sergeant
5	Administrative personnel; small business owner ($6,000-35,000); contractor; semiprofessional; army master sergeant
6	Business manager in large companies (over $500,000); owner of medium-sized business; professional; lieutenant or captain commissioned military officer
7	Professional (requiring post-graduate degrees); executive in a large business; college professor; major or above commissioned military officer

Note: Adapted from Hollingshead (1971) in Miller (1991)

Occupational rankings are limited for several reasons. SES rankings were not determined for those parents who were students, not employed, in Vietnam. Also, many fathers served in the military and students often did not report a military rank. Students sometimes used broad job descriptions such as "business" that were difficult to categorize. Further, it appears that students often did not distinguish between homemaker (unemployed outside the home by choice) and unemployed (not by choice). For classification purposes, both job descriptions of homemaker and unemployed were initially ranked in the same category. In a separate variable, student identified "homemaker/housewife" occupation was sorted out for statistical comparison. Approximately one-quarter of the reported occupations in Vietnam listed mother as

homemaker/housewife. That designation increased to one-third in the United States. Table 4.8 presents the parents' occupational distribution in each category.

TABLE 4.8
Parental Occupational Distribution

Rank	Mother VN %	Mother^2 VN %	Mother US %	Mother^2 US %	Father VN %	Father US %
1	35.5	2.5	39.9	4.0	6.9	15.1
2	22.3	35.0	38.6	59.6	46.6	23.0
3	11.6	16.3	5.7	9.1	12.9	28.1
4	16.5	16.3	7.6	14.1	13.8	12.9
5	1.7	1.3	3.8	6.1	4.3	7.9
6	10.7	16.3	2.5	4.0	8.6	6.5
7	1.7	2.5	1.9	3.0	6.9	6.5
N	121	80	158	99	116	139

Note: Mother^2 removes homemaker/housewife occupation.

The mean occupational rank of both males and females in Vietnam and in the United States was in the semi-skilled (rank 2) or skilled labor (rank 3) categories (see Table 4.9). This is consistent with 1980 census data finding that compared to Whites and other Asian American groups Vietnamese are underrepresented in managerial, executive, and professional occupations (Barringer et al., 1995). Males, on average, had higher occupational status than females. However, when "homemaker/housewife" was sorted out for mother, the mean occupational score for mothers in Vietnam was higher than for fathers. In this study, Vietnamese mothers had a higher occupational ranking in Vietnam ($\underline{M} = 2.63$, $\underline{M}^2 = 3.48$) than in the United States ($\underline{M} = 2.08$, $\underline{M}^2 = 2.83$). The means for fathers were comparable in Vietnam ($\underline{M} = 3.16$) and the United States ($\underline{M} = 3.26$).

TABLE 4.9
Parental Occupational Status

Variables	n	Hollingshead Ratings		
		Range	Mean	SD
Mothers Vietnam Occupation	123	1-7	2.63	1.73
Mothers Vietnam[2] (omit housewife)	80	1-7	3.48	1.56
Mothers US Occupation	160	1-7	2.08	1.38
Mothers US[2] (omit housewife)	99	1-7	2.83	1.41
Fathers Vietnam Occupation	116	1-7	3.16	1.71
Fathers US Occupation	140	1-7	3.26	1.81

Note: Parents were not included in any occupational categories if occupation was listed as student.

THE FAMILY AND ASSOCIATIONS WITH ACHIEVEMENT

The research literature documents significant student achievement differences associated with family demographics (Coleman, 1966; Grissmer et al., 1994). However, studies of Vietnamese American children have found student achievement exceeding expectation based on socioeconomic background (Caplan, Choy, & Whitmore, 1992; Rumbaut, 1989, 1995; Whitmore, Trautman, & Caplan, 1989; Zhou & Bankston, 1998).

Parental Fluency in English
To answer the first research question, analysis focused on the intercorrelations between family background variables

and student academic achievement variables, indexed as grade point averages ("GPA") and fall educational plans ("Fall Plans") for college enrollment (see Table 4.10). Neither family structure (two- versus single-parent households) nor parents' level of education correlated with "GPA" or "Fall Plans." "GPA" correlated negatively with parents' fluency in speaking English both for mother's fluency in speaking English (r = -.189, p = .014) and for father (r = -.174, p = .028).

Parental Occupation in Vietnam
"GPA" did not correlate significantly with parental occupational status in Vietnam or the United States. When homemaker/housewife was sorted out, "GPA" correlated with mother's occupation in Vietnam (r = .259, p = .020). "Fall Plans" did correlate with mother's occupational status in Vietnam (r = .279, p = .002) and with father's occupational status in Vietnam (r = .204, p = .031), but "Fall Plans" did not correlate with the current occupational status of either parent in the United States. Again, when homemaker/housewife was sorted out, "Fall Plans" had stronger correlations with mother's occupation in Vietnam (r = .387, p = .001) and mother's occupation in the United States (r = .216, p = .036). Thus, for families in this study, occupation in Vietnam as a social class indicator is more likely than occupation in the United States to predict achievement as measured by post-secondary plans.

TABLE 4.10
Intercorrelations of Family Background Variables and
Academic Achievement Variables

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. GPA	--	.654**	-.029	.159	.024	.071	-.030	.071	-.026	-.189*	-.174*
2. FallPlans		--	.073	.279**	.010	.204*	.101	.140	.045	-.078	-.045
3. MotherUS Occupation			--	.242**	.058	.012	341**	.167	.003	403**	.165*
4. MotherVN Occupation				--	.049	.550**	369**	.276**	.022	.118	.143
5. Father US Occupation					--	.284**	385**	.635**	-.009	.412**	.458**
6. Father VN Occupation						--	.342**	.423**	-.060	.055	.110
7. Mother Education							--	.652**	-.037	539**	311**
8. Father Education								--	-.159	394**	424**
9. Two/Single-Parent									--	.006	.119
10. Mother Eng Fluency										--	.558**
11. Father Eng Fluency											--

**p<.01 (2-tailed)
* p<.05 (2-tailed)

Socioeconomic Status: Social Position Score
The Hollingshead Index of Social Position Score (SPS) is a two-factor index including both occupation and education scale scores used to determine socioeconomic status. The responses for parents' level of education and occupation were recoded into a seven-point scale and entered into the Hollingshead formula to generate family SPS scores. Because of the lack of distinction between homemaker and unemployed for mother's occupation, the family SPS score was formulated by using the highest occupational category of either parent and the average of the educational levels of mother and father.

    SPS scores showed no correlation with "GPA" with alpha level of .05 (see Table 4.11). SPS scores in Vietnam did correlate with "Fall Plans": "Mother SPS VN" (r = .359, p < .001), "Father SPS VN" (r = .213, p = .029), and "Family SPS VN" (r = .313, p < .001). However, SPS scores in the United States did not correlate with "Fall Plans." Math achievement scores correlated with "Mother SPS VN" (r = .256, p = .005) and "Family SPS VN" (r = .178, p = .040). Language achievement scores also correlated with "Mother SPS VN" (r = .236, p = .010) and "Family SPS VN" (r = .222, p = .010).

Summary of Family Background Factors
In summary, parental background factors have differential associations with educational achievement when measured by GPA or by post-secondary plans. Later analyses by gender presented at the end of this chapter will show further correlational variance. In general as measured by GPA, parental background factors are not associated with student achievement except for a negative correlation with parental fluency in speaking English.[4] English fluency did correlate with parental occupational rank in the United States, but those students earning higher GPAs tended to have parents with less fluency in English. This finding will be examined later.

TABLE 4.11
Intercorrelations of Socioeconomic Status and
Academic Achievement Variables

Subscale	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. GPA	--	.654**	.601**	.362**	.551**	.164	.124	.128	-.025	.049	.010
2. FallPlans		--	.428**	.234**	.417**	.359**	.213*	.313**	.145	.071	.120
3. MAT-6 Math			--	.294**	.525**	.256**	.114	.178*	.081	.056	.079
4. MAT-6 Reading				--	.547**	.122	.153	.102	.046	.098	.067
5. MAT-6 Lang.					-	.236**	.167	.222*	.052	.064	.058
6. Mother SPS VN						--	.643**	.883**	.659**	.336**	.443**
7. Father SPS VN							--	.933**	.439**	.697**	.645**
8. Family SPS VN								--	.583**	.627**	.641**
9. Mother SPS US									--	.431**	.649**
10. Father SPS US										--	.917**
11. Family SPS US											--

**p<.01 (2-tailed)

* p<.05 (2-tailed)

Certain family background variables did correlate with achievement when measured by the student post-secondary educational plans.   "Fall Plans" correlated with parental occupation and socioeconomic status in Vietnam but not in the United States.   The highest correlations with achievement variables are noted for "Fall Plans" and mother's socioeconomic status in Vietnam based on occupation ($\underline{r}$ = .279), mother's combined occupation and education two-factor index of Social Position Score ($\underline{r}$ = .359), and family socioeconomic status in Vietnam ($\underline{r}$ = .313). Educational levels alone do not predict achievement; however, when combined with occupation in the Social Position Score index, a stronger prediction for achievement results compared to occupation or education alone.

STUDENT: BACKGROUND, ACTIVITIES, AND ACHIEVEMENT

Student Generational Status

Student birthplace and generational status and background variables measuring affiliation with Vietnamese culture were examined in order to study the students' socio-cultural influences. In this study, 46% of the students were born in the United States. Forty percent were born in Vietnam, and 14% were born in countries other than the United States and Vietnam. In analyzing generational status, students were grouped into three categories: first generation (arriving in the US at 13 years of age or older), 1.5 generation (arriving between the ages of 6-12 years), and second generation (born in the US or arriving at 5 years of age and under). Using these criteria, over 75% of the students in this study were second-generation students, 17% were 1.5 generation, and 2% were first generation (see Table 4.12). Again, because the study sample did not include students who had limited English proficiency due to a possibly differentiated curriculum and potential

difficulty with completing the survey instrument, the number of first and of 1.5 generation students was most likely reduced.

TABLE 4.12
Student Generational Status

Generation Variable	n	%
First generation	3	01.7
(arrival at 13 years or older)		
1.5 generation	30	17.4
(arrival between 6 and 12 years)		
Second generation	133	77.3
(US born or arrival at 5 yrs or younger)		
Missing	6	03.5

Student Fluency in Vietnamese
The use of primary and second languages can establish the connections to the primary culture and/or the extent of assimilation to a secondary culture. Nine questionnaire items addressed student language proficiency and use. District information regarding English proficiency testing was also entered into the database. Primary language frequency as reported by the students indicated that Vietnamese was the first language of 81% of the subjects. English was listed as the primary language for 12% and Chinese for 4%. Second language frequencies were reversed; English was identified for 83% and Vietnamese for 14%. When asked to report the language spoken most often in the home, approximately 50% identified Vietnamese and 40% English; 10% indicated both Vietnamese and English as the language spoken most often.

Another series of items addressed the student's fluency in understanding, speaking, reading, and writing Vietnamese. As expected, fluency in Vietnamese decreased in the progression from understanding to speaking, reading, and writing (see Table 4.13). Ninety-

four percent of the students reported that they understood Vietnamese very well or fairly well; however, only 22% were able to write Vietnamese very well or fairly well.

TABLE 4.13
Student Fluency in Vietnamese

Language	Very Well %	Fairly Well %	A little %	Not At All %
Understanding	49	45	6	0
Speaking	33	49	16	1
Reading	12	19	40	29
Writing	6	16	29	49

Student Background and Associations with Achievement

In summarizing student background data, over 77% of the students were either born in the United States or arrived prior to the age of five years and were classified as second generation. Vietnamese was the first language for 80% of the students, and most students understood and spoke Vietnamese very well or fairly well. However, far fewer stated they were proficient in reading and writing Vietnamese.

The ability to read and write Vietnamese predicted the student's academic achievement. The achievement index of "GPA" correlated significantly only with the ability to write Vietnamese ($r = .171$, $p = .025$). The achievement index of post-secondary educational plans ("Fall Plans") correlated both with ability to read Vietnamese ($r = .160$, $p = .038$) and write Vietnamese ($r = .180$, $p = .02$).

"Fall Plans" also had a negative correlation ($r = -.195$, $p = .013$) with generational status ("Gen Stat") of first, 1.5, or second generation. That is, more rigorous post-secondary plans were associated with later arrival in the United States. Thus, academic achievement was associated with closer ties to the primary culture as measured by fluency in

reading and writing Vietnamese and by more recent arrival in the United States (see Table 4.14).

TABLE 4.14
Intercorrelations of Student Background
and Academic Achievement Variables

	GPA	Fall Plans	Gener-ation Status	Under-stand Viet.	Speak Viet.	Read Viet.	Write Viet.
GPA r Sig. N	_	.654** .000 168	-.147 .058 166	.032 .680 172	.075 .326 172	.125 .102 172	.171* .025 172
FallPlan r Sig. N		_	-.195* .013 162	.087 .263 168	.030 .700 168	.160* .038 168	.180* .020 168
GenStat r Sig. N			_	-.188* .015 166	-.281** .000 166	-.283** .000 166	-.305** .000 166
Undrstnd r Sig. N				_	.693** .000 172	.451** .000 172	.327** .000 172
Speak r Sig. N					_	.539** .000 172	.470** .000 172
Read r Sig. N						_	.828** .000 172
Write r Sig. N							_

**p<.01 (2-tailed)
* p<.05 (2-tailed)

    Because parental socioeconomic status and later student entry into the United States were both associated with achievement, analyses were completed to rule out a correlation between the parental socioeconomic background

variables and time of entry into the United States. Independent sample T-Tests were completed to compare the means of the test variables of parental occupation and family SES by grouping age of entry into students born in the United States ($\underline{n}$ = 80) and students who entered the United States after birth ($\underline{n}$ = 86). The mean scores for occupation and family SES in Vietnam were comparable for US born and non-US born and no correlations were noted. The mean scores for parental occupation and family SES in the United States were significantly higher for students born in the United States compared to non-US born. Longer residency in the United States appears to allow families to improve their occupational and socioeconomic status, but SES in the United States, for the most part, is not a predictor of achievement. Thus, it can be argued that higher SES in Vietnam, particularly for mothers, predicts student academic achievement and that later entry into the United States is also a predictor of achievement for students in this study.

Student Activities and Use of Time
How students choose to structure their activities and unscheduled time has been associated with ethnic differences in achievement among students (Steinberg, 1996). The questionnaire included both closed and open-ended items to determine how students allocated their time and their choice of extracurricular activities.

Students were asked about their participation in school extracurricular activities to examine the extent of their connection with the school culture (see Table 4.15). Fifty-eight percent participated to some extent in various clubs such as ethnic/cultural clubs, scholarship clubs, and service clubs. Forty-five percent participated in school athletic programs and 12% were involved with student government. Over 80% of the students in the study participated in some extracurricular programs beyond the regular academic curriculum. An open-ended question asked how students spent their free time. First and second responses were coded (see Table 4.15).

TABLE 4.15
Student Allocation of Time

Activity	% Participation
Extracurricular Activities*	
Clubs	58
Athletics/Sports Teams	45
Student Government	12
Band/Orchestra/Drama	10
Community Service	9
Journalism/Yearbook	5
Free Time Activities**	
Spend Time with Friends	38
Watch TV/Listen to Music	29
Sports/Exercise	24
Read for Pleasure	20
Rest/Sleep	14
On the Computer/Play Video Games	13

*all responses combined
**first and second responses combined

Students also reported the weekly number of hours spent on studies and the average daily hours watching television, reading for pleasure, socializing with friends, studying with others, and sleeping. One open-ended question asked: "When you don't get enough sleep, what is usually the reason?" Seventy percent of the respondent listed "studying" as either the first or second reason for lack of sleep. Seventeen percent listed "can't sleep" and/or "problems/stress."

Items also asked about paid work, the number of hours spent working, and parental opinion about work. Forty percent of the students held jobs. Forty percent reported that their parents did not want them to work; eighteen percent stated that their parents did not object to work as long as it did not interfere with school. Correlations between student use of time and achievement variables of "GPA" and "Fall Plans" were determined (see Table 4.16).

TABLE 4.16 (continued)

	GPA	Fall Plans	#Hrs. Study	#Hrs. Work	# Activities	#Hrs. TV	#Hrs. Read	#Hrs. Friends	#Hrs. Sleep
#Activities r Sig. N					–	-.111 .173 151	.020 .809 151	.017 .841 149	-.207* .011 151
#Hrs. TV r Sig. N						–	.033 .670 172	.060 .434 170	.027 .730 172
#Hrs. Read r Sig. N							–	.169* .027 170	-.057 .455 172
#Hrs. Friends r Sig. N								–	-.225** .003 170
#Hrs. Sleep r Sig. N									–

**p<.01 (2-tailed)
* p<.05 (2-tailed)

TABLE 4.16 (continued)

	GPA	Fall Plans	#Hrs. Study	#Hrs. Work	# Activities	#Hrs. TV	#Hrs. Read	#Hrs. Friends	#Hrs. Sleep
#Activities r Sig. N					—	-.111 .173 151	.020 .809 151	.017 .841 149	-.207* .011 151
#Hrs. TV r Sig. N						—	.033 .670 172	.060 .434 170	.027 .730 172
#Hrs. Read r Sig. N							—	.169* .027 170	-.057 .455 172
#Hrs. Friends r Sig. N								—	-.225** .003 170
#Hrs. Sleep r Sig. N									—

**p<.01 (2-tailed)
* p<.05 (2-tailed)

Student Activities and Associations with Achievement

As expected, "GPA" correlated positively with the hours spent studying ($r = .387$, $p = .001$) and had negative correlations with the number of hours spent watching television ($r = -.170$, $p = .025$) and the number of hours socializing with friends ($r = -.168$, $p = .029$). "GPA" did not correlate with hours of reading or working.

An interesting finding was the correlation of "GPA" and the total number of extracurricular activities ($r = .190$, $p = .019$). Greater participation in extracurricular activities predicted higher grades. Post-secondary educational plans ("Fall Plans") did not correlate with hours watching television, socializing, reading, or working,[5] but "Fall Plans" did correlate positively with the hours spent studying ($r = .336$, $p = .001$) and the total number of extracurricular activities ($r = .306$, $p = .001$).

In interviews, several students indicated that they perceived extracurricular activities as important factors in college applications and that most of their parents now recognized that acceptance by competitive colleges required more than academic achievement. However, some students reported that their parents were not comfortable with their non-academic or extracurricular school activities. One student described her father's anger when student government officers asked his permission to surprise her sister early the next morning for the group's traditional congratulatory kidnapping and pajama breakfast celebration. Another student, who was president of her senior class, stated that her parents were not happy with her involvement with student government because it required too much time away from home. However, she believed that her parents have learned to adapt to American culture. "My parents have assimilated. As the youngest of five children, I've had more freedom than my older siblings."

ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION AND CULTURAL VALUES AND BELIEFS

Ethnic Identity

To answer the second study question how Vietnamese high school students ethnically define themselves, twenty-five items addressed ethnic identity/affiliation and cultural values.

<u>Self-identification:</u>

Identification of oneself as a member of an ethnic group is used as a measure of acculturation and ethnic involvement (A. Portes & Rumbaut, 1996; Zhou & Bankston, 1998). When asked to select an ethnic identification from forced choices, 38% selected a non-hyphenated parental nationality label (Vietnamese, Chinese) and 45% selected the hyphenated classification Vietnamese-American (see Table 4.17). When asked for the reason behind their selection of a particular label, 32% mentioned the combination of their parental nationality and their current residence in the United States or the influence of two cultures as the explanation for their selection of a hyphenated classification ("I was born in Vietnam but grew up on American soil" and "I am raised by my parents' traditions in an American society").

The use of pan-ethnic labels such as Asian and Asian-American is described by Portes and Rumbaut (1996) as a second pattern of identification by second-generation children and 12% of the study sample selected pan-ethnic classifications. One student clarified his choice of Asian-American with the explanation that he is a mixture of Vietnamese and Chinese and lives in the United States. It is of interest to note that no student selected the single label of "American." The ethnic identification responses were recoded into a dichotomous variable ("Race ID") with 1 = hyphenated label (e.g., Vietnamese-American, Asian-American) and 2 = non-hyphenated Asian label.

TABLE 4.17
Self-Identification of Ethnicity

Ethnicity Selection	n	%
Vietnamese-American	78	45.3
Vietnamese	63	36.6
Asian-American	16	9.3
Asian	4	2.3
Chinese	3	1.7
American	0	0.0
Other	4	2.3
Missing	4	2.3

Participation in ethnic community activities:
Another measure of ethnic identification is the extent of participation in ethnic community activities. The Little Saigon community has extensive organizations and youth programs. Attending church or temple was the most frequently cited activity in the ethnic community, and 50% participated. Vietnamese language school, at 22%, was the second most frequent community activity. Seventeen percent of the students listed participation in youth group activities, and 12% reported involvement with organized recreation. Of the community activities, only participation in organized recreation was positively associated (r = .154, p = .049) with ethnic identification using a non-hyphenated Asian label (Vietnamese, Chinese, Asian).

Endogamy views:
Another indicator of ethnic affiliation is likelihood of endogamy. Students responded to two items: "I would consider marriage to a non-Asian as…" and "I would consider marriage to a non-Vietnamese as…" by selecting from the choices of Likely, Uncertain, Not Likely. While most students responded that they were uncertain of this choice, only 6% would not likely consider marriage to a non-Vietnamese, but 20% would not likely consider marrying a non-Asian (see Table 4.18). Thirty-six percent

reported that they would likely consider marrying a non-Vietnamese compared to just 6.6% of Vietnamese youth surveyed by Zhou & Bankston (1998) living in Louisiana's Versailles Village ethnic enclave. The students responding in this study were more open to non-endogamous marriages. As socially integrated members of their school community, these students associate daily with others from ethnically and socioeconomically diverse backgrounds in comparison to students in the Versailles Village community that is described as "socially isolated from the American middle class" (p. 18).

TABLE 4.18
Endogamy Views

Likelihood	Consider Marriage to Non-Asian		Consider Marriage to Non-Vietnamese	
	n	%	n	%
Likely	50	29	61	36
Uncertain	90	52	100	57
Not Likely	31	19	10	06

Participation in Asian/Vietnamese culture:
Other measures of ethnic identification included the students' affiliation with the Vietnamese/Asian culture through music, holidays, and food. Students indicated how often they listened to traditional Vietnamese/Asian music, celebrated Vietnamese/Asian holidays, and ate Vietnamese/Asian foods (see Table 4.19). Over 80% of the students reported that they usually ate Vietnamese/Asian food at home and usually celebrated Vietnamese/Asian holidays. When asked about American holidays such as Fourth of July and Thanksgiving, about 70% responded that they usually celebrated American holidays as well. Only 8% usually listened to Vietnamese/Asian music.

TABLE 4.19
Cultural Affiliation: Asian/Vietnamese
Music, Holidays, and Food

Frequency	Music		Holidays		Food	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Usually	14	8.1	140	81.4	140	81.4
Sometimes	79	45.9	28	16.3	28	16.3
Never	77	44.8	2	1.2	1	0.6

Ethnicity of friends:
The ethnicity of friends is also an indicator of ethnic identification. Hispanics, Asians, and Whites are the three main ethnic groups served by the school district in the study. Depending upon the location, high schools included in the study had either a Hispanic or Asian population majority. Eighty percent of the students reported than they had "some" White and "some" Hispanic friends, but 74% reported that "most" of their friends were Vietnamese or Asian. Some students attending high schools where Asians are the majority group stated that the factor they would like to change about school would be to have more ethnic diversity.

Ethnic Identification and Academic Achievement
The students in the study were most likely to identify themselves as Vietnamese-American. Many attributed their selection of this label to their adoption of both Vietnamese and American cultures ("I am born Vietnamese, but I grew up a hybrid of both cultures" and "I have adopted both cultures into my life"). More than half would consider marriage to non-Vietnamese partner, but the majority still counted Vietnamese/Asians as most of their close friends. For ethnic community involvement, only church/temple immersed a substantial number (50%) of students into their community. However, 20% did attend Vietnamese language schools. While the vast

majority (80%) celebrated traditional ethnic holidays and usually ate Vietnamese food at home, far fewer (8%) listened to Vietnamese music on a regular basis.

The variables of ethnicity and student language fluency in Vietnamese were included in a bivariate correlation analysis. As reported previously in the student background section, the ability to read and write Vietnamese correlated with "Fall Plans" (read and write) and "GPA" (write only). Because ability to read and the ability to write Vietnamese were highly correlated (r = .828), the sum of the two variable scores was recoded into a new variable, "Read/Write VN." This new variable correlated with "Fall Plans" (r = .171, p = .026).

In terms of ethnicity of friends, having fewer White friends correlated with "GPA" (r = .160, p = .036) and having fewer Hispanic friends correlated with math achievement (r = .182, p = .018). Endogamy views regarding Asian but not Vietnamese marriage partners did predict "GPA" and language achievement. Likelihood to marry a non-Asian correlated negatively with "GPA" (r = -.152, p = .047) and with English language achievement (r = -.153, p = .049).

Ethnic community participation in general did not predict academic achievement; however, involvement in organized community recreation had a negative correlation with "Fall Plans" (r = -.152, p = .047) for the small number of students who listed this activity (n = 22). In general, closer identity with the Asian culture in terms of Vietnamese language fluency, peer affiliation, and endogamy predicted higher academic achievement.

Parent and Student Cultural Values and Beliefs

Value orientations have been associated with cross-cultural and within-cultural differences in academic achievement (Caplan et al., 1991; Whitmore et al., 1989; Zhou & Bankston, 1998). Using open-ended responses, students were asked to identify the cultural beliefs they attributed to their parents, those that they themselves valued, and those

they found difficult to accept. The first three responses listed by students as important parental and student cultural values were coded into 11 categories. Table 4.20 summarizes the number of students listing parental and student cultural values by category. The percentage indicates the percent of responding students who listed the categorical values.

TABLE 4.20
Student Listing of Cultural Values of
Parents and Students

	Parental Values		Student Values	
Value Categories	n	%	n	%
Education/School Achievement	65	40.9	21	13.7
Effort/Hard Work	54	34.0	29	19.0
Respect/Honor	46	28.9	57	37.3
Morals/Honesty	37	23.3	11	7.2
Success	33	20.8	9	5.9
Family	25	20.8	36	23.5
Obedience/Discipline	17	10.7	16	10.5
Status/Money	11	6.9	4	2.6
Religion	10	6.3	10	6.5
Cultural Pride/Tradition	3	1.9	21	13.8
Other	3	1.9	10	6.6
Total Responding	159		153	

Student perception of parental values:
The parental values most frequently listed included the work orientations of "education and school achievement," listed by 41% of students responding, and "effort/hard work," listed by 34% of students. Students also ascribed parental importance to family value orientations of "respect/honor" for family and elders (29%) and the "importance of family" (21%). Additionally, students believed that their parents valued "morals/honesty" (23%) and "success" (21%).

Values important to student:
When asked what cultural values/beliefs were important to them, students most often listed family value orientations of "respect/honor" for family and elders, identified by 37% of the responding students, and "importance of family" listed by 24% of the students. A young woman wrote: "Family, future, then friends. Family is always first." Despite the fact that students believed "education and school achievement" was important to 41% of their parents, only 14% listed this as a cultural value important to themselves. Also, only 19% of students considered the work orientation of "effort/hard work" as important, but students identified 34% of their parents as upholding this value.

Cultural conflicts:
When listing cultural values that were difficult for them to accept, 20% of students reported that they did not disagree with any parental values. Sixteen percent found the expectation of unquestioning "obedience" and/or the "lack of individual or independent choice" as difficult values to accept. In a related response, 16% also listed "strict/strictness" as a cultural value they found difficult. One student answered "Strict parenting; seems not to work as well in America; children can't handle it." Ten percent listed gender inequity issues as beliefs they disagreed with in their culture ("male dominance/inequality").

Student perception of American values:
Students were also asked to list important American values/beliefs. The most frequent responses included "individualism/individuality" (23%), "freedom" and/or "equality" (17%), and "effort/hard work" (12%). When reporting on American values that were difficult to accept, 37% listed "none." Thirteen percent viewed American culture as too "liberal" and/or "lacking discipline" and 6% listed a "lack in family values."

Work orientation and family orientation values summary:
To summarize cultural values, Vietnamese students perceive work orientation values of educational achievement and effort/hard work as important to their parents, but fewer hold these values as important for themselves. Students most value the cultural family orientations of respect and honor for family and elders and the importance of family. However, the most cited conflict with traditional values is the expectation of obedience ("Always accepting what the 'elders' have to say, even if they're wrong."), and, in comparison, students most often cited the American values of individuality and independence as important.

Previous research into Asian student achievement considered the effects of commitment to a work ethic or traditional family values on achievement (Steinberg et al, 1996; Zhou & Bankston, 1998). Parental values and student values were recoded to provide work orientation and family orientation composite variables for both parents and students. A work orientation value was noted for responses that listed one or both of the categories of "education/achievement" and "hard work/effort." Separate "Parent Work Value" and "Student Work Value" variables were coded. "Parent Family Value" and "Student Family Value" variables were created by including responses in one or both of the categories of "respect/honor" and "family."

One hundred students believed that their parents valued a work orientation, and 42 of the students themselves upheld this value. Sixty-nine of the students attributed a family orientation to their parents, and 86 of the students claimed this as an important value for themselves. Table 4.21 summarizes the number and percentage of student respondents who identified work and family orientation for their parents and themselves.

To examine the effect of these value orientations on achievement, a bivariate correlational analysis was completed. Only "Parent Family Value" orientation was

significantly correlated with "GPA" (r = .184, p = .020) and reading achievement test scores (r = .189, p = .020). Neither orientation correlated with post-secondary educational plans. In a separate item on the survey, student agreement with the statement "It is important to obey your parents" correlated significantly with "GPA" (r = .162, p = .035). A slightly significant association with "GPA" was also noted for agreement with the statement "Success depends on hard work more than ability" (r = .147, p = .054).

TABLE 4.21
Parent and Student Work and Family Orientations

Orientation	Parental Values		Student Values	
	n	%	n	%
Work: Education/Achievement, Effort	100	58.1	42	24.2
Family: Honor/Respect/Family/Obedience	69	40.1	86	50.0

Despite the differences between parent and student values, student perception of their parents' value orientations predicted their own orientations. "Parent Work Value" correlated with "Student Work Value" (r = .196, p = .017) and "Parent Family Value" correlated with "Student Family Value" (r = .349, p < .001). It appears that parents are successful in passing on their value orientations to their children.

Ethnic Identity and Culture Summary
To answer the second research question, Vietnamese students in this study were mostly second-generation students who defined themselves as either "Vietnamese"

(38%) or "Vietnamese-American" (45%) and none labeled themselves as "American." Eighty percent of these students participated in school sponsored extracurricular activities, 50% attended a Vietnamese church or temple, and 20% attended Vietnamese language school in the ethnic community. Students recognized a commitment to work and education and to traditional family values of respect and honor as important cultural values for their parents and for themselves as well.

Ethnicity factors:
To study the relationships among the variables measuring ethnicity, 18 items were entered and subjected to a principal components analysis followed by a quartimax rotation for the correlated factors. Three variables that had 80% similar responses (first language, Vietnamese food, and celebrating Vietnamese holidays) and variables that did not weigh heavily on any one factor or did not account for much variance were eliminated. Factor analysis of the 12 remaining ethnicity indicators showed that the variables were loaded on four factors and accounted for 63% of the variance (see Tables 4.22a and 4.22b). The four factors correlated on average r = .103 suggesting that a four factor model represents relatively independent constructs.

TABLE 4.22a
Communalities

	Initial	Extraction
Write Vietnamese	1.000	.843
Read Vietnamese	1.000	.807
Listen Asian/Vietnamese Music	1.000	.406
Generation	1.000	.363
Ethnic Self-Identification	1.000	.337
Youth Groups	1.000	.658
Organized Recreation	1.000	.523
Vietnamese Language School	1.000	.524
Vietnamese Endogamy	1.000	.832
Asian Endogamy	1.000	.828
White Friends	1.000	.698
Hispanic Friends	1.000	.765

TABLE 4.22b
Ethnicity Component Matrix

Selected Variables	Components			
	1	2	3	4
Eigenvalue	2.793	1.816	1.635	1.340
Factor Loading of Variables				
Write Vietnamese	.861			
Read Vietnamese	.826			
Generation	.575			
Listen to Asian/VN Music	.566			
Ethnic Self-Identification	.442			
Youth Groups		.787		
Organized Recreation		.715		
Vietnamese Language School		.701		
Vietnamese Endogamy			.903	
Asian Endogamy			.893	
White Friends				.867
Hispanic Friends				.806

Extraction: Principal Component analysis; Rotation: Quartimax

Factor 1 accounted for 23% of the variance and primarily represented Vietnamese language fluency measures and included: Vietnamese reading fluency, Vietnamese writing fluency, generation status, listen to Vietnamese music, and ethnic identification. Factor 2 accounted for 15% of the variance and characterized ethnic community involvement and included: youth group, organized recreation, and Vietnamese language school participation. Factor 3 explained 14% of the variance and represented endogamy views. Factor 4 accounted for 11% of the variance and represented out of culture ethnicity of peers.

"Ethnicity Factor 1: Language" which included items measuring fluency in Vietnamese is closely associated with more recent entry into the United States noted by generational status, choice of ethnic music, and choice of ethnic label. "Ethnicity Factor 1: Language" is a predictor of academic success as measured by "GPA" and post-secondary fall plans. "Ethnicity Factor 4: Peer Ethnicity" (out of culture friends) negatively correlates with "GPA". Table 4.23 shows the correlations of the ethnicity factors with achievement measures.

"Ethnicity Factor 1: Language" also predicted the cultural value of "Student Family Value" ($r = .223$, $p = .007$). Moreover, students had a stronger "Student Family Value" if they perceived this as important to their parents. Although students perceived their parents valuing effort/hard work and scholarship more than they themselves held this work orientation, parents appear able to instill similar values in their children. Also, the composite variable "Student Work Orientation" is slightly correlated ($r = .152$, $p = .069$) with "Ethnicity Factor 4: Peer Ethnicity."

TABLE 4.23
Correlation of Ethnicity Factors
and Achievement Variables

Ethnicity Factors	GPA		Fall Plans	
	r	p	r	p
Factor 1:Language	.164*	.039	.169*	.036
Factor 2:Community	.039	.629	.075	.354
Factor 3: Endogamy	.067	.402	.014	.865
Factor 4:PeerEthnicity	-.159*	.045	.091	.264

*p<.05

Vietnamese identity and achievement:
Similar to the findings on family and student background, ethnicity identifications that affiliate more closely with the Vietnamese culture are better predictors of academic achievement. This finding supports research that found immigrant students more likely to be academically successful than their native peers (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995; Vernez & Ambrahamse, 1996). In comparison with their first generation peers who are often still mastering the second language of instruction, second-generation immigrants may be better positioned for academic success because of their English language fluency (Kao and Tienda, 1995).

     For the Vietnamese high school students in this study, fluency in Vietnamese, recency of immigration, choice of Vietnamese music, and self-identification as Asian/Vietnamese were the components of ethnicity (Language Factor 1) that correlated with higher grade point average and more academically rigorous post-secondary plans. Also, less association with White friends (Peer Ethnicity Factor 4) correlated with higher grades in school. Maintenance of the primary language and identification with the primary culture through the choice of ethnic labels, music, and friends may be measures of student proximity to the cultural values of high aspiration, effort and the

importance of schooling that stimulate academic achievement for Vietnamese high school students.

MOTIVATION FACTORS IN ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

Motivation factors were measured in order to answer the third research question: What goal orientations do Vietnamese students claim and how are they related to academic achievement? In this study, motivation variables were hypothesized to be proximal variables influenced by family and socio-cultural background. Motivation variables included educational and occupational aspirations, attributions for success and failure, beliefs about learning, goal orientation, and self-regulated learning strategies.

Student and Parental Educational Aspirations and Expectations

Educational expectations were measured by two forced-choice response items asking students to indicate the level of schooling they planned for themselves and the perceived level that their parents expected (see Table 4.24). Results indicated high expectations for post-secondary schooling on the part of parents and students. Three-quarters of the students planned to pursue a graduate degree, and the remaining one-quarter intended to earn a four-year degree. Parents' aspirations for their children appear to be even higher. Students believed that their parents wanted them to obtain a doctoral degree at a higher frequency than they might wish for themselves. An open-ended item asked what students thought their parents expected of them in school. Fourteen percent believed that their parents expected "As" or top honors. Forty-five percent stated that their parents expected them to work hard and/or do well. Fifteen percent responded that their parents expected them to try their best.

TABLE 4.24
Student Report Of Educational Level Expectation

Educational Level	Parents' Expectation		Student's Expectation	
	n	%	n	%
High School	2	1.2	0	0.0
Vocational School/ Community College	2	1.2	4	2.3
BA	47	27.3	41	23.8
MA	46	26.7	73	42.4
Doctorate	64	37.2	48	27.9
Undecided	11	6.4	6	3.5

The student's own aspirations play a substantial role in academic achievement outcome. The student's expected level of education ("Student Plans Educ") correlated significantly with both "GPA" ($r = .379$, $p < .001$) and "Fall Plans" ($r = .404$, $p < .001$). Student's educational expectation also correlated significantly with math ($r = .313$) and language achievement test scores ($r = .318$). The parent's expected level of student education ("Parent Plans Educ") correlated only with "Fall Plans" ($r = .208$, $p < .01$). Parents' aspirations for their children may influence the student's own aspirations since the two items are positively associated ($r = .329$, $p < .001$). However, the principal factor in predicting academic achievement appears to be the student's own educational aspirations.

During a group interview (May 1997), five twelfth-grade students discussed their parents' view of education. All five were born in Vietnam. Four arrived between 6 - 12 years of age and would be classified as part of the 1.5 generation. Although most families had high educational

aspirations for their children, it is important to note that some did not:

> I live with my grandmother and she didn't have any education at all. She discourages me to go to college, "Well, you're a girl." She wants me to end up doing nails like my aunt. We had a long argument because she did not want me to go to college. "You're a girl. You're just going to end up getting married" (Lan).

> Her grandmother is very traditional. Our parents have some modern thinking. With the parents, it's different from grandparents (Hue).

> My parents just pushed me. "Education first." They don't want me to rely on my husband. The most important thing is getting a good job (Hong).

> My grandfather, he didn't have any education. That's the force. That's why he wants me to go because he didn't get what he wants. So, he expects me to get it. He wants me to get a doctor degree and go back to Vietnam to help the people. But it's so different here (Thao).

> My mom had a pretty high position before the Communists came in, but afterwards she lost her job. She lost everything. They took everything that belonged to us. So now she says, "Since you're given a second chance over at a different country, why not make something out of it." My dad says, "Maybe you could do something and go back someday" (Nguyen).

Student and Parental Career Aspirations and Expectations

Career aspirations were measured by four open-ended items asking for (1) the student's occupational choice, (2)

the reason for that choice, (3) the student's perception of the parent's occupational choice for the student, and (4) the reason for that choice. Some responses included more than one choice or reason for the choice. Table 4.25 summarizes the first and second choices listed. Fifty percent of the students indicated a possible career in a health profession as their first or second response and approximately the same percentage believed that this was the career of choice of their parents. Students reported that their parents were more likely to specify a health career as a physician (40%), "any kind of doctor." One student who is considering a career in writing and received a scholarship to Stanford University wrote: "Every Asian parent wants it [medical profession] – brings them honor – it's the only honorable profession – highest apex." Another student indicated the parents' wish for careers requiring a doctoral degree "anything with Ph.D."

Approximately 45% of the students were interested in engineering or computer science but only 5% thought their parents would desire this career. Many explained that the growing importance of computers was the reason for their choice. Forty-three percent of the students were considering a business career, but only 4% indicated this as a choice of their parents. Teaching was another career considered by 15% of the students; these students indicated a desire to help others as their reason for this career selection. Twenty-five percent of students believed that their parents would desire that occupational choices be determined by the student's personal interest and/or choice. "My parents let me choose my school and my major as long as I am going to college. That's the whole point because they want me to get a better job than them."

When asked the reason for their career choice, about half of the students gave intrinsic reasons such as "I'm interested in this field" or "I enjoy this." Only 16% indicated extrinsic reasons such as "money," "status," or "job stability." However, 64% felt that their parent's occupational choices were due to extrinsic reasons such as

"money and status" or "prestige occupations," "security," "It will give honor to them among friends." Several students reported that their parents stressed seizing opportunities of education that had been unavailable to the parents themselves. One student reported his parents wanted him to "receive a good education that they have not been able to receive" and "They want me to fulfill the American dream of earning more money with further education."

TABLE 4.25
Career Interests for Students
Chosen by Students and Parents

Career Interest	Students		Parents	
	n	%	n	%
Health Field	60	50.3	88	51.2
Engineering/Computers	54	45.2	9	5.3
Business	51	41.9	7	4.3
Education	15	17.0	2	1.2
Choice Deferred to Student			41	25.5

Note: First and second responses are included.

While parents may still desire the traditional career choice of a physician or a career requiring a Ph.D. in some field, students are also considering fields that have potential for jobs (computers) and occupations such as business that they see as avenues for financial success. Half of the students are still aspiring to careers in the health fields; however, for some students, pragmatic considerations such as job availability and economic opportunity appear to be influencing their career decisions. Sue and Okazaki (1990) proposed a relative functionalism explanation for Asian American achievement. When a minority group perceives limitations in upward mobility, the relative value or function of education as a means of achieving success increases. In this study, parents perceive the need for high levels of education for mobility and discern stability in

health occupations. The large percentage of students considering business careers may reflect the general student trend towards increased interest in business fields that they see as open to upward mobility. The entrepreneurial spirit in the thriving ethnic community may also contribute to this perception.

A former teacher in Vietnam, now a part-time college lecturer, discussed educational and occupational goals and the opinions held by many Vietnamese parents that conform with relative functionalism:

> Education both in Vietnam and the United States has the same goal. Everybody wants to go to school in order to get a high degree and get a better job, an easier life. Over here they think the same way. Like myself, when I came here, I worked for 75 cents an hour for two or three months. I tried to get a better job; I was paid $2.50. Then I started this current job; I'm paid $29.33. So I am trying to climb up gradually, but I think everybody wants it that way.

> Most Vietnamese parents want their children to get into medical fields – pharmaceuticals, dentistry, health areas. They don't want them to go into television broadcasting, newspaper journalism, or history, geography, or even psychology because they think that those fields are not practical. It's hard to get those jobs (Community Interview, 1998).

Attributions for Success and Failure and Beliefs About Learning

Cross-cultural studies on attributions for success and failure and beliefs about learning have noted ethnic differences and associations with student achievement (Dweck, 1986; Dweck & Bempechat, 1983; Steinberg, 1996; Stevenson et al., 1986, 1994). Several items were included to record the attributions and learning beliefs held by Vietnamese students in the study.

On a Likert-scale response with 1 = Strongly Agree, 2 = Agree, 3 = Disagree, 4 = Strongly Disagree, the mean response scores were calculated for several attribution and learning belief statements (see Table 4.26). Overall, students tended to agree with statements attributing success to hard work and effort such as "Success depends more on hard work than ability" ($\underline{M}$ = 1.98). Students tended not to agree with statements attributing success and failure to circumstances beyond their control such as "In my life, good luck is more important than hard work for success" ($\underline{M}$ = 3.17) and "I do not have much control over the direction of my life" ($\underline{M}$ = 3.08).

Student beliefs about learning and the consequent success center more on an incremental theory of intelligence (Dweck et al., 1983, 1986, 1988) that proposes ability is not a fixed entity but can be increased through effort and persistence. These students disagreed with statements such as "Smart students don't have to work hard to do well in school" ($\underline{M}$ = 2.99) and agreed with "With enough effort, most students can learn any subject matter" ($\underline{M}$ = 1.69). "GPA" was slightly associated only with the statement "Success depend more on hard work than ability" ($\underline{r}$ = .147, $\underline{p}$ = .054).

These findings support previous research on cultural differences in achievement attribution. Stevenson (1994) noted that East Asian cultures tended to stress effort over ability in contributing to success. He and his colleagues (1986) compared attributions of children and mothers in Japan, China, and the United States and found that, although all attributed success and failure to effort, American children and their mothers had a greater belief in ability. Steinberg and his colleagues (1996) reporting on the strong school performance of Asian American children found that Asian students in comparison to Black, Hispanic, and White students were more likely to link their success and failure to the amount of effort put forth. Asian students were also less likely to view success and failure as outside of their control.

To gather additional input on attributions for success and failure, two open-ended response items asked students to give explanations for doing well or doing poorly on a given assignment or test. Seventy-eight percent of student responses attributed success to hard work and effort with statements such as "I studied," "I was prepared," or "I paid attention and concentrated." Only four percent said success was due to luck. When explaining why they did poorly, 78% of responses indicated internal beliefs that attributed the poor result to lack of effort, being unprepared, or insufficient attention to task. Nine percent gave external control reasons such as not being good at the subject or poor teaching. Twelve percent stated they did poorly because they did not really care about the class or assignment.

Locus-of-control research generally assumes that internal beliefs are more adaptive. In general, students in the study attributed success and failure to their own efforts and view their achievement as under their own control. In support of previous research in Asian beliefs about learning, these students also have a stronger belief in effort over ability as responsible for intelligence and eventual success.

> If you have ability without effort, the ability is useless. Ability is a piece of diamond, but without being cut and polished, the diamond is of no use. A person without any learned knowledge knows nothing (Community Interview, 1998).

TABLE 4.26
Esteem/Values/Beliefs/Control

Statements	M
In Descending Order of Mean Agreement	
(1=SA, 2=A, 3=D, 4=SD)	
In the US you need a college education for a good job.	1.52
With enough effort most students can learn any subject matter	1.69
It is important for children to obey their parents.	1.69
What you learn is more important than the grade you get.	1.72
If I don't do well in school, I will disappoint my parents.	1.75
I feel good about myself.	1.78
Doing poorly in school hurts your chance for a good job.	1.81
My parents expect me to get mostly As in school.	1.85
My Asian friends think doing well in school is important.	1.87
Success depends more on hard work than ability.	1.98
Most of my friends do well in school.	1.99
I can learn a great deal when I study with others.	2.06
I try to succeed in school to please my family.	2.08
In Ascending Order of Mean Disagreement	
(1=SA, 2=A, 3=D, 4=SD)	
It is important to be popular and well liked.	2.53
I do not have enough control over the direction my life is taking.	2.96
Smart students don't have to work hard to do well in school.	2.99
I don't have much control over the direction of my life.	3.09
In my life, good luck is more important than hard work for success.	3.17
I do not feel a sense of pride about my family's culture and heritage.	3.44

Goal Orientation and Associations With Academic Achievement

Goal orientation theories were developed to explain achievement behavior in students' performance on academic tasks and, as such, are the most relevant for improving learning and instruction (Pintrich & Schunk, 1996). Goal orientation involves the student's purpose for

engaging in achievement behavior and has been linked to attributions and learning beliefs. Students with a mastery orientation are concerned with mastery of a task and developing increasing ability. These students link outcomes with their effort and tend to attribute degree of effort to both success and failure. Previous research (Ames, 1992; Dweck & Leggett, 1988; Maehr & Midgley, 1991; Pintrich & De Groot, 1990) has shown that besides these adaptive attribution patterns, a mastery goal orientation is associated with the use of self-regulatory learning strategies and higher levels of achievement. In contrast, performance goal orientation is related to helpless attribution patterns of belief in external controls such as luck or fixed ability. Performance goals emphasize avoiding failure and demonstrating worth, are associated with rote learning strategies, and result in lower levels of achievement.

Dweck and Leggett (1988) propose that theories of intelligence influence goal orientation. Further, they propose that mastery and performance goals are at opposite ends of one continuum with an incremental view of intelligence leading to a mastery orientation and adaptive behaviors. However, given an entity view of intelligence leading to a performance orientation, behavioral outcomes can differ. Performance orientation and low confidence in ability can lead to a helpless pattern, but a high confidence in ability can lead to adaptive behaviors. Nicholls et al. (1989) postulate that it is possible for individuals to report a mixture of goal orientations and that these goals can be orthogonal to one another.

Mastery and performance orientations hypotheses:
To answer the third research question, analyses were designed to identify the goal orientations of students in the study and then examine the relationship of these orientations with academic achievement. A mastery orientation was predicted on the following basis: (1) the family cultural values of hard work/effort, (2) the belief in

the importance of education, and (3) the student attribution of the degree of effort in determining eventual success and/or failure.   A performance orientation was also predicted for several reasons: (1) previous research finding Asian students having a stronger fear of the consequences of not doing well in school (Steinberg, 1996); (2) survey responses on the importance of performing well in school as a precursor to college and eventual employment in a good job; and (3) traditional schooling in Vietnam that emphasized rote memorization and reported achievement as comparative class ranks.   As opposed to considering mastery and performance goal orientations as opposite ends of a motivational continuum, it was hypothesized that the Vietnamese student participants would score high on both mastery and performance orientation measures.

Goal orientation measures:
The survey instrument included twelve items that were adapted from previous research measuring the two goal orientation constructs.   In a Likert-response format 1=Strongly Disagree, 2=Disagree, 3=Agree, 4=Strongly Agree, students were asked to respond to six statements indicating a performance orientation and six statements representing a mastery orientation.   A summary performance and a summary mastery score was generated by combining the six corresponding items (for example, 6 X 1 Strongly Disagrees = 6 points; 6 X 4 Strongly Agrees = 24 points).   Table 4.27 summarizes the means for the two orientations.   Assuming a neutral point of 15, overall students had a performance orientation mean of 18 but an even higher mastery orientation mean of 19.6.

TABLE 4.27
Sum Performance and Sum Mastery Mean Scores

Goal Orientation	N	Minimum	Maximum	M	SD
Performance	171	10	24	18.04	2.87
Mastery	171	13	24	19.63	2.61

Goal orientation findings:
As predicted, Vietnamese students in this study scored high on their agreement with statements used as indicators of both mastery and performance constructs. A bivariate analysis showed no correlation between the two measures ($\underline{r}$ = .049) supporting the theoretical argument that mastery and performance goal orientations rather than two ends of a continuum may be considered as orthogonal. The mastery mean score (19.63) was higher at 82% of the maximum score of 24 compared to the performance mean score (18.04) equivalent to 75% of the maximum total.

Reporting on empirical studies in terms of ethnic differences in goal orientation, Pintrich and Schunk (1996) found very little research in this area. They also reported that most studies of goal orientation have not found significant gender differences. In this study, males tended to have higher mastery mean scores than females ($\underline{M}$ = 19.99 versus $\underline{M}$ = 19.37) but also higher performance scores than females ($\underline{M}$ = 18.23 versus $\underline{M}$ = 17.91). In line with most previous studies, neither of these gender differences was significant (mastery $\underline{r}$ = .112, performance $\underline{r}$ = .063).

Possibly due to a ceiling effect and range restrictions of relatively small standard deviations, neither orientation correlated with "GPA" or post-secondary educational plans. Students in this study scored high on agreement indicators for both performance and mastery orientations regardless of their GPA or post-secondary plans. In interviews, counselors described the high academic

expectations of the Vietnamese students and their parents. Students attempted to exit English Language Development (ELD) classes as soon as possible to enroll in college preparatory English classes and would ask for waivers to concurrently enroll in two English classes to make up for insufficient college requirements. One mother spoke of Vietnamese acquaintances who had indicated on the Home Language Survey that English was their child's primary language and the language of the home in order to avoid enrollment in ELD classes that were not considered college preparatory. Some students who had not achieved the minimum grades in Algebra or Geometry required to continue onto the next college level math course persisted in retaking the courses more than once despite their difficulty with the subject. Students would often resist their guidance counselor's advice to complete the math graduation requirements with less difficult, non-college preparatory math courses that did not meet the University of California or California State University admission requirements. Further study of individual transcripts would be necessary to establish empirical documentation of these observations of effort and persistence; however, guidance counselors at all six high schools spoke of similar experiences while advising their Vietnamese students.

Self-regulated learning strategies:
Motivation may be defined as the predisposition to goal-directed activity, and volition is the implementation of these intentions. Along with effort and persistence, self-regulated learning is a volition behavior identified with strategies for academic success. Using a five point Likert-type scale, students indicated the frequency of use of self-regulated learning strategies measured by twenty-two items adapted from the categories identified by Zimmerman and Martinez-Pons (1986, 1990).

The five point scale responses were coded as follows: 1 = Always, 2 = Often, 3 = Sometimes, 4 = Not Often, and 5 = Never.   Thirteen strategies had means less than 3,

indicating that students often used these particular self-regulated learning strategies. Students sometimes used six other strategies ($\underline{M}$ < 3.50). Thus, students sometimes or often used 19 of the 22 strategies. See Table 4.28 for the mean responses listed from most frequent to least frequent usage.

   A self-regulated strategy use scale was constructed by collapsing the 22 strategy responses by taking an average of their means. In examining the correlation between goal orientation and the composite variable, "Learning Strategy Average," no association with a performance orientation was found. In contrast, a mastery orientation did predict the use of strategies ($\underline{r}$ = .370, $\underline{p}$ < .001), a finding that supports previous research linking intrinsic goals with the increased use of self-regulatory strategies (Pintrich & De Groot, 1990). Further, "Learning Strategy Average" was correlated with post-secondary educational plans ($\underline{r}$ = .287, $\underline{p}$ < .001).

Goal orientation summary:
The third research question asked: What goal orientations do Vietnamese students claim and how are they related to their achievement? Students scored high on agreement with both mastery and performance goal orientation measures but tended to agree more strongly with statements that measured a mastery orientation. Students also reported "often" using the majority of self-regulated learning strategies (13 of 22). Moreover, only three strategies were reported in the "not often" range.

   A strong mastery goal orientation supported by the use of self-regulated learning strategies would predict academic achievement. For the students in this study, their performance and mastery goal orientations and the use of learning strategies may explain their successful academic outcomes.

TABLE 4.28
Average Use of Self-Regulated Learning Strategies

Learning Strategy	N	M	SD
In Descending Order of Use			
(1=Always, 2=Often, 3= Sometimes, 4=Not Often, 5=Never)			
Review your notes when studying for a test.	170	1.83	.91
Find a place to study that has few distractions.	171	2.30	1.06
Reread the textbook to study.	171	2.33	1.07
Do similar practice examples until you understand how to do something.	171	2.36	1.07
Think about how you can improve your work for the next test.	170	2.39	.90
Repeat or rewrite something to help you remember better.	171	2.46	1.14
Take notes of class discussion.	171	2.47	1.07
Summarize the important points from notes or book to study.	170	2.49	.98
Figure out the most important parts to study and spend most time on them.	170	2.55	1.03
Keep working on a difficult assignment until you solve or complete it.	171	2.56	.99
Check over your work before handing in it.	171	2.60	.99
Turn off the TV or radio to help you concentrate.	171	2.72	1.16
Make an outline before answering an essay question.	170	2.98	1.05
Use a special routine that helps you study better.	170	3.02	1.13
Study with friends to help each other understand the assignment.	171	3.12	1.03
Plan or break down a big assignment and do it over several days.	170	3.14	1.06
Ask your teachers after class to explain something you don't understand.	171	3.18	1.08
Imagine what your teacher or parent will say if you don't do your homework.	171	3.21	1.31
Do research to gain as much information as possible before beginning an assignment.	170	3.22	1.01
Keep a list of work or problems you get wrong.	171	3.56	1.10
Calendar your studies so you don't have to cram for a test.	170	3.63	1.09
Plan rewards for yourself if you do well on a test or a big project.	171	4.04	1.06

SUMMARY OF ACHIEVEMENT PREDICTORS

To explore the socio-cultural factors contributing to the academic achievement of Vietnamese high school students, this study examined family and student background, ethnicity, and motivational variables and the extent to which these variables predicted academic achievement

Table 4.29 summarizes the items that predicted achievement as measured by cumulative grade point average and fall plans for post-secondary education. For this summary, similar variables of highly correlated measures were combined to create fewer variables for further analysis. "Parents English Language Fluency" is the sum of mother's and father's fluency in speaking English. "Student Read/Write Vietnamese" is the sum of student fluency in reading and in writing Vietnamese. "Out of Culture Peers" is the sum of responses on number of White and number of Hispanic friends. "Hrs TV/Socializing" is the average of the two variables "Hrs Television" and "Hrs Socializing". Although the two endogamy variables ("Would consider marriage to non-Asian" and "Would consider marriage to non-Vietnamese") were highly correlated ($r = .734$), the combined variable of "Non-Asian/Vietnamese Endogamy" did not predict achievement; therefore, the variable of "Non-Asian Endogamy" was used.

TABLE 4.29
Achievement Predictor Variables

Variables	GPA Correlation		Fall Plans Correlation	
	r	p	r	p
Parents English Lang Fluency			-.215	.007
Mother SPS Vietnam			.359	.001
Family SPS Vietnam			.313	.001
Student Read/Write Viet.			.171	.026
Student Generational Status			-.195	.013
Learning Strategy Use			.287	.001
Student Education Aspiration	.379	.001	.404	.001
# Extracurricular Activities	.190	.019	.306	.001
Hours Study	.387	.001	.336	.001
Hours Television/ Socializing	-.254	.001		
Out of Culture Peers	-.160	.037		
Non-Asian Endogamy	-.152	.047		
Parent Family Values	.184	.020		

To examine the relative importance of these independent variables on the dependent variables of achievement as measured by grade point average and post-secondary fall plans, multiple regression analyses were completed using a forward selection model. For the dependent variable "GPA", the seven independent variables that correlated with "GPA" were selected for analysis (see Table 4.30). In the forward selection model, three of the seven independent variables were entered and accounted

for 24% of the variance ($\underline{R}^2$ = .243), F (3, 141) = 14.753, $\underline{p}$ = .001. The items predicting "GPA" included "Student Educational Aspiration," "Hrs TV/Socializing," and "Hrs Study."

TABLE 4.30
Regression Analysis for GPA

Order of Variable Entry	R	R^2	R^2 Change	F Ratio	df
1 Student Ed Aspiration	.345	.119	.119	18.945	1, 140
2 Hrs.TV/Socializing	.437	.191	.072	16.401	1, 139
3 Hrs. Study	.493	.243	.052	14.753	1, 138

For the dependent variable "Fall Plans," two regression analyses were completed. The two socioeconomic variables of mother and family in Vietnam were highly correlated ($\underline{r}$ = .831) and only one socioeconomic variable at a time was included with the nine other independent variables correlating with "Fall Plans." The "Family SPS Vietnam" variable ($\underline{n}$ = 135) was computed using the higher of mother or father's occupation and the average of their educational levels. Use of "Mother SPS Vietnam" reduced the number of cases ($\underline{n}$ = 120).[6]

First, "Family SPS Vietnam" was selected for the analysis and four variables were entered accounting for 29% of the variance ($\underline{R}^2$ = .285), F (4, 98) = 9.380, $\underline{p}$ = .001. The variables entered included "Student Educational Aspiration," "Number Extracurricular Activities," "Family SPS Vietnam," and "Generational Status" (see Table 4.31).

TABLE 4.31
Regression Analysis for Fall Plans
(Omitting Mother SPS Vietnam)

Order of Variable Entry	R	R^2	R^2 Change	F Ratio	df
1 Student Ed Aspiration	.317	.101	.101	10.850	1, 97
2 Number of Activities	.426	.182	.081	10.647	1, 96
3 Family SPS Vietnam	.494	.244	.062	10.215	1, 95
4 Generational Status	.534	.285	.041	9.380	1, 94

When "Mother SPS Vietnam" was used in place of "Family SPS Vietnam" for the socioeconomic variable, 4 independent variables were entered accounting for 30% of the variance (R^2 = .306), F (4, 85) = 8.915, p = .001 (see Table 4.32).

TABLE 4.32
Regression Analysis for Fall Plans
(Omitting Family SPS Vietnam)

Order of Variable Entry	R	R^2	R^2 Change	F Ratio	df
1 Mother SPS Vietnam	.367	.135	.135	13.057	1, 84
2 Number of Activities	.464	.216	.081	11.403	1, 83
3 LearningStrategy Use	.512	.262	.046	9.728	1, 82
4 Generational Status	.553	.306	.044	8.915	1, 81

When including "Mother SPS Vietnam," social position status explained 14% of the total 31% of variance in "Fall Plans." When "Family SPS Vietnam" was used in place of "Mother SPS Vietnam," then social position status explained 6% of the total 29% variance in "Fall Plans" and the two variables of "Student Educational Aspiration" and "Number Extracurricular Activities" accounted for 18% of the variance.

Because of gender differences in achievement, correlation analyses looked into possible differential associations of "Mother SPS Vietnam" on female versus male student achievement. The overall correlation of "Mother SPS Vietnam" and "Fall Plans" was r = .359. In looking at "Fall Plans" separately by gender, no association was found for males (r = .146) and a significant association was found for females (r = .472). Although the association of "Mother SPS Vietnam" with "GPA" was not significant, its association with achievement was stronger for females (r = .210) than for males (r = .037).

Additional correlational analyses examining achievement by gender found further differences. For males, the strongest predictors of "GPA" achievement were "Student Educational Aspiration" (r = .396) and "Hrs Study" (r = .329). Predictors of male "Fall Plans" were "Student Educational Aspiration" (r = .316), "Hrs Study" (r = .305), and "Learning Strategy Use" (r = .281). When controlling for tenth-grade math achievement score (used as a proxy variable for ability), "Fall Plans" correlated with "Learning Strategy Use" (r = .281) and "GPA" correlated with "Student Educational Aspiration" (r = .298). When the correlated dependent variables were used in a forward model regression analysis for "Fall Plans," "Student Educational Aspiration" and "Learning Strategy Use" accounted for 20% of the variance (R^2 = .201), F (2,54) = 6.555, p = .003. "Student Educational Aspiration" accounted for

16% of the variance in male student "GPA" ($\underline{R}^2$ = .162), F (1, 66) = 12.652, $\underline{p}$ = .001.

For female students, the strongest predictors of "GPA" were "Hrs Study" ($\underline{r}$ = .399), "Student Educational Aspiration" ($\underline{r}$ = .314), and "Hrs TV/Socialization" ($\underline{r}$ = -.266). "Fall Plans" correlated with "Mother SPS Vietnam" ($\underline{r}$ = .472), "Student Educational Aspiration" ($\underline{r}$ = .414), "Number Extracurricular Activities" ($\underline{r}$ = .344), "Hrs Study" ($\underline{r}$ = .322), and "Hrs TV/Socialization" ($\underline{r}$ = -.287). A forward model regression analysis using correlating variables indicated that "Hrs Study" and "Hrs TV/Socialization" accounted for 18% of the variance in "GPA" ($\underline{R}^2$ = .175), F (2, 82) = 8.509, $\underline{p}$ = .001. "Mother SPS Vietnam" and "Number Extracurricular Activities" accounted for 30% of the variance in "Fall Plans" ($\underline{R}^2$ = .296), F (2, 58) = 11.788, $\underline{p}$ = .001. Table 4.33 summarizes the achievement predictor variables by gender noted in correlational analysis.

Corresponding predictor variables of achievement for both male and female high school Vietnamese students were the student's educational aspiration (highest level of education planned) and the hours allocated to study. These two measures predicted both "GPA" and "Fall Plans." Also, the use of self-regulated learning strategies was associated with "Fall Plans" for both male and female students.

The picture of the socio-cultural factors in the educational achievement of Vietnamese high school students suggests the influence of both ethnicity and motivational factors. The degree of influence shifts when disaggregating the students by gender but certain predictive factors remain across gender. The interrelationship of factors, including those not directly predictive of the dependent variables of achievement, reveal a complex weave of connection and influence. A final analysis looks at the correlation between culture/ethnicity variables (see Table 4.34).

TABLE 4.33
Achievement Predictor Variables by Gender

Variables	GPA Correlation		FallPlansCorrelation	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Student Ed Aspiration	.396**	.314**	.316**	.414**
Hours Study	.329**	.399**	.305*	.322**
Learning Strategy Use			.281*	.287*
Ethnicity Peer Factor	-.253*			
Student Work Value	.285*			
Hrs TV/Socialization		-.275*		
Parent Family Value		.220*		
Mother SPS Vietnam		.		.472**
Family SPS Vietnam				.447**
Father SPS Vietnam				.370*
Generational Status				-.219*
Number Extracurricular Activities				.344**

Correlations indicated if significant. **p<.01, *p<.05

TABLE 4.34
Correlations of Culture/Ethnicity Variables and Motivational Variables

Variables	Factor 1 Language		Factor 2 Community		Factor 3 Endogamy		Factor 4 Peer Ethnicity	
	r	p	r	p	r	p	r	p
Student Ed Aspiration	.172*	.034	.098	.228	.013	.869	-.002	.980
Learning Strategy Use	.121	.132	-.241**	.003	.065	.421	.038	.635
Hrs TV/Socializing	-.211**	.008	.067	.401	-.080	.322	.032	.708
Hours Study	.052	.520	.125	.122	.054	.508	-.178*	.028
Sum ExtracurricularActivities	.012	.890	.250**	.003	.058	.496	.050	.559
Performance Orientation	-.033	.684	.048	.549	.098	.221	.128	.109
Mastery Orientation	.058	.467	.089	.267	.072	.371	.140	.080

*$p<.05$, **$p<.01$

"Ethnicity Factor 1: Language" correlated positively with student educational aspiration and negatively with the hours of TV and socializing. Students who had greater fluency in reading and writing Vietnamese, were of more recent generational status, listened to Vietnamese music, and identified themselves with non-hyphenated ethnic labels of "Vietnamese" or "Asian" tended to have higher educational aspirations and spend less time watching television and socializing with friends. Factor 1 also had positive correlations with "GPA" and "Fall Plans."

"Ethnicity Factor 2: Community" had a negative correlation with learning strategy use and a positive correlation with participation in extracurricular activities. Students who were involved with their ethnic community tended to participate in more school activities as well but were not as often inclined to make use of learning strategies.

"Ethnicity Factor 4: Peer Ethnicity" had a negative association with the hours of study. Students with more out of culture friends did not spend as many hours studying. Factor 4 also correlated negatively with "GPA." Vietnamese American students whose friends were also Vietnamese or Asian devoted more time to their studies and earned better grades.

CHAPTER 4 NOTES

1. It is recognized that percentile scores lack optimal statistical properties; however, NCE scores were not available during data collection.

2. The Limited English Proficient (LEP) students, who were not included in the study, had similar math achievement but overall much lower language and reading scores. Both Fluent English Proficient (FEP) and LEP students had a similar ordering of achievement test score averages with math the highest, language second highest, and reading scores the lowest.

3. The source of the 1980 census data research is the volume titled *Asian and Pacific Islanders in the United States*. While the census data itself is not recent, this major volume with its extensive research into Asian and Pacific Islander populations was more recently published in 1995.

4. "GPA" did correlate with mother's occupation in Vietnam based upon a smaller sample (n = 80) that sorts out homemaker/housewife occupational listings.

5. Research on the effect of adolescent work (Greenberger & Steinberg, 1986; Marsh, 1991) suggests that working a few hours and summer work (or if the purpose for work is directed towards achievement, such as saving money for college) may have positive effects on student achievement measures such as grades but that longer hours of work are associated with lower grade point averages. The hours of work variable was recoded into a dichotomous variable using the categories of 1 = 15 hours of employment or less, and 2 = employment greater than 15 hours. Employment of 15 hours or less did not associate with "GPA" (r = -.087) but was slightly associated with "Fall Plans" (r = -.130, p = .096) suggesting that moderate hours of work for students in this study may have some positive benefits. This was further examined by creating a third work variable with three values 1 = no job, 2 = employment of 15 hours or less, and 3 = employment greater than 15 hours. Using this new variable, correlational analysis showed a weaker relationship of employment with "GPA" (r = .015) and "Fall Plans" (r = -.048).

6. Another variable was computed for mother's socioeconomic status using SPS values that omitted cases of homemaker/housewife. "Mother SPS-r Vietnam" was used for comparative analyses but reduced the number of cases (n = 80) and is reported in Chapter 5. Generally, this new variable increased the correlation between female achievement as measured by both "GPA" and "Fall Plans."

CHAPTER 5
Discussion

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study was designed to examine three issues regarding the academic achievement of Vietnamese high school students:

1. What socio-cultural factors contribute to variation in motivation and academic achievement of Vietnamese high school students?
2. How do Vietnamese high school students ethnically define themselves and what cultural values and beliefs are associated with this ethnic-social identity?
3. What goal orientations do Vietnamese students claim and how are they related to their achievement?

The study was conducted in three phases. The first phase was qualitative and exploratory using Vietnamese community and student interviews to refine the research questions. The information gathered from the interviews was used to develop a survey instrument for the second phase. The participants were 172 Vietnamese twelfth-grade students who were fluent English proficient and had scores available from the Metropolitan Achievement Test taken during the tenth-grade. The survey included several open-ended responses items that allowed further

exploration of the relationships between student achievement and demographic, ethnic/cultural, and motivational variables. The third phase involved additional student, parent, and educator interviews to further explore the socio-cultural explanations for achievement variation.

SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO ACHIEVEMENT

Based on past records of achievement, it was presumed that the Vietnamese high school students in the study would, on average, demonstrate high academic performance. Achievement was measured by the two dependent variables of cumulative grade point average ("GPA") and post-secondary educational plans ("Fall Plans") ranked according to competitiveness of acceptance criteria of the institution for fall enrollment. The data confirmed overall high academic achievement. Females scored higher than males on both measures. The group mean grade point average was 3.3 or a B plus average. The standardized achievement test score means were above the 50%-ile, with reading 61%-ile, language 70%-ile, and math 84%-ile. Forty-one percent of the students were enrolling in two-year community colleges, and 57% of the students were going directly into a four-year college. Over 40% had been accepted into the University of California system that is structured to accommodate approximately the top 12% of California high school graduates.

Family Background Variables

It was hypothesized that family background demographics that generally predict academic achievement such as parental education and occupation would not be as influential in the achievement of this population of first and second-generation Vietnamese students. Family background factors had varying predictive associations for the academic achievement of Vietnamese high school

students in this study. Neither family structure (one parent versus two parent households) nor parental level of education correlated with cumulative high school grade point average ("GPA") or post-secondary enrollment into higher education programs ("Fall Plans") ranked according to academic entrance criteria. Although background factors of household structure, occupation, and levels of parental education predict performance for other populations, the lack of association with the achievement of Vietnamese students is consistent with other studies of this population (Caplan, Choy, & Whitmore, 1991; Rumbaut, 1989, 1995; Whitmore, Trautman, & Caplan, 1989; Zhou & Bankston, 1998).

For immigrant adults, fluency in English often determines the occupational level or type of job available to them in the host country. This was true for parents in this study. Parental fluency both in speaking and reading English was associated with job classification in the United States as measured by rankings adapted from Hollingshead's categories of occupations. However, parental fluency in speaking English was negatively associated with "GPA" (mother's ability to speak English, r = -189; father's ability to speak English, r = -.174). This negative association suggests that the lack of parental assimilation to the host country as gauged by English language fluency would predict higher student achievement in grades.

Parental occupation is another background factor often associated with student school performance. Due to second language and other issues involved with immigration and resettlement, occupations for immigrants in the new host country are often limited. Therefore, this study involved gathering data from student reports on parental occupation both in Vietnam and in the United States. Socioeconomic status was calculated using a two factor Social Position Score (SPS) formula adapted from Hollingshead that factors in parental occupation and education. Separate scores were calculated for each parent and a family score

was computed using the higher parental occupation score and the average of the educational level of mother and father.

Neither occupation nor socioeconomic status in the United States had significant correlations with achievement measures. This finding is consistent with previous studies that reported high achievement of Vietnamese American students despite low family incomes and limited education. Previous research has found that Vietnamese students fared better in grades, school attendance, and high school completion compared to their White, Black, and other Southeast Asian peers with similar backgrounds (Rumbaut, 1989; Zhou & Bankston, 1998). Rumbaut (1989) examined grades earned by 238 Southeast Asian students in San Diego and noted that within this group grade point average was somewhat associated with the parents' educational level, and, as predicted by these levels, the highest grades were earned by Vietnamese and followed by Sino-Vietnamese. Overall, these students were outperforming their White peers despite limitations in English fluency.

Gender Variation And Mother's Background

Công cha như núi Thái Sơn,
nghĩa mẹ như nước trong nguồn chảy ra.
Father's contribution is like a Thai mountain;
mother's devotion is like water flowing
eternally from its source.
(Vietnamese Proverb)

In this study, socioeconomic status of mother in Vietnam was more predictive of "Fall Plans" ($r = .359$, $p < .001$) than the father's status in Vietnam ($r = .213$, $p = .029$), or the combined family status ($r = .313$, $p < .001$). Because of gender differences in achievement, correlation analyses looked into possible differential associations of "Mother SPS Vietnam" on female versus male student achievement. In looking at "Fall Plans" separately by gender, no

significant association was found for males (r = .146) but the association for females increased (r = .472, p < .001) over the level of prediction for all students. Another analysis using a recoded variable "Mother SPS-r Vietnam" that omitted any homemaker/housewife responses and reduced the number of cases (n = 80) resulted in a still higher correlation with female "Fall Plans" (r = .546) and a significant association with female "GPA" (r = .345).

These findings suggest that mothers' background in occupation and education in Vietnam influences the performance of their daughters but not their sons. According to one female community member:

> My mom raised us by herself. In my family there was never a question about: "Are you going to college?" It was a question about: "Which college are you going to?" because of how important it was to her (Community Interview, High School Teacher, 1998).

The finding of the influence of the mother's resources corroborates an earlier study. In his review of the achievement of Southeast Asian students, Rumbaut (1989) noted, "With regard to the effect of the adaptive resources of the parents, it is the mother's (not the father's) socioeconomic resources as well as psychological status that most significantly influence student performance in the schools" (p. 171). An explanation for this gender difference may be that the availability of education in America presents a greater cultural shift for females than for males.

Notably, mothers in the study were disadvantaged relative to their male counterparts in education, occupation, and English language fluency. Much of this reflects the traditional expectations for women in Vietnam of subservience and home and family responsibilities. Community interviews provide more details about traditional attitudes.

The Vietnamese woman was the core in the family. The kind of core you have to understand is different from a European view. The core is a kind of guidepost for everyone to gather [around]. The husband goes around to make money and be absent for 1-2 weeks. Then he goes home and that is the post where he looks. And the children, when they go around and they go home, they look for their mother. The mother has to do all the housework and she even has to earn some money too. So it's a kind of guidepost for everyone to gather around. Traditionally women in Vietnam didn't have to do many things for society. They devote themselves to working for the family (Community Interview, Former Teacher in Vietnam, 1998).

My mom finished third grade. My dad went to high school. I was raised with two different sets of values. My dad values education too, but he thinks it's more so for the boys than the girls. And he couldn't afford to pay for private school or beyond public schooling. Public school ends in high school or even 6th-grade depending on where you are. I was raised by my sister from the time I was seven. My parents were alive but my sister became a widow at 25 and had three children so she had to work. They let her have a sandwich place on a military base. She also opened an ice cream factory. She was making more money, so she wanted to provide an education for my brothers and myself, so she offered for us to come live with her. There was access to better schools. I have two older sisters and I think they are really capable, but they didn't have the opportunity to go to school beyond high school. They were told to get married. That is something they resent my parents about. They didn't want it to happen to me, so they took it upon themselves to raise me so I could go to school (Community Interview, School Psychologist, 1998).

In several interviews, students and community adults spoke of the difference in thinking between the generations.

They mentioned the "older" generation whose traditional thinking views a man's responsibility to support his wife and children until they are married. In contrast "modern" parents want their daughters to get an education so they don't have to rely on their husbands.

> We have a proverb: He's more Catholic than the pope. It means that once you have adapted to a new situation, you become more active than the original member of that society, of that community. So once they come, they say, "Well, in the US people have to work to support themselves whether it is woman or man, it doesn't matter." So they adapt to that idea, and they are more Catholic than the pope. They adapt themselves very well (Community Interview, 1998).

The increased availability of education appears to contribute to both aspiration and encouragement, possibly more so for females whose future in the United States represents a greater socio-cultural shift than for males. Though some students mentioned the differential treatment of females and more strict attitudes towards daughters, many women have adapted to the American lifestyle of women working outside the home but some have maintained certain cultural expectations.

> I will live at home until I am married. My brother moved out, but he's a boy and I guess that's different. I don't mind living at home; it's a way to save money. I just grew up with that idea, so it's not hard for me (Community Interview, Hairdresser, 1999).

Cultural Associations and Recency of Arrival
The results suggest that students who have closer ties with the primary Vietnamese culture perform better academically. Supporting this assertion, parental fluency in English was negatively correlated with student "Fall Plans"; as parents became more assimilated, as indexed by

greater English fluency, their children had less rigorous post-secondary educational plans. English fluency of parents correlated with the length of US residency of their children.   Length of US residency also correlated negatively with "Fall Plans"; the longer students lived in the United States, the lower the measure on "Fall Plans." Also, the student's ability to read and write Vietnamese correlated positively with "Fall Plans." Most of the students indicated that they understood and spoke Vietnamese very well or fairly well, but fewer were as fluent in the written language. The longer students lived in the United States, the less likely their ability to read and write Vietnamese. Twenty-two percent of the students indicated that they attended Vietnamese language schools and this attendance was associated with fluency in reading and writing.

The intercorrelations of these variables suggest that recency of arrival and closer ties to the Vietnamese culture predict achievement for this group.   However, it is important to remember that the most recent arrivals who were not fluent English proficient were not included in this study. Their lack of English may prevent them from sharing in the same academic success as those who arrived earlier in their schooling years. Several analyses were completed to look for a possible curvilinear relationship between achievement and cultural factors; however, possibly due to the small number of first generation students, only linear relationships linking greater achievement to more recent arrival and closer ties to the Vietnamese culture were observed. Earlier research (Kao & Tienda, 1995) suggested that the second generation of immigrants, because of their English fluency and remaining ties to their primary cultural values, were most poised for academic success. Although this hypothesis cannot be confirmed here, these findings suggest that the academic success of Vietnamese students may decline with later generations in a subtractive acculturation process as links to

their Vietnamese culture weaken and the incentive of new opportunity fades.

Educational and Occupational Aspirations

Con hơn cha là nhà có phúc.
A family is blessed
when a son does better than the father.
(Vietnamese Proverb)

The Vietnamese, like many other immigrants, have expectations for their children to take advantage of educational opportunity in their new country and for children to exceed their parents in achievement. Students had high educational aspirations and believed that their parents held similar aspirations for them. Three-quarters of the students planned to complete graduate degrees and the remaining quarter intended to earn a college degree. Students agreed with their parents that education is the key to a successful future: "The root to a good future is based on a good education" (Student, 1998). Some are pragmatic in their assessment of what education provides: "Obtaining a higher education will make me more marketable. It can help me develop a career" and "Got a future ahead of myself; I'll prepare for it by educating myself."

Several parents mentioned their children as the main reason for leaving Vietnam: "I look for the future of my children." Children often agree with the importance of schooling not only for their future but also as a means to repay to their parents: "School is extremely important. Doing well in school not only secures my future but pleases my parents, and so it is the only way to return what they give me." The Vietnamese culture traditionally has placed great value on education, but the opportunities in Vietnam were limited for many. Many expectations are generated by the availability of schooling in America:

> In Vietnam in order for you to go to higher education, it is a very selective process. You kind of weed out even at sixth-grade level whether or not you should go on. You take a test. In high school as junior or senior you take a test to continue and to go to college. If you pass, you can go; if you don't pass, you can't. So it's very competitive to go to school. It's something that people want, but it isn't always something they can always do. In the US that option is more viable for a lot of people because they're not starving, and they don't have to pay for education if they can't afford it, and they're not tested out of it. So there's more opportunity here. Because it's so selective in Vietnam, education is valued so much (Community Interview, 1998).

Balancing two sets of values can create challenges for children of immigrants. Those students who find American values as consistent with their traditional Asian values of hard work and effort are better positioned for success. One student defined the American value most important for him: "To achieve the American dream. To achieve it through hard work and study." Another listed his most important American value as the belief in education: "Education is the key to the future."

Students who perceive a conflict between the traditional values of their parents and the perceived values of American culture must bridge the ideological gap. Some reported difficulty complying with the family expectations or values: "To be expected to succeed in all aspects of life," "Subservient to parent's need regardless if they're reasonable," and "the old ways." In ways these issues correspond with the concerns of many adolescents.

Tiên học lễ, hậu học văn.
First, learn to behave; later, learn literature.
(Vietnamese Proverb)

During a small group interview, students discussed going against Vietnamese tradition by leaving the home and going away to college. Traditional Vietnamese families expect children to live in the home until married.

> I'm going to live in the dorms at UCLA and go away from my grandmother. She doesn't mind now because I prepared her. Ever since junior high, I told her I'm going to college. I want to stay in the dorm; most of my friends are commuting (Lan).

> It's so hard to tell your parents that you want to go away. My parents pushed me to do my best in school, but they still don't want me to leave for college. Two years ago I told them that I was going away, and my mom didn't accept it until recently (Thao).

Life in America presents new challenges to students and families as they adapt. A segmented assimilation (Gibson, 1989) approach is one way to achieve success by maintaining certain parental or cultural values while selecting values from and adapting to American society. Allowing their children to join school activities that take time away from home and to live away at college represent cultural shifts and parental acculturation that support the educational achievement of their children.

Student Activities and Allocation Of Time

Laurence Steinberg and his colleagues (1996) studied the variation in achievement of students in California and reported on the role of Asian ethnicity in influencing the ways in which students structure their use of time. Asian American students devoted more time to activities that contributed to their academic success. In this study, the most successful students spent more time on studies and less time watching television and socializing with friends. They also participated in a greater number of

extracurricular activities such as school clubs, athletics, and community service. They served as school government officers, played in the band and orchestra, and were members of cheerleading squads and varsity teams. These students were fully involved with their high schools, and greater involvement predicted higher grades. Some students did speak of a functional purpose of extracurricular involvement as helpful to college acceptances.

Summary of Socio-Cultural Factors and Achievement
To summarize the answer to the first research question, the socio-cultural factors associated with educational achievement were found to be the following:
  (1) mother's socio-economic status in Vietnam for females but not for males,
  (2) factors that represented closer ties to the Vietnamese culture such as less parental fluency in English, greater student fluency in reading and writing Vietnamese, and more recent arrival in the United States,
  (3) student educational aspirations, and
  (4) student use of time and involvement in extracurricular activities.

ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION AND RELATED VALUES AND BELIEFS

The second research question examined how Vietnamese high school students ethnically define themselves. Twenty-five items in the questionnaire addressed ethnic identity by examining self-classification, ethnic community involvement, peer affiliation, endogamy views, language fluency, holiday celebrations, food and music choices, and cultural values and beliefs.

One parent reported that if his child were not doing well in school his concern would be "bad influence from friends."

The questionnaire asked students to cite a proverb that reflects important cultural beliefs or values. The most frequently mentioned proverb speaks of the importance of one's selection of friends and of environment in determining one's own outcomes:

Gần mực (muội) thì đen, gần đèn thì sáng.
One turns black if close to ink (soot),
bright if close to the lamp.
(Vietnamese Proverb)

Coleman (1966) demonstrated the importance of peer group association in terms of the peer group's socio-economic status on individual student achievement, and, more recently, Harris (1998) proposed the importance of peer over parent influence on the behavioral socialization of children. Students themselves compared their effort in school compared to their non-Asian peers: "I study much more than other kids at this school. It's a stereotype when they say Asians study harder. I hear it a lot. But it's mostly true." In this study, "GPA" was correlated with associating with other Asians. Asian peers share many of the same cultural values and beliefs.

Students were open to marriages out of their ethnic culture. Only 6% stated they would not likely consider marriage to a non-Vietnamese. Twenty percent said they would not likely consider marriage to a non-Asian. The likelihood of marriage to a Vietnamese partner had no correlation with "GPA;" however, the likelihood of marriage to an Asian did correlate with grade achievement. Thus, choice of fellow Asians as close friends and as potential spouses predicts academic success, which again demonstrates the connection between closer affiliation with the Vietnamese/Asian culture and student educational achievement.

Identity: Values and Beliefs
Using an open-ended format, students were asked to report cultural values and beliefs important to them and to their parents. The parent values most frequently listed included the work orientations of education/school achievement and effort/hard work. For their own values, students most often cited the importance of family and respect/honor for family and elders, but they also listed the same work orientations important to their parents. Student perception of their parents' values in work and family orientations predicted their own orientations in these same areas. This suggests that parents are successful in passing on their beliefs to their children. The student's listing of their own belief in work values correlated with "GPA" for males, and listing of parent belief in family values correlated with "GPA" for females.

Ethnicity Factors
To answer how Vietnamese students ethnically define themselves, a factor analysis explored the relationships among the variables of ethnicity. The variables loaded on four factors. Factor 1 accounted for 23% of the variance and represented variables of Vietnamese reading and writing language fluency, generation status, choice of ethnic music, and ethnic identification. Factor 2 accounted for 15% of the variance and represented ethnic community involvement in ethnic youth groups and organized recreation and Vietnamese language schools. Factor 3 explained 14% of the variance and represented endogamy views. Factor 4 accounted for 11% of the variance and represented peer ethnicity (out of culture friends).

In support of the individual socio-cultural variables found to associate with achievement, ethnicity factors that reflect closer affiliation with Vietnamese culture also correlate with academic achievement. Factor 1 includes components of fluency in reading and writing Vietnamese, more recent immigration, listening to Vietnamese music, and self-identification in non-hyphenated categories of

"Vietnamese" or "Asian." Factor 1 correlated positively with both higher grade point averages and more rigorous post-secondary academic plans. Factor 1 also correlated positively with the motivational measure of student educational aspiration and negatively with the volitional measures of hours spent watching TV or socializing.

Factor 2 represents involvement in ethnic community activities and correlates positively with the number of school extra-curricular activities. Students who were active in ethnic community activities tended to be more involved in their school activities as well. The number of extra-curricular activities has a positive association with "Fall Plans."

Ethnicity Factor 3 represents endogamy views and Asian endogamy variable has a positive correlation with "GPA." Factor 4 represents peer ethnicity, a measure of out of culture friends and has a negative association with the volition variable of hours of study. Factor 4 had a negative correlation with "GPA." Students with more non-Asian friends spent less time on studies and earned lower grades than those who associate with other Asians.

These findings suggest that the identified Vietnamese ethnicity factors are associated with motivational behaviors that contribute to achievement. Further by employing the cognitive paradigm conception of intelligence as modifiable skilled cognitive behavior, the values and beliefs associated with Vietnamese ethnicity may, in fact, mediate the motivational behaviors that augment achievement.

GOAL ORIENTATION AND MOTIVATIONAL FACTORS IN RELATION TO ACHIEVEMENT

The final research question asked what goal orientations do Vietnamese high school students claim and how are they related to achievement? Goal orientation theories attempt to explain achievement behavior on academic tasks. Students with a mastery orientation are concerned with

mastery of a task and developing increasing ability. They also attribute degree of effort to both success and failure. In comparison, students with performance orientations attribute outcomes to external controls such as luck or fixed ability. Students with performance orientations tend to try to avoid failure, demonstrate worth through comparison, and employ more rote learning strategies. It was hypothesized that mastery and performance are orthogonal rather than opposite ends of a motivational continuum and that the students in this study would score high on both orientations.

As predicted the students scored high on both the mastery and performance measures and there was no correlation between the two measures supporting the theoretical argument that mastery and performance are orthogonal. To gauge student volition in implementing their goal orientations, 22 items measured the use of previously identified self-regulated learning strategies (Zimmerman & Martinez-Pons, 1986, 1990). Scores on the strategies were averaged to create a composite variable. The finding that a mastery orientation did predict the use of learning strategies was consistent with previous research (Pintrich & DeGroot, 1990).

The Vietnamese high school students in this study scored high on both mastery and performance goal orientation measures. The performance orientation is congruous with the student's responses indicating their belief of the need to perform well in school in order to gain acceptance into college and obtain a good job: "What grades you get now determines where you go to college, and college is what gets you a good job and a bright future." Students see a direct link between doing well in school and a successful future, and they also perceive the negative consequences of not doing well. This supports Steinberg's (1996) findings that an important difference between Asian American students who, on average, were successful in school and their non-Asian peers was the

stronger fear of the negative consequences of poor school performance.

The mastery orientation held by Vietnamese high school students is consistent with the parent and student cultural values of the importance of education and the belief in effort and hard work as well as with the effort-attribution of success and failure. Mastery orientation also predicted the use of learning strategies ($\underline{r}$ = .370, $\underline{p}$ = .001) that are associated with academic achievement. The high achievement of Vietnamese high school students may be in part explained by their combined performance and mastery goal orientations. Students who understand the consequences of poor school performance and who recognize the role of persistence and effort in achieving their high educational aspirations are more securely positioned for successful academic outcomes.

> *Có công mài sắt, có ngày nên kim.*
> If you persist in grating the iron,
> one day you will have a needle.
> (Vietnamese Proverb)

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study provides a description of twelfth-grade Vietnamese high school students attending urban schools and living in a racially diverse environment with access to the expansive ethnic community of Little Saigon in Orange County, California. The students were purposely selected on the basis of availability of tenth-grade achievement scores and their current status as fluent English proficient (FEP). FEP status ensured comparable course enrollment so that grade point average comparisons would be valid. Also, the ability to read and write English was necessary to complete the questionnaire. This study examined the correlations between dependent variables of educational achievement and variables of demographics, ethnicity, and motivation.

One limitation of the study was the relatively small number of first and 1.5 generation students due to the selection criteria of FEP status. Although approximately half the students were born in Vietnam and half in the United States, over three-quarters were categorized as second generation, 17% as 1.5 generation, and only 2% were first generation. Thus, the results have more reliability for second-generation Vietnamese students and limited reliability for more recent arrivals. The FEP selection criteria also selected on those first and 1.5 generation students who were capable of passing the language proficiency standards.

By including only twelfth-grade students, a full record of high school grades was available to provide cumulative grade point average information. The data, by definition, excludes students who may have dropped out or left for alternative education schools that serve students who are considerably behind in credits. The dropout rate for the district is very low (less than 3%), and is lower for Asians compared to Hispanics. The district does not disaggregate the Asian group by sub-group, but overall few Asians are recorded as dropping out. However, dropout rates do not include students who transfer to other programs such as county alternative schools. Some students who may have met the selection criteria for the study may have left the district comprehensive high schools due to poor grades or insufficient graduation credits.

Another limitation is the use of student reports for parent data. Many students did not know or initially report parental background data on occupation and education. Follow-up phone calls by a Vietnamese translator were made to homes to gather the missing information; however, contact was not possible in all cases. Further, the student listing of occupation for mother as homemaker/housewife and the lack of rank for fathers who were in the military presented difficulties in assigning occupational categories. For the most part, the use of student reports appears to be

valid, based on the paired sample correlation of student report of GPA and actual GPA ($\underline{r}$ = .942).

IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION

The findings of the study in the areas of motivational factors that predict academic performance have the greatest utility for education. Educational communities that foster self-efficacy beliefs, focus on meaningful purposes of learning, and promote the beliefs that ability is changeable and achievement is more directly dependent on effort than on "native" ability will encourage the motivational attributes for improved educational achievement. This study brought forth the importance of cultural, family, and community values in contributing to educational aspirations and student commitment to learning. Therefore, educators must commit their efforts to students, their families, and the broader community.

Students need to be included in their schools through involvement in activities beyond the academic day. The finding that achievement correlated with student participation in extracurricular activities suggests that students benefit from belonging and contributing to their school community. Over half of the students in this study participated in various school clubs, and 45% were involved in school athletic programs. Schools must be caring, inclusive communities that provide a variety of opportunities for students to find their place.

To create efficacious learners, teachers must show students that they are capable learners through carefully crafted instruction that fosters individual success. Teachers must explicitly point out to their students that learning is useful by making links to application in the student's present life and in their future endeavors.

Schools need to communicate with their families and create a mutual support system. Student allocation of time was a significant predictor of academic success. Educators

and parents can work together to create home environments that help students to structure their time in ways that benefit learning. Limiting time spent on television and socializing and creating time for study were shown to correlate with achievement.

Teachers can also directly teach students about the importance of effort on results. Performance tracking that verifies the amount of effort as predicting the outcome illustrates for students that ability or achievement is determined by their own intervention of hard work and effort. Discussions about the payoff for time spent in study for tests, the improved product as the result of writing several drafts for a paper, or greater achievement through sustained effort can support the belief in individual control over academic outcome.

Teachers should also model and directly teach learning strategies that improve student performance. Instructional research supports modeling, teaching, and practicing generalization of the use of various learning strategies to develop strategic learners and to result in improved learning. By promoting the importance of effort in outcome and teaching students metacognitive strategies, teachers are instructing their students in how to learn and how to improve.

Parents must also see the potential for learning and set goals with their children that encourage their own aspirations. Programs that inform parents about the means to access higher education for their children can create higher aspirations for parents and students. As reported by the students in this study, some of the consequential Vietnamese socio-cultural factors are high parental aspirations, strong values of education and learning, the importance of family and respect for elders, and a belief in hard work and effort. Culture-based values can equip students with the goals and commitment for success. For students in this study, individual aspiration was a significant predictor of both "GPA" and "Fall Plans."

Currently the school district in this study has embarked on a project with the University of California, Irvine to structure college opportunities for underrepresented Hispanic students. Fifty students in seventh and eighth grade and their families were invited to attend an information meeting about participation in a college preparation Math Academy. All 50 families attended the evening meeting despite rainy weather and storms that disconnected the electricity to the school. Groups who have not been traditionally successful in school have aspirations for their children, but they may need support to learn how to direct these aspirations into behaviors that allow their children to reach their goals. The Vietnamese families in this study, even those with limited income, recognize and value the availability of college education. To address the continuing differences in educational achievement among various ethnic groups, this same understanding and commitment to accessing higher education should be communicated to all families.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

This study examined a population of predominantly second-generation Vietnamese high school students and found that they were generally successful in school. Recommendations for future research include statistical analyses that explain the interrelationship among the predictor variables of achievement. Several socio-cultural and motivational factors were associated and found to correlate with academic achievement measures. The results suggest that cultural and ethnicity factors may mediate motivational behaviors that contribute to academic achievement. A future direction for this study would be the use of structural equation modeling that defines how each indicator variable is a consequence of the underlying construct that explains achievement.

Another recommendation is a longitudinal study that examines the future achievement of these successful high

school students to see how they fare in college and in their future occupations. This type of study would provide ongoing information on these second-generation students.

This study found that closer affiliation with the Vietnamese culture in terms of primary language fluency in reading and writing and generational status predicted greater achievement. Future research should also investigate the growing number of third generation Vietnamese students to determine if the intervening distance in years since emigration from Vietnam creates a decline in achievement as predicted by data in this current study. If achievement does decline, the finding may be comparable to the achievement of fourth generation Japanese American students that has declined compared to earlier generations and is now on par with the achievement of White students. By also including a greater number of first-generation students, research would explore the possible curvilinear relationship between acculturation and achievement.

Because of the significant associations between ethnicity, motivation, and achievement brought forward in this study, future research should continue to explore the socio-cultural factors of ethnicity and identify those associated with achievement. The successful students in this study shared high educational aspiration and the belief in effort, hard work, and persistence in order to secure success in the future. Further, psycho-educational research should explore the possibilities of conferring those positive socio-cultural beliefs and consequent motivational behaviors that support educational outcome. Advances in this arena of psycho-educational research would have consequences beyond the group-based differences in achievement to the broader questions of the development of cognition for all students.

Kiến tha lâu đầy tổ
If ants persist for a long time in gathering food,
their nest will be full.
(Vietnamese Proverb)

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Appendix

STUDENT SURVEY-INTERVIEW

Name: **School:**

Birthdate: __Male __ Female

1. HOME AND PARENT BACKGROUND

a. Birthplace: (Mother)_____   (Father)_____

b. Current occupation: (Mother)_____   (Father)_____

c. Occupation before immigrating:(M)_____ (Father)_____

d. Highest grade/degree of education: (M) _____ (Father)_____

e. After leaving Vietnam, countries lived in before USA: _____

f. Refugee camp: ___NO, ___YES; Location: ____; (#)___Months

g. *Check* all who live at home:

☐Mother; ☐Father; ☐Brothers/Sister (#___);☐Other relatives (#___)

Parents' English Fluency

(Select: ☐*very well;* ☐ *fairly well;* ☐*a little;* ☐*very little/not at all)*

h. Mother can speak and understand English

i. Mother can read and write English

j. Father can speak and understand English

k. Father can read and write English

2. STUDENT BACKGROUND

a. Birthplace:

b. If other than U.S., age at entry into U.S.:_

c. First language you learned:

d. Second language you learned:

e. Language spoken most often in the home:

Student's Fluency in Vietnamese

(*Select:* ☐*very well;* ☐ *fairly well;* ☐*a little;* ☐*not at all)*

f. I understand Vietnamese

g. I speak Vietnamese

h. I read Vietnamese

i. I write Vietnamese

Student's Fluency In English

(*Select:* ☐*very well;* ☐ *fairly well;* ☐*a little;* ☐ *not at all)*

j. I read English

k. I write English

Grades and Courses

n. Accumulative Weighted GPA 10th-12th:

o. # semesters honors classes:

p. #semesters AP classes:

q. # semesters English classes:

r. # semesters science classes:

s. # semesters math classes:

t. Have you completed the UC and/or CSU (formerly A-F)
requirements?

3. EDUCATIONAL/VOCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS

(1.HighSchool; 2.Vocational/2-Yr College; 3.Complete College;
4. Masters; 5.Doctorate)

a. How far in school do you plan to go?

b. How far do your parent(s) want you to go?

c. Name the school or college you will enter next fall:

d. What do your parents expect of you in school right now?

e. What occupation(s) are you considering?

f. What are your reasons for your choice(s)?

g. What occupation would your parent(s) like for you?

h. What are the reasons for their choice(s)

4. OUT OF SCHOOL ACTIVITIES

a. On average, how many hours do you study per week (including
weekends)?

b. Do you have a job?

c. If "Yes", how many hours do you work per week?

d. What do your parents think about working while going to school?

e. List clubs, sports, or other activities you participate in:

f. What do you do in your free time?

g. On average, how many hours do you watch television each day?

h. Hours you read for pleasure each day?

i. On average, how many hours do you socialized with friends each
day?

j. Hours you study with others each day?
k. On average, how many hours do you sleep each night?
l. When you don't get enough sleep, what is usually the reason?

5. MOTIVATION

How do you feel about the following statements?

(*SA=Strongly Agree; A=Agree;   D=Disagree; SD=Strongly Disagre*e)

a. I feel good about myself.
b. It is important for children to obey their parents.
c. In my life, good luck is more important than hard work for success.
d. It is important to be popular and well liked.
e. My parents expect me to be able to get mostly As in school.
f. I try to succeed in school to please my family.
g. Doing poorly in schools hurts your chances for a good job.
h. Smart students don't have to work hard to do well in school.
i. I do not have enough control over the direction my life is taking.
j. I can learn a great deal when I study with others.
k. Success depends more on hard work than ability.
l. Most of my friends do well in school.
m. In the US, you need a college education for a good job.
n. I don't have much control over the direction of my life.
o. With enough effort most students can learn any subject matter.
p. If I don't do well in school, I will disappoint my parents.
q. My Asian friends think doing well in school is important.
r. I do not feel a sense of pride about my family's culture and heritage.
s. What you learn is more important than the grade you get.
t. The Vietnamese community values hard work and education.
u. The American community values hard work and education.

6. ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION

a. In terms of race/culture/ethnicity, I identify myself as:
☐ Vietnamese
☐ Chinese
☐ Asian
☐ Vietnamese-American
☐ Asian-American
☐ American
☐ Other (*list*):

b. Why do you select that label to describe yourself?

Ethnic Community Involvement

c-f. What activities you participate in the Vietnamese community?

(*Check ALL that apply*):

☐ Vietnamese language class

☐ Church/Temple

☐ Youth groups

☐ Organized Recreation

☐ Other (list)

Endogamy

(Select: L=Likely; U=Uncertain; N= Not Likely)

g. I would consider marriage to a non-Asian as:

h. I would consider marriage to a non-Vietnamese as:

Values

i. What values are important to your parents?

j. What Vietnamese/Asian cultural values are important to you?

k. What Vietnamese/Asian cultural values are difficult to accept?

l. What American values are important to you?

m. What American values are difficult to accept?

Cultural Activities

(Select: U=Usually; S=Sometimes; N=Never)

n. I like to listen to traditional Vietnamese/Asian music.

o. My family celebrates Vietnamese/Asian holidays.

p. My family celebrates American holidays (Thanksgiving, 4th of July, etc.).

q. At home we mostly eat Vietnamese/Asian foods.

Peer Affiliation
(Select: N=None; S=Some; H=Half; M=Most; A= All)
r. Number of Vietnamese/Asian friends
s. Number of White friends
t. Number of Hispanic friends

7. CONTROL AND BARRIERS
a. What would you like to change about school?
b. What would you like to change about yourself or your life?
c. Have you experienced discrimination from peers, from adults at school, in the community? (Explain)

8. GOAL ORIENTATION
(*Select: SA=Strongly Agree. A=Agree, D=Disagree, SD=Strongly Disagre*e)
a. The main reason I do my schoolwork is because we get grades.
b. I really don't like to make mistakes.
c. I feel most successful in school when I learn something I didn't know before.
d. I like problems that aren't too hard, so I don't get too many wrong.
e. I like problems that are hard enough to show that I am smart.
f. Understanding the work in school is more important than the grade I get.
g. The main reason I do my school work is because I like to learn.
h. I feel good if I'm the only one who can answer the teacher's question.
i. Making mistakes is part of learning.
j. I feel successful when I learn something interesting.
k. I feel successful when I have the highest test scores.
l. I like problems that I learn something from, even if they're so hard that I miss a lot.

9. ATTRIBUTION
People use different reasons to explain why they do things well or poorly.
a. Think of tests or assignments that you did well on. Why do you think you did well?
b. Think of tests or assignments that you did not do well on. Why do you think you did poorly?
c. Is it important to you to do well in school? Why or why not?
d. How could you be more successful in school?
e. If you plan to go to college, what strategies or study habits do you think would help you to be successful?

10. VOLITION: Self-Regulated Learning Strategies

How often do you do the following?

(A=Always; O=Often; S=Sometimes; NO=Not Often; N=Never)

a. Check over your work to make sure you did it right before handing it in.

b. Think about how you can improve your work the next time you have a test.

c. Summarize the important points from your notes or book to study.

d. Make an outline before answering an essay question.

e. Find a place to study that has few distractions.

f. Turn off the TV or radio to help you concentrate.

g. Use a special routine that helps you study better.

h. Repeat or rewrite something to help you remember better.

i. Do similar practice examples until you understand how to do something.

j. Study with friends to help each other understand the assignment.

k. Ask you teachers after class to explain something you don't understand.

l. Review your notes when studying for a test.

m. Reread the textbook to study.

n. Calendar your studies so you don't have to cram for a test.

o. Plan or break down a big assignment and do it over several days.

p. Figure out the most important parts to study and spend the most time on them.

q. Do research to get as much information as possible before beginning an assignment.

r. Take notes of class discussion.

s. Keep a list of words or problems you get wrong.

t. Plan rewards for yourself if you do well on a test or complete a big project.

u. Imagine what your teacher/parent will say if you don't do your homework.

v. Keep working on a very difficult assignment until you solve or complete it.

11. PROVERB

If you know a proverb or saying that is an example of important family or cultural beliefs about behavior, values, or effort, write it in Vietnamese or translate it into English.

Thank you for your participation in this research

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